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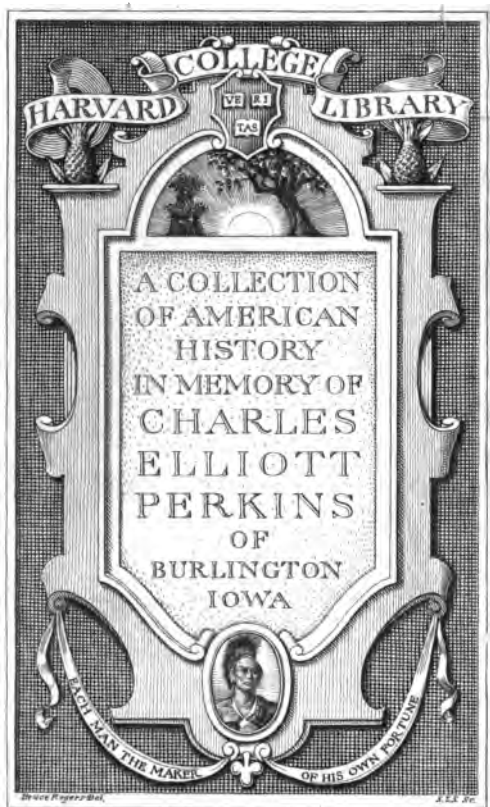
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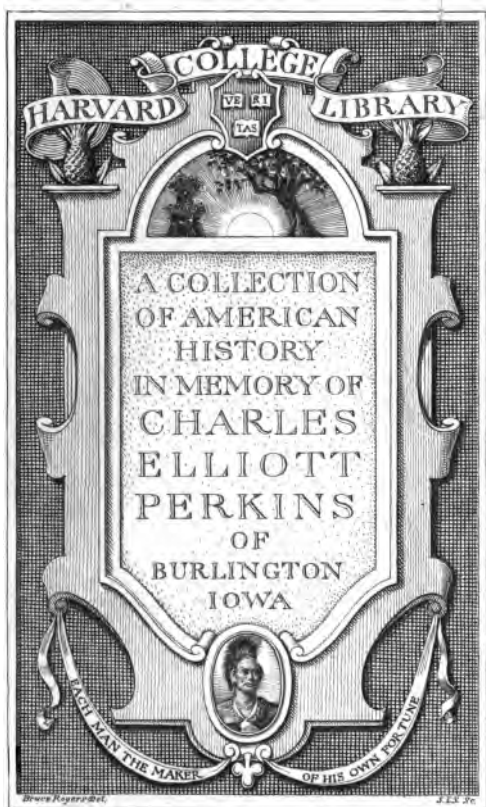
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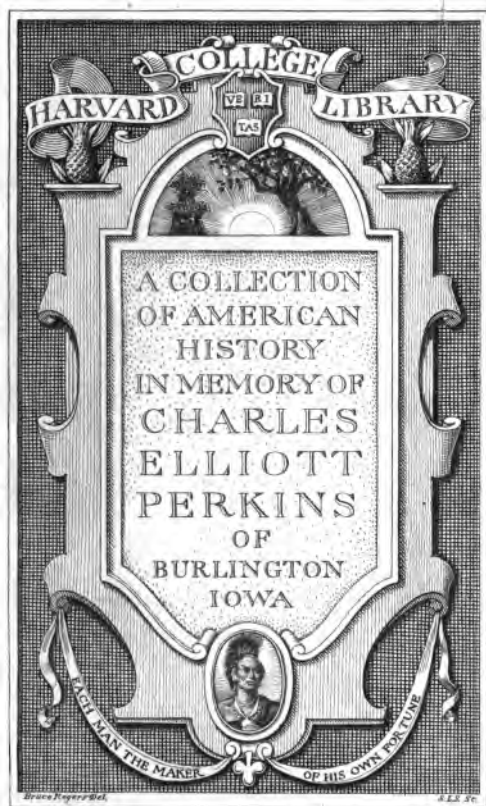
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Wickliff

THE LIVES.

OF THE

BRITISH REFORMERS.

EMBELLISHED

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Presbyterian Board of Publication have made a valuable contribution to the Christian literature of our country, in republishing the London Tract Society's Lives and Writings of the British Reformers, in twelve volumes. The work is one of sterling merit, and deserves a place in every well selected library. It is still possible that some may not be able to purchase it, who would nevertheless desire some information respecting the lives and characters of those excellent men, who were the favoured instruments of diffusing the light of the gospel through the British Isles. To accommodate such, and at the same time, to prepare a volume suitable for Sabbath School Libraries, the Board have selected from the larger work the biographical sketches of the principal Reformers, and comprised them in the present volume. In adopting this plan the only inconvenience that occurred in using the stereotype plates already prepared, was that a uniform system of paging could not be secured. This, however, will subject the reader to no practical difficulty, as he will readily find any particular life by noticing its order in the table of contents.

The volume is presented to the Church in the earnest hope that it may tend to preserve a due estimate of the glorious Reformation, in an age when Romanism is making unusual efforts to rivet the chains of its bondage on the liberated minds and consciences of the Protestant world.

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SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE
OF
JOHN WICKLIFF, D. D.

THE state of England during the latter part of the fourteenth century presents many causes for painful reflection. Luxury and pride characterised the higher classes, while the lower orders were involved in misery, and vice abounded among all ranks. Contemporary historians ascribe much of this dissoluteness of morals to the civil wars of preceding reigns, whereby the land was desolated, and the bonds of society relaxed. The internal peace of the country, it is true, had become more settled, but many causes united to prevent moral improvement. A long course of foreign victory inflated the national pride; the wealth that accrued to individuals from successful warfare, with the habits acquired thereby, promoted luxury and dissipation among the higher ranks, further stimulated by the introduction of new articles of expense through an increasing commerce.* Meanwhile, the people in general were exhausted by calls for pecuniary supplies and personal aid to carry on foreign hostilities; and the feuds and oppressions of powerful barons, with the constant plundering of bands of robbers for many years suffered to exist with impunity, caused much misery among the lower orders, whose sufferings led to the insurrections in the early part of the reign of Richard II. Such in reality was the state of England in

* The ransom of the prisoners taken by sir Walter Mauny in one campaign, A. D. 1340, was equal to 100,000*l.* of our present money.

Walsingham states that, "A. D. 1348, such quantities of furred garments, fine linen, jewels, gold and silver plate, rich furniture and utensils, the spoils of Caen, Calais, and other foreign cities, were brought into England, that every woman of rank obtained some of them, and they were seen in every mansion. Then the ladies of England became proud and vain in their attire, and were as much elated by the acquisition of that finery, as the ladies of France were dejected by the loss of it."

The value of the articles regularly imported into England, A. D. 1354, was less than 40,000*l.* not an eighth part of the amount exported, which shows how little the mass of the community were able to indulge in the luxuries or conveniences of life. The imports were of that description, while the exports were chiefly articles of produce. By this difference between the imports and exports, the vast sums drained from England by the court of Rome and foreign ecclesiastics were supplied.

the days of Wickliff, as depicted by the annalists who lived near his time, although general historians, engrossed by military details and political events, dwell but slightly upon these painful circumstances.*

Another cause tended much to produce and to perpetuate an unhappy state of society. For the soul to be without knowledge is not good, and those were days of ignorance and mental darkness. Some symptoms of a revival of learning appeared, but as yet little progress had been made in science. The subtilities of the schools retarded all advances in useful knowledge, while the improvements in fine arts were made subservient to luxury, rather than beneficial to the general character of the age. But ignorance as to spiritual truth was the greatest and most serious evil. The main object of those who called themselves ministers of Christ, was to enslave the minds and to plunder the property of the people committed to their charge; they kept from them the truths of the gospel, and sought to be revered as beings superior to their fellow-men, while they indulged every debasing appetite. The corrupt and depraved state of the popedom at that period is admitted by every historian; it is described as literally "a hell upon earth." To the papal power every ecclesiastic in Europe was compelled to look for authority and direction to exercise the duties of his charge, and we may easily imagine what was the general character of those to whom the popes and their counsel-

* One proof of the licentiousness of those days will suffice. In 1380, an expedition was fitted out to aid in the wars of Bretagne. The English troops lay for some time near Portsmouth, wind-bound and waiting for provisions. They ill treated the country round, forcibly carrying off men's wives and daughters. Among other outrages, sir John Arundell, the commander, went to a nunnery, and desired that his troops might be allowed to visit there! This being refused, they entered by violence, and on their departure compelled the nuns to go with them. A storm came on, when these unhappy females were thrown into the sea by the very persons who had forced them to embark! The greater part of the fleet was lost on the coast of Ireland; the leader with a thousand of his men perished.—See Walsingham. In Hollinshed will be found several other instances of the military licentiousness then prevalent. Froissart relates that the French troops, prepared for the invasion of England, were equally profligate in their conduct, and pillaged their own countrymen without mercy. Each "gentleman" was followed by a servant called "an pillard," a plunderer.

The state of the lower orders in England may be supposed from a record in the annals of Dunstable abbey, A. D. 1283, where the sale of William Pike, "our slave by birth, and all his family," is mentioned as a matter of course. The price was a mark, or thirteen shillings and fourpence! The prices of food varied much, owing to frequent famines. In one year, 1317, according to Stow, the price of wheat varied from 80s. to 6s. 8d. the quarter. In 1359, wheat was 1l. 6s. 8d.; in 1361, at 2s.; and in 1363, at 15s.—See Fleetwood's Chron. Preciosum. The lower classes must have suffered very much from those sudden variations, and at the high prices they would be quite unable to purchase the necessaries of life. When the difference in the value of money and commodities is taken into calculation, a shilling in Wickliff's time was equal to a pound at the present day.

riors delegated the exercise of that paramount authority they had assumed. Ignorance as to scriptural truth was of course considered by such priests as the best safeguard of their authority; but though the church of Rome has maintained that ignorance is the mother of devotion, we know that such a source will yield only blind superstitious feelings, strongly opposed to true religion. The instruction given to the lower classes at that period tended to harden them in ignorance and vice: they committed their spiritual concerns entirely to the priesthood, or if the conscience refused to be silenced in this manner, it was diverted to the practice of austerities and will-worship, equally destructive to the soul. The few virtues of that age were not Christian virtues; they were founded on the romantic notions of chivalry—faint glimmerings of light which only served to make the surrounding darkness more visible; at best they were deceptive, leading the pilgrim from the way to real peace.* Only a small number of persons had been preserved from the corruptions of the papacy, but they, even in the darkest times, had exercised some influence upon Europe, though subjected to the most bitter persecution. A few individuals also, who were distinguished for mental powers, as Grosseteste and Bradwardine, had borne testimony in England against the usurpations and crimes of the papacy, while others had begun to perceive that the conduct of the priesthood, when examined by the rule of scripture, was altogether anti-christian.

The circumstances already noticed should be kept in mind when we enter upon the history of Wickliff. The demoralized state of the land made it ripe for sufferings. In Israel of old, when luxury and wickedness abounded, prophets were sent to warn the people of approaching judgments, and to point out the way of salvation; so in England, Wickliff and others were raised up to bear faithful testimony to the truth, and to denounce what must be the end of the practices which then prevailed.† When

* Froissart's Chronicles show this. The mixture of generosity and courtesy with licentiousness and cruelty, depicted by the chivalrous historian, will strike the reader very forcibly.

† The monkish annalists, who were the English historians of those times, fully justify the sketch here given of the state of England during the fourteenth century. The English reader who may not have access to those sources of information, will find many particulars in the histories of Henry, Andrews, and Turner.

The height to which the luxury and excess of the times had arrived in the days of Richard II., is thus described by Hollinshed:—"There resorted daily to his court above ten thousand persons, who had meat and drink there allowed them. In his kitchen were three hundred servitors, and every other office was furnished after the like rate. Of ladies, chamberers, and landerers, there were above three hundred at the least. And in gorgeous and costly apparel they exceeded all measure, not one of them kept within the bounds of his degree. Yeomen and grooms were clothed in silks, with cloth of grain and scarlet. Over sumptuous, ye may be sure, for their estates. And this vanity was not only used in the court in those days, but also other people abroad in the

we recollect the state of England, and the crying evils which called for exposure and reproof, we shall be satisfied that Wickliff was not an ambitious, or a revolutionary spirit, as some have described him, but rather a prophet, as Jeremiah, "weeping day and night for the slain of the daughter of his people," hearing the voice of the Lord, "Shall I not visit for these things? Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?" One deeply

towns and countries, had their garments cut far otherwise than had been accustomed before his days, with embroideries, rich furs, and goldsmiths' work, and every day there was devisings of new fashions, to the great hinderance and decay of the commonwealth. Moreover, such were preferred to bishoprics and other ecclesiastical livings, as neither could teach nor preach, nor knew any thing of the scripture of God, but only to call for their tithes and dues; so that they were most unworthy the name of bishops, being lewd and most vain persons disguised in bishop's apparel. Furthermore, there reigned abundantly the filthy sin of lechery and fornication, with abominable adultery, especially in the king, but most chiefly in the prelacy, whereby the whole realm, by such their evil example, was so infected, that the wrath of God was daily provoked to vengeance for the sins of the prince and his people." The receipts in the work, entitled "*The Forme of Cury*," prove the luxury of the table in which the court then indulged.

The depraved state of the popedom is described by almost every writer, civil as well as ecclesiastical. One extract may be given from the epistles of Petrarch, who cannot be objected to as an authority on this subject. At that time there was a schism in the papacy, which it might be supposed would oblige the pretenders to the popedom to more than usual care, that they might not disgust their adherents. But the state of the papal court at Avignon, about A. D. 1350, is thus described by Petrarch, and Rome was, if possible, more depraved. He says, the former city had become "a terrestrial hell, a residence of fiends and devils, a receptacle of all that is most wicked and abominable. There is no piety, no reverence or fear of God, no faith or charity, nothing that is holy, just, equitable, or humane." He adds, "Why should I speak of truth, where not only the houses, palaces, courts, churches, and the thrones of popes and cardinals, but the very earth and air, appear to teem with lies? A future state, heaven, hell, and judgment, are openly turned into ridicule as childish fables. Good men have of late been treated with so much contempt and scorn, that there is not one left among them to be an object of derision." This delineation Petrarch confirms by several facts. In another place he says, "Whatever perfidy and treachery, whatever barbarity and pride, whatever immodesty and unbridled lust you have ever heard or read of;—in a word, whatever impiety and immorality either now is, or ever was scattered over all the world, you may find here, amassed in one heap." The language of Baronius, the Romish annalist, is scarcely less strong. The depraved state of ecclesiastics in England, particularly the emissaries of Rome and the monastic orders, is delineated by Chaucer in his *Canterbury tales* in appalling colours. It is also described by the author of the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, and others; but the various decrees issued by the higher ecclesiastical authorities respecting the life and manners of the clergy, are sufficient and indisputable evidence. Many of these may be found in the third volume of Wilkins's *Concilia*. They seem wholly to have failed in effecting any moral improvement, which is not surprising when we consider the sources from which they emanated. The gross doctrinal errors inculcated by the church of Rome, even after the days of Wickliff, are explicitly asserted in the proceedings against his followers.

impressed by such feelings could not be indifferent to the sacred office, nor should he be judged by estimates of what appear to be the duties of a minister of the gospel at the present period. We may consider England at that period, as in many respects resembling Judah in the days of the son of Hilkiah. Like him, Wickliff was called from the priesthood of the land, to bear testimony as a prophet before kings and rulers, and like him, was unavoidably implicated in the political events of the times. And though visitations were not sent upon England to the same extent as those inflicted upon Judah, yet the painful scenes exhibited in the civil wars of the succeeding century, show that famine and the sword came upon the land, and that the people were punished for the fruit of their doings. National crimes will bring down national judgments. Warnings are sent previously to desolations, but when the voice of the Lord, speaking by his faithful ministers, is disregarded, execution will assuredly follow. It was so in the period referred to. The wickedness and profligacy of England in the fourteenth century were extreme, the awful and certain consequences were plainly exhibited by Wickliff and his associates; many, there is good reason to believe, sought the things which concerned their peace, but the nation at large persisted in evil courses, and persecuted to death the witnesses of the truth. The calamities which followed have been but feebly depicted in the pages of history; the particulars of individual suffering are forgotten amidst details of martial enterprise. May England not forget the innumerable mercies she has since then received! may the warnings of faithful ministers of Christ not again be despised! and may our national sins never again arise to such a height as to bring national judgments upon our country!

JOHN WICKLIFF* was born about the year 1324, at a village of the same name, a few miles from the town of Richmond in Yorkshire, where his ancestors had resided from the time of the Conquest. The family were respectable, and possessed considerable property, but continued the advocates of those superstitions which their relative earnestly laboured to remove. It is probable, that in consequence of the change in his views he was estranged from his own family. Under feelings of this nature he would be led to use the language of one of his tracts, in which, speaking of the errors into which worldly minded parents often fall, he says, "With much travail and cost they get great riches, and estates, and benefices for their children, and often to their

* The name of the reformer has been spelled in sixteen different ways. Wiclif is adopted by Lewis and Baber, and is used in the oldest document in which the name appears—his appointment to the embassy to the pope in 1374. Wycliffe is adopted by Vaughan, and appears to be the most correct. Wickliff is used in the present work as the most popular form. In those times orthography was but little attended to; in proper names especially it was much neglected.

greater damnation ; but they incline not to get for their children the goods of grace and virtuous life. Nor will they suffer them to retain these goods, as they are freely proffered to them of God ; but hinder it as much as they may ; saying, if a child yield himself to meekness and poverty, and flee covetousness and pride, from a dread of sin, and to please God,—that he shall never become a man, never cost them a penny, and they curse him because he liveth well, and will teach other men the will of God to save their souls ! For by so doing, the child getteth many enemies to his elders, and they say that he slandereth all their noble kindred who were ever held to be true men and worshipful.”* In those days, next to the danger and reproach of being a heretic, and nearly as great, was the being accounted a friend or relative of one suspected of heresy.

All the memorial which remains of the history of Wickliff's youth is, that his parents designed their son for the church, and his mind was early directed to the requisite studies. He was entered at Queen's college, Oxford, an institution then recently founded, from whence he soon removed to Merton college, the most distinguished in the university at that period, when the number of scholars had recently been estimated to amount to thirty thousand. Wickliff's attention appears rather to have been directed to the studies suitable for his profession, than to general literature. As Fuller observes, “The fruitful soil of his natural abilities he industriously improved by acquired learning. He was not only skilled in the fashionable arts of that age, and in that abstruse, crabbed divinity, all whose fruit is thorns, but he was also well versed in the scriptures, a rare accomplishment in those days.” Dr. James enumerates various writers, by whom he considers Wickliff to have been grounded in the truth. He doubtless learned much from the fathers, and was considerably indebted to Grosseteste and Bradwardine : but his writings show that his religious principles were mainly derived from the bible.†

His perusal of the scriptures and the fathers rendered him

* MS. On Wedded Men, their Wives and Children.—See “The Life and Opinions of John de Wycliffe, illustrated principally from his unpublished manuscripts, by Robert Vaughan,” Vol. I. p. 223 ; a work which supplies a more complete personal history of the reformer and his writings than any which preceded it. By the author's permission considerable use of his valuable selections has been made in compiling the present brief sketch. The life of Wiclif by Lewis is well known, and deservedly esteemed for the patient industry of the writer, and the valuable materials he has collected. It is, however, to be regretted that he did not give a more full account of Wickliff's doctrinal pieces. Vaughan has done much to supply this deficiency. Considerable assistance has also been derived from Baber's valuable sketch of Wickliff's life prefixed to his edition of the reformer's new testament. Knyghton, Fox, Hollinshed, and other early chroniclers also have been referred to.

† See The History of the Church of Christ, Vol. III., for some account of Grosseteste and Bradwardine.

dissatisfied with the scholastic divinity of that age, while the knowledge of canon and civil law then requisite for a divine, enabled him to discern many of the errors of popery. His writings also show him to have been well acquainted with the laws of his own country. The four fathers of the Latin church, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory, are continually quoted by him, so as to show his intimate acquaintance with their writings. Augustine, in particular, he seems to have valued next to the scriptures. It will not be forgotten that Luther derived much instruction from the writings of that father. The acknowledged ability of Wickliff as a scholar, led his adversaries to accuse him of evil designs rather than of ignorance, while his friends gave him the title of the Evangelic Doctor. Even Knighton states that he was second to none in philosophy.

Wickliff's mind must have received deep impressions from an awful visitation of Providence which occurred in the middle of the fourteenth century. Europe was shaken by a succession of earthquakes; shortly after, it was ravaged by a pestilence, the effects of which were more rapid and extensive than at this day we can easily conceive. More than half the people of this and other lands were swept away; the alarmed survivors reckoned the mortality far higher.* That Wickliff was deeply impressed by this awful event, appears by his frequent references thereto, when he is sounding an alarm to a careless and profane generation. Under a strong feeling that the end of the world approached, he wrote his first publication, a small treatise, entitled "The last Age of the Church," in which he describes the corruptions which then pervaded the whole ecclesiastical state, as the main cause of that chastisement which Europe had so lately felt. Early and deep impressions of this nature, evidently tended much to strengthen and to prepare the reformer for the arduous course he was shortly called to pursue. That his mind had been led to look to the only true ground of support is evident from a passage in this tract, wherein he speaks of Christ Jesus as having "entered into holy things, that is into holy church, by holy living and holy teaching; and with his blood he delivered man's nature; as Zechariah writeth in his ninth chapter, Thou verily, with the blood of witness, or of thy testament, hast led out from the pit them that were bound. So, when we were sinful, and the children of wrath, God's Son came out of heaven, and praying his Father for his enemies, he died for us. Then, much rather shall we be saved, now we are made righteous through his blood."

Thus we find Wickliff in his thirty-second year, respected for

* Knighton says, that before this plague a curate might have been hired for four or five marks a year, or for two marks and his board; but after it, scarcely any could be found who would accept of a living of twenty marks a year. Archbishop Islip interfered, and forbade any curate to claim an advance of more than one mark yearly. Stow observes upon this limitation, that it induced many priests to turn robbers!

his scholastic acquirements, deeply impressed with the importance of divine truth, awakened to a sense of the divine judgments, enabled already to break through the bands of superstition, and in possession of that hope which alone can afford refuge for a guilty sinner. We shall now see how these preparations fitted him for the contest, and led him to the encounter in which he was called to engage.

The first circumstance which summoned Wickliff to this conflict was a controversy with the mendicant friars. Some of them had settled at Oxford in 1221, where they attracted much notice by their professed freedom from the avarice of the monastic fraternities in general, and by their activity as preachers. They introduced many of the opinions afterwards adopted by the reformers, for a time saying much in opposition to the papal authority, and in support of the authority of the bible. But their errors and encroaching spirit soon appeared, so that Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, who for some years had favoured the friars, at length deeply censured their conduct. Their zeal to proselyte youths at the universities to their orders, called forth vigorous opposition from Fitzraf, archbishop of Armagh, who, in a petition to the pope in 1357, affirmed that the students of Oxford were reduced on this account to six thousand, not more than a fifth of their former number.* In 1366, a parliamentary enactment ordered that none of the orders should receive any youth under the age of eighteen; also that no bull should be procured by the friars against the universities. Similar disputes then prevailed in the university of Paris. The objections alleged against the mendicants, as stated by Wickliff, may be thus summed up:—they represented a life inertly contemplative, as preferable to one spent in active attention to Christian duties; they were defective in morals when discharging their office of confessors; while itinerating in the offices they assumed, they persecuted all such as they detected really “travelling to sow God’s word among the people;” to these may be added a full proportion of every error and vice which has been charged on the corrupt clergy of Rome. Nor did Wickliff merely expose and seek to correct these fruits of error; he showed that they proceeded from the unscriptural nature of the institutions, which evidently were opposed to those precepts of the bible, which they professed to regard.

Against these mendicants, Wickliff wrote several tracts, entitled, *Of the property of Christ, Against able Beggary, and of*

* In his tract of *Clerks Possessioners*, Wickliff complains that “Friars draw children from Christ’s religion into their private order, by hypocrisy, lyings, and stealing.” He charges them with stealing children from their parents through inducing them to enter their orders, by representing that men of their order would never come to hell, and would have higher degree of bliss in heaven than any other. For an account of Fitzraf, or Armachanus, as he was usually called, see Fox, who gives a summary of his arguments against the friars.

Idleness in Beggary.* The vices of the friars led him to consider more fully the vices of the Romish priesthood.

The approval which the conduct of Wickliff, in opposing the mendicants, received from the university, appears from his being chosen warden of Baliol college in 1361. In the same year he was presented by his college to the living of Fillingham, in Lincolnshire, which he afterwards exchanged for Ludgershall, in Wiltshire. In 1365 he was appointed warden of Canterbury hall, by Simon de Islip, the founder, then primate of England.

In the instrument appointing Wickliff to this office, Islip states him to be a person on whose fidelity, circumspection, and industry he confided, one on whom he had fixed for that place for the honesty of his life, his laudable conversation, and knowledge of letters. Islip dying shortly after, Wickliff was displaced by Langham, his successor, who had been a monk, from whose decision he appealed to the pope.

The integrity and courage of Wickliff are manifest from the boldness with which he continued to oppose the mendicants, both personally and by his writings, during the time his appeal was under consideration.

Another circumstance assisted to call Wickliff into public notice. This was the decision of the English parliament in 1365, to resist the claim of pope Urban V., who attempted the revival of an annual payment of a thousand marks,† as a tribute, or feudal acknowledgment, that the kingdoms of England and Ireland were held at the pleasure of the popes. His claim was founded upon the surrender of the crown by king John to pope Innocent III. The payment had been discontinued for thirty-three years, and the recent victories of Cressy and Poitiers, with their results, had so far strengthened the power of England, that the demand by the pontiff, of the arrears, with the continuance of the tribute, upon pain of the papal censure, were unanimously rejected by the king and parliament. The reader must recollect that this was not a question bearing only upon the immediate point in dispute; the grand subject of papal supremacy was involved therein, and the refusal to listen to the mandate of the pope necessarily tended to abridge the general influence of the clergy. A measure of this description was almost unknown in the history of Europe at that day. Such claims were not lightly relinquished by the papacy, and shortly after this decision of the parliament, a monk wrote in defence of the papal usurpations, asserting that the sovereignty of England was forfeited by withholding the tribute, and that the clergy, whether as individuals or as a general body, were exempted from all jurisdiction of the

* In his writings Wickliff sometimes speaks of the houses of the friars as Caim's castles, (Cain was then so spelt,) alluding to the initial letters of the four mendicant orders, the Carmelites, Augustines, Jacobites, and Minorites. They were commonly called the White, Black, Austin, and Grey friars.

† A mark is 13s. 4d.

civil power, a claim which had already excited considerable discussions in the preceding reigns. Wickliff was personally called upon by this writer to prove, if he were able, the fallacy of these opinions; nor should it be forgotten that this work did not proceed from any of the mendicant orders, but from one of those monks who were directly opposed to them. Thus it is evident that Wickliff's former conduct was rightly estimated to proceed, not from one who merely opposed the mendicants, as such, but from one who would oppose the leading errors of the church of Rome, under whatever guise they might appear.

In Wickliff's reply, wherein he has preserved the arguments of the monk, he styles himself one of the royal chaplains. He combats the assumptions of the church of Rome, confirming his sentiments by giving the substance of several speeches delivered by certain of the lay nobility in the recent debate relative to the claims of the pontiff. We need not enter into the contents of this tract further than to quote the following declaration attributed to one of the speakers, that, "Christ is the supreme Lord, while the pope is a man, and liable to mortal sin, and who while in mortal sin, according to divines, is unfitted for dominion." The extent to which such a principle might be applied, is evident from the well-known wicked lives of the pontiffs, which had led to the monstrous assertion of Romish divines, that the pope, though guilty of the most heinous sins, still was to be obeyed and respected in his mandates; even those which concerned religion!*

The treatise concludes with a view of the future, taken by Wickliff, which has long since been fulfilled. "If I mistake not, the day will come in which all exactions shall cease, before the pope will prove such a condition to be reasonable and honest." Who now in England ventures to assert that the temporal authority of the pope is supreme? or that his ecclesiastics are exempted from the laws of God and their country? yet such doctrines were openly maintained in those ages, and still are asserted in some parts of Europe! The parliament in 1366 also directed regulations to be observed, by which the power and influence of the mendicants were limited. In the part taken by the university of Oxford, during these proceedings, Wickliff doubtless was concerned, and the attention given to his arguments on these subjects, which then so deeply agitated the public mind, must have

* Bellarmine goes further, he says: "Though the pope should err in enjoining vices, and prohibiting virtues, yet would the church be bound to believe the vices to be virtues, and the virtues vices, if it would avoid sinning against its own conscience." *De Pontif.* iv. 5.

One of the popes says, "The pope, who represents on earth not mere man, but true God, has a heavenly power; and therefore changes the nature of things.—Nor is there any one that can say unto him, Why dost thou so? For he can dispense laws; he can make justice injustice by altering and amending laws, and he has a fulness of power." *Innocent III. Glos.* A contemporary of Wickliff openly maintained that the pope was incapable of mortal sin!

brought his opinions concerning the scriptures, and other points more immediately connected with divine truths, into general notice. Thus attention was called to those doctrines which he now began publicly to advocate. One circumstance which promoted this opposition to the papal claims, was the national animosity then existing between England and France. Many of the popes being natives of France, evinced their partiality for their own country, in which they then resided, on all occasions. All these concurring circumstances led Edward III. to pursue a line of conduct, which certainly characterises him as a promoter of the reformation, at least as to its outward concerns.

John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, claims notice as conspicuous among the court and family of the British monarch, for the countenance and support he afforded to Wickliff. Under his influence an attempt appears to have been made in 1371, by authority of parliament, to exclude ecclesiastics from all offices of state.* Wickliff, in his writings, has so fully shown his deep sense of the necessity for the clergy being exclusively devoted to the duties of their spiritual functions, that we cannot doubt of his intimate connexion with the prince from whom such a proposition originated. The views of Wickliff as to the proper method of discharging the office of minister to the church, will appear by the following extract from one of his early pieces, entitled, "A short rule of life." He says, "If thou art a priest, and by name a curate, live thou a holy life. Pass other men in holy prayer, holy desire, and holy speaking; in counselling and teaching the truth. Ever keep the commandments of God, and let his gospel and his praises be ever in thy mouth. Ever despise sin, that men may be drawn therefrom, and that thy deeds may be so far right, that no man shall blame them with reason. Let thy open life be thus a true book, in which the soldier and the layman may learn how to serve God, and keep his commandments. For the example of a good life, if it be open and continued, striketh rude men much more than open preaching with the word alone. And waste not thy goods in great feasts for rich men, but live a frugal life on poor men's alms and goods. Have both meat, and drink, and clothing, but the remnant give truly to the poor; to those who have freely wrought, but who now may not labour from feebleness and sickness; and thus shalt thou be a true priest both to God and to man." These are sentiments which remind us of the early ages of the church, and Wickliff was not one who set forth precepts for others, which he did not practise himself. Similar passages will be found in the following pages. Nor was he less earnest to enforce due respect for the ministers of religion, as will appear from the following extract. "Thy second father

* Almost every office of importance or profit was filled by ecclesiastics, from that of lord chancellor, to the surveyor of the king's buildings and the superintendent of his wardrobe. About this time the chancellor was bishop of Ely; the two latter offices were filled by the parsons of Oundle and Harwich.

is thy spiritual father, who has special care of thy soul, and thus shalt thou worship (reverence) him. Thou shalt love him especially before other men, and obey his teaching as far as he teaches God's will. And help according to thy power, that he have a reasonable sustenance when he doeth well his office. And if he fail in his office, by giving evil example, and in ceasing from teaching God's law, thou art bound to have great sorrow on that account, and to tell meekly and charitably his default to him, between thee and him alone."*

In 1370, the papal court decided against the continuance of Wickliff in the wardenship of Canterbury-hall. It was decreed that the inmates should all be monks, notwithstanding the express declarations of the founder, and the terms of the royal license to the contrary. The royal sanction to this sentence was obtained two years afterwards. Among the means employed by his opponents, bribery appears to have been the principal. Wickliff was neither surprised nor troubled by this decision; he does not refer to it in any part of his writings, nor was any imputation cast upon him thereby.

In 1373, Wickliff was admitted to the degree of doctor in divinity. As this rank was at that time unfrequent, and conferred a considerable degree of influence, it must have facilitated the diffusion of the doctrines he advocated throughout the kingdom. Many of his scholastic pieces doubtless were lectures delivered by him as a professor of divinity, to which office he was appointed in 1372. His early English writings also show both the doctrinal views, and the religious feelings with which he proceeded in his new office. He was skilful in the use of the artificial logic then in vogue, and by accustoming his hearers to enter into logical and metaphysical distinctions, he taught them to exercise their minds upon inquiries, which he gradually directed to more important subjects than those usually introduced into such lectures.

Among these early pieces, the Exposition of the Decalogue, now in the Cotton library, may be included.† As that exposition differs from the one in the present volume, a brief extract or two may be given. Urging that love to God be shown by keeping his commands, Wickliff says, "Have a remembrance of the goodness of God, how he made thee in his own likeness, and how Jesus Christ, both God and man, died so painful a death upon the cross, to buy man's soul out of hell, even with his own heart's blood, and to bring it to the bliss of heaven." He admonishes that the sabbath not only commemorates the work of creation, but also the resurrection of Christ, and the gift of the

* Vaughan observes upon this extract: "If Wycliffe ever sanctioned any less mild or scriptural methods of reform, it was because the state of the malady was found to require a severer treatment." In his tracts, *For the Order of Priesthood*, and *the Office of Curates*, Wickliff enters very fully into this subject.

† See Vaughan's *Life of Wickliff*, vol. i. p. 303.

Spirit, adding, "Bethink thee heartily of the wonderful kindness of God, who was so high and so worshipful in heaven, that he should come down so low and be born of the maiden, and become our brother, to buy us again by his hard passion, from our thralldom to Satan." After describing the sufferings of Christ, he adds, "All this he did and suffered of his own kindness, without any sin of himself, that he might deliver us from sin and pain, and bring us to everlasting bliss. Thou shouldest also think constantly, how, when he had made thee of nought, thou hadst forsaken him, and all his kindness, through sin, and hadst taken thee to Satan and his service, world without end, had not Christ, God and man, suffered this hard death to save us. And thus, see the great kindness, and all other goodness, which God hath shown for thee, and thereby learn thy own great unkindness; and thus thou shalt see that man is the most fallen of creatures, and the unkindest of all creatures that ever God made! It should be full, sweet, and delightful to us to think thus on this great kindness, and this great love of Jesus Christ!" Vaughan observes of this exposition, "We find Wycliffe zealously inculcating the lessons of inspiration, on the fall of man and the consequent depravity of human nature; on the excellence and perpetual obligation of the moral law; on the exclusive dependence of every child of Adam on the atonement of Christ for the remission of his sins; and for victory over temptation, and the possession of holiness, on the aids of divine grace. It appears also that these momentous tenets were very far from being regarded by Wycliffe with the coldness of mere speculation."

The aid which the labours of Wickliff received from the disputes then existing between the popes and the English government, has been already noticed; these differences were again renewed in 1373, on the subject of "provisors." The papal see had been accustomed to grant anticipated vacancies in the English church among its foreign dependents, by which ministers were appointed who were neither able nor willing to discharge the duties of their office. Various legal enactments had been previously made to meet these encroachments, and a law was passed whereby the election of bishops was rendered entirely independent of the papal sanction.

In the year 1360, during the pestilence, seven English bishoprics had become vacant, all of which were filled by aliens, under papal provisions, and the result of inquiry in 1376, showed that a very large number of the English benefices were in the hands of foreigners. An embassy was despatched to the continent in 1374, to remonstrate with the papal see on this subject; Wickliff was one of the delegates. Bruges was the place appointed for meeting the commissioners of the papal see: the proceedings, as usual in all matters of a similar nature, were protracted by every species of evasion; they continued nearly two years, while the concessions obtained were few and unsatisfactory. Wickliff saw enough during his visit to the continent, to satisfy him fully of the anti-

christian character of the papacy. He returned from this treaty, like Cranmer and Luther from Rome, more than ever convinced of the necessity of a thorough reformation in ecclesiastical affairs. He now styled the pope, "antichrist, the proud, worldly priest of Rome, the most cursed of clippers and purse kervers." We find strong expressions in his subsequent writings, but when we refer to the corruptions of the church of Rome, and to the treatment Wickliff received from the Romish ecclesiastics, it may truly be said, "Was there not a cause?"

The public attention was now awakened to the intolerable exactions of the popedom. A parliamentary remonstrance in 1376 states, that the taxes paid to the pope yearly out of England, were five times the amount paid to the king; also that the richest prince in Christendom had not the fourth part of the income received by the pope out of England. These calculations might well call forth the emphatic expression contained in the same document, "that God had committed his sheep to the pope to be pastured, and not to be shorn or shaven."

In November 1375, Wickliff was presented by the king to a prebend in the collegiate church of Westbury, and shortly after to the rectory of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, at that time in the royal gift by the minority of lord de Ferrars, the patron. He was speedily called to take a still more prominent part in public affairs.

At that period a severe political struggle existed between the duke of Lancaster and the leading ecclesiastics, among whom Courtney, bishop of London, and Wykeham of Winchester, were most distinguished. The particulars need not be detailed; it is sufficient to say that the transactions were of a complicated nature. It is only to the unbounded influence of the Romish priesthood over the consciences of men, that we can attribute the popular excitement against the reformer and his friends, which the prelates succeeded in raising. Perhaps it is less easy to explain how the parliament, which assembled in 1376 and 1377, should have been opposed both to the encroachments of the papacy and to the administration of the duke of Lancaster.

The clergy were highly displeased at proceedings against some of their number, and at this period, for the first time, we find them adverting to the doctrines of Wickliff, as calling for official interference. This doubtless was intended as an attack both upon the doctrines of the reformer, and the power of his patron.

In the convocation which met in February 1377,* Wickliff was cited to appear before his ecclesiastical superiors, to answer certain charges brought against him for holding and publishing erroneous and heretical doctrines. A day was appointed for hearing his defence: the scene which ensued is thus described by Fox from the chronicle of St. Albans.

* Lewis, by mistake, assigns this transaction to the year following.

"When the day assigned to the said Wickliff to appear was come, which day was Thursday, the 19th of February,* John Wickliff went, accompanied with the duke of Lancaster, also four friars appointed by the duke, the better to ensure Wickliff's safety, and lord Henry Percy, lord marshal of England; lord Percy going before to make room and way where Wickliff should come.

"Thus Wickliff, through the providence of God, being sufficiently guarded, was coming to the place where the bishops sat. By the way they animated and exhorted him not to fear nor shrink a whit at the company of the bishops there present, who were all unlearned, said they, in respect of him—for so proceed the words of my author, whom I follow in this narration; neither should he dread the concourse of the people, whom they would themselves assist and defend, in such sort that he should take no harm. With these words, and with the assistance of the nobles, Wickliff, encouraged in heart, approached the church of St. Paul, where a main press of people was gathered to hear what should be said and done. Such was the throng of the multitude, that the lords, for all the puissance of the high marshal, scarcely, with great difficulty, could get way through. Inasmuch that Courtney, bishop of London, seeing the stir which the lord marshal kept in the church among the people, speaking to the lord Percy, said, That if he had known before what masteries he would have kept in the church, he would have stopped him out from coming there. At which words of the bishop the duke disdaining not a little, answered the bishop again, That he would keep such mastery there, though he said, Nay.

"At last, after much wrangling, they pierced through, and came to our lady's chapel, where the dukes and barons were sitting together with the archbishops and bishops, before whom John Wickliff stood, to know what should be laid unto him. To whom first spake the lord Percy, bidding him to sit down, saying, that he had many things to answer to, and therefore had need of some softer seat. But the bishop of London, cast eftsoons into a fumes chafe with those words, said, He should not sit there. Neither was it, said he, according to law or reason, that he, who was cited there to appear to answer before his ordinary, should sit down during the time of his answer, but he should stand. Upon these words a fire began to heat and kindle between them. Inasmuch that they began so to rate and revile one the other, that the whole multitude, therewith disquieted, began to be set on a hurry.

"Then the duke, taking the lord Percy's part, with hasty words began also to take up the bishop. To whom the bishop again, nothing inferior in reproachful checks and rebukes, did render and requite, not only to him as good as he brought, but also did so far excel him in this railing art of scolding, that, to

* A. D. 1377.

use the words of mine author, the duke blushed and was ashamed, because he could not overpass the bishop in brawling and railing. He therefore fell to plain threatening, menacing the bishop, that he would bring down the pride not only of him, but also of all the prelacy of England. Speaking moreover unto him; Thou, said he, bearest thyself so brag upon thy parents, which shall not be able to help thee; they shall have enough to do to help themselves. His parents were the earl and countess of Devonshire. To whom the bishop again answered, that to be bold to tell truth, his confidence was not in his parents, nor in any man else, but only in God in whom he trusted. Then the duke softly whispering in the ear of him next by him, said, that he would rather pluck the bishop by the hair of his head out of the church, than he would take this at his hand. This was not spoken so secretly, but that the Londoners overheard him. Whereupon, being set in rage, they cried out, saying, that they would not suffer their bishop so contemptuously to be abused, but rather they would lose their lives, than that he should be so drawn out by the hair. Thus the council being broken with scolding and brawling for that day, was dissolved before nine of the clock."

Some proceedings having been taken by the duke and lord Percy, which affected the liberties of the citizens, a tumult ensued on the day following. Information was brought to the duke at the Savoy, of the approach of the infuriated Londoners. The duke "being then at his oysters, without any further tarrying, and also breaking both his shins at a form for haste," took boat with the lord Percy, and by water went to Richmond, where the princess regent was, with Richard, the young king. By her interference the Londoners were compelled to humble themselves, and to make a great taper of wax with the duke's arms upon it, at the charge of the city, which was carried in procession, and placed in the chapel of our Lady, in St. Paul's, to burn before the image of the virgin!

From February to October, 1377, Wickliff seems to have been occupied in discharging his duties as rector and professor. During this interval Edward III. died. The accession of Richard II. was followed by a diminution of the influence of John of Gaunt, but the opposition to the papal claims was not less decided. Amongst other subjects, the next parliament seriously discussed whether it would not be lawful for the kingdom, in case of necessity, and as a means of its defence, to detain its treasure, that it be not conveyed to foreign nations, though the pope himself should demand the same under pain of his censures, and by virtue of obedience said to be due to him. An answer to this question would not now be considered any matter of doubt or difficulty, but at that time it was a perplexing subject. In fact it involved most important questions, both of a civil and a religious nature. Under this dilemma the opinion of Wickliff was requested. In his reply he discarded the opinions and decisions of civilians, or other human authorities. He considered

the proper reference to be "to the principles of the law of Christ." The nature of the pope's demands sufficiently indicate the result of such an appeal!

The doctrines of Wickliff were now publicly known. The ecclesiastics had not remained indifferent to the consequences, as affecting their interests and their power. A number of his opinions were censured by the pope, and in June 1377, bulls were issued, addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the king, and the university of Oxford, in which the pope required that Wickliff should be seized and imprisoned under the papal authority, that his confession should be received, distinct information of his tenets obtained, and that he should be detained in custody until further instructions were sent concerning him. If he were not apprehended, citations were to be issued, commanding his attendance before the pope within three months; the utmost care was to be taken to prevent the king and the nobility from being defiled with his errors. The bulls, however, were not made public till after the parliamentary proceeding just mentioned.

These harsh mandates, it will be observed, treat Wickliff as a criminal already condemned; the prelates were merely to inform themselves privately whether Wickliff had taught the doctrines imputed to him. Such was the inquisitorial policy of the Romish ecclesiastics! The university of Oxford did not receive this bull without considerable hesitation, though accompanied by an especial letter from the pope, lamenting that tares were suffered to grow up among the pure wheat in that seat of learning, and even to grow ripe, without any care being applied to root them up. Not the smallest intention of placing Wickliff in the power of his enemies was manifested by the heads of the university. Archbishop Sudbury, however, wrote to the chancellor, enjoining him to cite Wickliff to appear before his superiors, and early in 1378, the reformer attended a synod at Lambeth. The duke of Lancaster no longer retained his political power, but the deep impression Wickliff's doctrines had made upon the people was now apparent. Considerable crowds surrounded the place; many forced an entrance, openly declaring their attachment to the reformer; and sir Lewis Clifford, in the name of the queen mother, forbade the bishops from proceeding to any definitive sentence.

On this occasion Wickliff delivered a written statement of his opinions, which has been unfairly represented as an artful attempt to evade the consequences of his doctrines by apologies and explanations. This is not correct:—many things had been laid to his charge which he knew not; some were utterly false, while other opinions he had not yet maintained. To attempt an explanation of his real views was, therefore, a proof of ingenuousness rather than of artifice; and it is by no means certain that this document has come down to us without mutilation from his enemies. Yet, if the whole be attended to, and

allowance be made for the scholastic forms of argument, from which Wickliff had not been emancipated, his statements will not be considered as evasive. These articles are given at length by Lewis, from Walsingham, and are fully abstracted by Vaughan. If the reader finds less distinct reference than he expected to the great truths of the Christian faith, he must not be surprised. In controversy, the Romish church has usually kept these all important subjects out of sight; or rather they are admitted in form, while in effect they are denied. The points controverted with Wickliff chiefly related to the authority of the pope and the powers of the priesthood; the doctrine of transubstantiation was the great subject of inquiry in the sixteenth century. Few, excepting Luther and Fox, succeeded in bringing their opponents into direct discussion upon the point which in fact was the main subject at issue, namely, whether salvation was to be obtained only by faith in Christ, or whether other mediators and means of remission of sin were to be looked to. Of Wickliff's explanations it will suffice to say, that so far from having made decided statements, and retracted them by subsequent explanations, he repeated in his subsequent treatises the sentiments deemed most obnoxious, while he ever professed his readiness to retract, if his conclusions were proved to be opposed to the faith.*

The papal authority at this time suffered from other causes in addition to the attacks of the advocates of reformation. On the death of pope Gregory XI. in March 1378, a schism took place which exhibited the church of Rome with two, and sometimes with three different heads at the same time; each pretending to infallibility, and all denouncing curses against their opponents, in most awful terms. † To the death of Gregory XI. and these distractions, the escape of Wickliff from the vengeance of the clergy, may partly be attributed. The general feeling of the necessity for reformation was also promoted, and Wickliff was not wanting in exertions to expose the vain and wicked pretensions of these unchristian pretenders to infallibility. In a tract entitled, "On the schism of the popes," he made a direct attack upon the papal usurpations.

Amidst these labours and persecutions Wickliff was assailed by sickness. While at Oxford he was confined to his chamber, and reports of his approaching dissolution were circulated. The mendicants considered this to be a favourable opportunity for

* Vaughan has shown that the writings in which Wickliff used more decided expressions against the papacy, were not written till *after* this period. This is important, as proving that Wickliff did not resort to equivocation or evasion, but that, like Luther, his views became clearer as his opinions were called in question. "Rome was not denounced as antichrist till Rome had become his prosecutor."

† Platina, the Romish historian, says, "In the time of Urban VI. arose the 22d (or 26th) schism, of all schisms the worst, and the most puzzling. For it was so intricate that not even the most learned and conscientious were able to decide to which of the pretenders they were to adhere, and it continued to the time of Martin V." (more than forty years.)

obtaining a recantation of his declarations against them. Perhaps they concluded that the sick-bed of Wickliff would resemble many others they had witnessed, and that their power would be there felt and acknowledged. A doctor from each of the privileged orders of beggars, attended by some of the civil authorities of the city, entered the chamber of Wickliff. They at first expressed sympathy for his sufferings, with hopes for his recovery. They then suggested that he must be aware of the wrongs the mendicants had experienced from him, especially by his sermons, and other writings; as death now appeared at hand, they concluded that he must have feelings of compunction on this account; therefore they expressed their hope that he would not conceal his penitence, but distinctly recall whatever he had hitherto said against them.

The suffering reformer listened to this address unmoved. When it was concluded, he made signs for his attendants to raise him in his bed, then fixing his eyes on the mendicants, he summoned all his remaining strength, and loudly exclaimed, "I shall not die, but live, and shall again declare the evil deeds of the friars." The appalled doctors, with their attendants, hurried from the room, and they speedily found the prediction fulfilled. The scene would afford a striking subject for an able artist.

While Wickliff strongly censured the fabulous legends and crafty delusions practised by these orders, he by no means neglected the means of usefulness they so much misapplied. He was not less distinguished as a preacher, than as a theologian or a controversialist. Milton well speaks of Wickliff's preaching, as a saving light at which succeeding reformers effectually lighted their tapers.

Nearly three hundred of his sermons have escaped the destruction to which his writings were subjected. The plain simplicity of their language and style show that he was not less fitted for the humble, yet important station, of a village pastor, than for the office of ambassador to the pope, or to consider matters of state referred to him by the highest authorities of the land. That he was an active preacher is evident, and there can be no doubt but that he discharged the other duties of his function according to what he has himself pointed out to be the duty of the Christian man, "to visit those who are sick, or who are in trouble, especially those whom God hath made needy by age, or by other sickness, as the feeble, the blind, and the lame, who are in poverty. These thou shalt relieve with thy goods after thy power, and after their need, for thus biddeth the gospel." Upon the importance of preaching, in all ages of the church, it is unnecessary to enlarge, but certainly it was peculiarly important in those times, when little but oral instruction could be imparted, and the invention of printing was unknown.

Wickliff's sermons are seldom to be considered as essays upon particular subjects; frequently they are only sketches, or heads of his discourses, but they are almost invariably what were then

called *postills*—discourses founded upon passages of scripture, the various parts of which are considered in succession. This method was most usual, both in the primitive church and among the reformers who followed Wickliff. In general, the discourses are founded upon the gospel, the epistle, or the lesson for the day, and are supposed to have been delivered at Lutterworth, during the eight years he was rector of that place. They are strictly of a popular character, as will be seen by the specimens in the present volume. In one of these discourses he speaks of the labours of Christ and his apostles as teachers. They are touched upon in a manner which shows that he recommended similar proceedings in the times in which he lived, and the testimonies of historians inform us that the teachers among the Lollards went about in this manner, testifying of the things of the kingdom of heaven. He says, “The gospel telleth us the duty which falls to all the disciples of Christ, and also telleth us how priests, both high and low, should occupy themselves in the church of God and in serving him. And first, Jesus himself did indeed the lessons which he taught. The gospel relates how Jesus went about in the places of the country, both great and small, as in cities and castles, or small towns, and this to teach us to profit generally unto men, and not to forbear to preach to a people because they are few, and our name may not, in consequence, be great. For we should labour for God, and from him hope for our reward. There is no doubt that Christ went into small uplandish towns, as to Bethphage, and Cana in Galilee; for Christ went to all those places where he wished to do good. And he laboured not thus for gain, for he was not smitten either with pride or with covetousness.” In another discourse he says, “It was ever the manner of Jesus to speak the words of God, wherever he knew that they would be profitable to others who heard them: and hence Christ often preached, now at meat, and now at supper, and indeed at whatever time it was convenient for others to hear him.”

Another still more important labour of Wickliff claims our attention—his translation of the scriptures into the English tongue, which occupied him for many years. It was completed in 1383. The first honour of this great undertaking clearly belongs to Wickliff, and no event recorded in the annals of our land can be compared with it for importance. The attempts made by others had neither been numerous nor extensive. They were only versions of the psalms and some other portions of sacred writ, and detract not from the labour or merit of Wickliff's performance.* A well-known passage from the historical work of Knighton, a canon of Leicester, the contemporary of Wickliff, contains evidence upon this subject too decisive not to be repeated here. He says, “Christ delivered his gospel to the

* The Rev. H. Baber's account of the English and Saxon versions of the scriptures, contains much valuable information upon this subject.

clergy and doctors of the church, that they might administer to the laity and to weaker persons, according to the state of the times, and the wants of man. But this master John Wickliff translated it out of Latin into English, and thus laid it more open to the laity, and to women who can read, than it formerly had been to the most learned of the clergy, even to those of them who had the best understanding. And in this way the gospel pearl is cast abroad, and trodden under foot of swine, and that which was before precious both to clergy and laity, is rendered as it were the common jest of both! The jewel of the church is turned into the sport of the people, and what was hitherto the principal gift of the clergy and divines, is made for ever common to the laity."

The cautious English historian of modern Romanists expresses the same opinion as Knighton, though in more guarded language. He says, "Wickliff made a new translation, (of the scriptures,) multiplied the copies with the aid of transcribers, and by his 'poor priests,' recommended it to the perusal of their hearers. In their hands it became an engine of wonderful power. Men were flattered by the appeal to their private judgment; the new doctrines insensibly acquired partisans and protectors in the higher classes, who alone were acquainted with the use of letters; a spirit of inquiry was generated, and the seeds were sown of that religious revolution, which in little more than a century astonished and convulsed the nations of Europe."

In conformity to these apprehensions, the advocates of the church of Rome have ever denounced, in terms more or less measured, all attempts to communicate to the people in their own tongues, the wonderful works of God for the salvation of a guilty world. The diffusion of this light and knowledge, they well know, will certainly bring the fabric of ecclesiastical domination to the dust, and therefore the church of Rome has **EVER** objected to allow free perusal of the scriptures to the laity.

But a spirit of inquiry had been awakened, and Wickliff well knew that no method could be devised so effectual for making men wise unto salvation, as to supply them with the scriptures. What assistance he had in this work is not known, but it is evident that copies were multiplied with a rapidity which we can hardly appreciate at the present day.

From the register of Alnwick, bishop of Norwich, in 1429, it appears that the cost of a testament of Wickliff's version, was 2*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* (equal to more than 20*l.* of our present money.) At that time five pounds were considered a sufficient allowance for the annual maintenance of a tradesman, yeoman, or a curate. In the persecution under bishop Longland, in 1521, when severe penalties, perhaps death, followed the merely possessing such a work, the accusation against one man was his having paid

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twenty shillings for a bible in English, probably only some detached books.

This translation was made from the Latin vulgate. Scarcely any persons then were acquainted with the original languages of the scriptures. Wickliff took considerable pains to collect copies, and procured as correct a text as possible for his version.

The circulation of the English scriptures was so offensive to the clergy, that in 1390 the prelates brought forward a bill in the house of lords, for suppressing Wickliff's translations. The duke of Lancaster is said to have interfered on this occasion, boldly declaring, "We will not be the dregs of all, seeing that other nations have the law of God, which is the law of our faith, written in their own language." He added that he would maintain our having the divine law in our own tongue, against those, whoever they should be, who first brought in the bill. The duke being seconded by others, the bill was thrown out. Three years previously, in 1387, a severe statute had been revived at Oxford, which is thus described in a prologue for the English bible, written by one of Wickliff's followers: "Alas, the greatest abomination that ever was heard among Christian clerks is now purposed in England by worldly clerks and feigned religious, and in the chief university of our realm, as many true men tell with great wailing. This horrible and devilish cursedness is purposed of Christ's enemies, and traitors of all Christian people, that no man shall learn divinity, or holy writ, but he that hath done his form in art, that is, who hath commenced in arts, and hath been regent two years after. Thus it would be nine or ten years before he might learn holy writ."

The subsequent and more successful endeavours of the Romish clergy to prevent the circulation of the English scriptures will be noticed in the account of the followers of Wickliff.

In 1381, the troubles broke out among the commons, known as the insurrections of Wat Tyler and others. A very slight acquaintance with the history of England sufficiently explains the causes of these tumultuary proceedings, which were wholly unconnected with the doctrines or labours of Wickliff, who in his writings strongly urged the due subordination of different ranks of men. Nor should it be forgotten that tumults of a far more sanguinary description, and marked by deeper atrocities, had about this period raged in France and Flanders, where the doctrines of our reformer were unknown. Froissart, a contemporary historian, attributes the proceedings of the English insurgents to the example set them on the continent. Other atrocious deeds, perpetrated as national acts in neighbouring countries; within our own recollection, might be referred to, were it at all needful to show that tumults and rebellions are not the results of opposition to popery; * but it ever has been a favourite plan

Vaughan has examined this subject very fully. He relates several instances of tumultuary insurrections evidently proceeding from the fan-

of that church, to endeavour dexterously to fasten upon its adversaries the blame which properly appertains to itself.

Wickliff's opposition to the dogma of transubstantiation is now to be noticed. This doctrine was first openly maintained in the west, by Radbert, a French monk in the ninth century, but it was not fully sanctioned by the church of Rome till the third Lateran council, under Innocent III. in 1215. So doubtful had the popes been at first respecting this doctrine, that one of them feigned a revelation from the virgin in opposition to it.

One of the Saxon homilies thus states the doctrine held by the early English church upon this subject: "Much (difference) is between the body Christ suffered in, and the body hallowed to housell, (the sacrament;) this latter being only his spiritual body gathered of many corns, without blood or bone, without limb, without soul; and therefore nothing is to be understood therein bodily, but all is to be spiritually understood."

Transubstantiation was not held by the Anglo-Saxon church, but had been introduced after the Norman conquest, by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. Wickliff had touched upon this subject in some of his treatises, the most popular of which, his "*Wicket*," forms a part of the present volume, but he brought his views forward with increased activity in his divinity lectures during the spring of 1381, when he published a series of conclusions in which he called the attention of members of the university to the subject. In these he stated that "the consecrated host, which we see upon the altar, is neither Christ nor any part of him, but an effectual sign of him." On these conclusions Wickliff offered to dispute publicly.

In his *Triologus*, (lib. iv. ch. 7.) Wickliff represents Satan as reasoning thus respecting transubstantiation. "Should I once so far beguile the faithful of the church, by the aid of antichrist my vicegerent, as to persuade them to deny that this sacrament is bread, and to induce them to regard it merely as an accident; there will be nothing then which I may not bring them to receive, since there can be nothing more opposite to the scriptures or to common discernment. Let the life of a prelate then be what it may, let him be guilty of luxury, simony, or murder, the people may be led to believe that really he is no such man; nay, they may then be persuaded to admit, that the pope is in-

ticism of popery. The real cause of the tumults in England, probably, was rightly stated by the parliament: "These injuries, lately done to the poorer commons, more than they ever suffered before, caused them to rise and to commit the mischief done in the late riot."

The Romish ecclesiastics also were guilty of considerable oppression. Wickliff in one of his tracts complains that, "Where in many abbeyes should be, and sometimes were, great houses to harbour poor men therein, now they are fallen down, or made swine cotes, stables, or bark houses; and the abbots make costly feasts, waste many goods on lords and rich men, suffering poor men to starve, and perish for hunger and other mischiefs." Lewis adds, "So far were the religious at that time from relieving all the poor of the nation at their gates."

fallible, at least with respect to the matters of Christian faith, and that, inasmuch as he is known by the name of Most Holy Father, he is of course free from sin." How completely had the powerful mind of Wickliff discerned the dreadful consequences of this monstrous doctrine, which represents a piece of bread as containing the flesh and blood, and even the soul and divine nature of our blessed Lord!

A convention of Romish doctors speedily assembled; the doctrines of Wickliff were condemned, as may easily be supposed. Sentences of excommunication and imprisonment were fulminated against all members of the university who should teach his tenets, or even be convicted of listening to arguments in defence of them.

This assembly was held in private; its determination was communicated to Wickliff while engaged in lecturing his pupils. He paused for a moment, and then again challenged his opponents to a fair discussion of the subject; declaring that if attempts were made to silence him by force, he would appeal to the king for protection.

Courtney, who had been recently appointed archbishop of Canterbury, in May, 1382, called a synod to consider respecting certain strange and dangerous opinions then widely diffused, among both the nobility and the commons of England. His well-known hatred to Wickliff sufficiently indicated the objects in view. The synod was held at the Grey Friars, in London. It had scarcely assembled when the city was shaken by an earthquake, which the members interpreted as evidence of the divine displeasure at the objects for which they were then collected. But Courtney was not a slave to superstitious fears; "he comforted them by putting them in mind that they should not be slothful in the cause of the church, that the earthquake in reality portended a cleansing of the kingdom from heresies. For as air and noxious spirits are shut up in the bowels of the earth, which are expelled in an earthquake, and so the earth is cleansed, but not without great violence, so there were many heresies shut up in the hearts of reprobate men, but by the condemnation of them the kingdom has been cleared, but not without irksomeness and great commotion."

The assembled divines were thus reassured, and the conclusions imputed to Wickliff were condemned as erroneous and heretical. The sentence denounced against all who should hold, preach, or defend his tenets, was promulgated with the usual solemnities, and addressed to all places subject to the see of Canterbury. These fulminations were communicated to the university of Oxford, but the chancellor and many of its leading members were attached to the reformer, and the public discourse before the university highly commended the character and doctrines of Wickliff.

The state of public affairs strengthened the efforts of the clergy; a few months before, they had procured the enactment

of a law by the parliament, which provided for the punishment of those who preached what the ecclesiastics denominated heresy. The preamble of the statute evidently refers to the labours of the followers of Wickliff, and to the promulgation of such doctrines as he advanced. They were extensively diffused; a contemporary historian represents every second person in the kingdom as infected with his heresies, and in Wickliff's confession respecting the sacrament, he implies that a third part of the clergy held similar opinions.

The statute sets forth, that divers evil persons went from county to county, and town to town, in certain habits, under dissimulation of great holiness, without license of the ordinaries or other authorities, preaching daily, not only in churches and church-yards, but also in markets, fairs, and other open places, where great congregations were assembled, divers sermons containing heresies and notorious errors, &c. &c. It was therefore enacted, that all such preachers, and also their favourers, maintainers, and abettors, should be "arrested, and held in strong prison," till they "justify themselves according to the law and reason of holy church," before the prelates.

This law was passed by the lords, but never had the assent of the commons, so that in reality it was both informal and invalid. In the following October it was revoked and laid aside; but the archbishop procured letters patent from the king, whereby he and his suffragans were authorized to detain all such offenders in their own prisons, and by the artifices of the prelate, the act of repeal was suppressed. This was the commencement of a series of bloody enactments, whereby the consciences of Englishmen were enthralled, and the best and holiest characters of the land were subjected to the severest persecution and most horrible cruelties. No traces of such laws appear previously on our statute book, and these notoriously emanated from the Romish priesthood, on feeling their craft to be in danger. It is evident that they proceeded not from the peculiar opinions of that day, or the maxims of state policy then prevalent, but entirely from the fiend-like desire of the popish ecclesiastics to persecute for conscience sake.

Courtney having arranged his machinery for persecution, summoned Rigge, the chancellor of Oxford, and Brightwell, one of his doctors, to answer for their late conduct respecting Hereford and Rippington, who had advocated the cause of Wickliff. After some hesitation, they were induced to assent to the articles lately sanctioned by the synod. The chancellor was enjoined to search for Wickliff, Hereford, Rippington, Ashton, and Redman, and by ecclesiastical censures, and canonical penalties to compel them to abjure. Meanwhile, the archbishop proceeded in his prosecution of Hereford and Ashton; the former had assisted Wickliff in his translation of the scriptures, the latter was well known throughout the kingdom as a laborious and successful preacher of the gospel.

Wickliff then resided at Lutterworth. In one of his *sermons* he refers to these persecutions. Speaking of Courtney as "the great bishop of England, who is incensed because God's law is written in English to unlearned men," he adds, "He pursueth a certain priest because he writeth to men this English, and summoneth him, and travaileth him, so that it is hard for him to bear it. And thus he pursueth another priest, by the help of pharisees, because he preacheth Christ's gospel freely, without fables." Hereford appears to have escaped from the "bitterness of death," probably through the influence of the duke of Lancaster, but he, outwardly at least, reconciled himself to his opponents, as he was among the clergy who, in 1391, sat in judgment upon one of the Lollards, named Walter Brute, though he still retained an attachment to the doctrines of Wickliff. Rippington acted in a similar manner, but Ashton died as he had lived, a follower of the truth, before the clergy had proceeded so far as openly to bring the Lollards to the stake. The accounts respecting these men, however, are contradictory, and their enemies appear to have attributed to them greater concessions than they really made, a practice not unfrequent with the church of Rome. Some further particulars respecting them will be found in another part of this work.

The conduct of the clergy, and the means they had recourse to, are thus described by Wickliff in one of his discourses at this period. "Our high priests and our religious fear them, lest God's law, after all they have done, should be quickened. Therefore make they statutes stable as a rock, and they obtain grace (favour) of knights to confirm them, and this they mark well with the witness of lords, and all lest the truth of God's law should break out to the knowing of the common people. Well I know, that knights have taken gold in this case, to help that thy law may be thus hid, and thine ordinances consumed."

Wickliff saw the storm gathering fast, while increasing age and infirmities rendered him less able to counteract the proceedings of his adversaries. He knew not how soon the blow might be struck. Thus situated, he resolved to appeal to the king and parliament, in the form of a petition. This document contains opinions for which some protestant writers have too hastily been inclined to censure the reformer, without considering the situation in which matters then stood, or the characters whom Wickliff denounced as worldly priests and of the congregation of Satan.

The proceedings against Wickliff are not very clearly stated; but it appears that in 1382, a council of prelates and clergy was held in the church of the preaching friars at London as already mentioned, and a similar council was afterwards assembled at Oxford, to take measures for remedying certain disorders which were extending rapidly through the whole community. Courtney having made the requisite preparations, Wickliff was summoned to appear, that he might answer for his opinions. The

Romish prelate laid his plans, so as to deprive Wickliff of the support and countenance he had hitherto received. While the nobility opposed the church on points of worldly interest, they gladly encouraged Wickliff in his opposition, though it originated from higher sources than those of a secular nature; but at this critical period, the duke of Lancaster felt that it was his interest to avoid further hostilities with the clergy, and as Courtney had placed the matters at issue on points of doctrine, the duke advised Wickliff to submit to the prelates in all points of that nature. Here human aid failed the reformer, as might be expected. The world may contend upon subjects of a religious nature, when interest is concerned, but not when there is reason to expect only trouble and loss for so doing.

Had Wickliff then shrunk from the contest—had he sacrificed the truth to avoid the risk of encountering his adversaries, there might have been some ground for characterising him as a political reformer, even though the hesitation had proceeded from age and infirmity rather than from any other source. But he shrunk not. The Romish historian Walsingham, who is ever desirous to cast any disgrace he can upon the reformer, represents him as equally withstanding the commands of the duke, and the threats of the primate. He says, that Wickliff in publicly defending his doctrines on the sacrament of the altar, “like an obstinate heretic, refuted all the doctors of the second millenary.”* Wickliff did not consider the doctrine of transubstantiation to be a mere dogma of the schools, he viewed it as a worshipping of the creature more than the Creator, and perceived all its attendant consequences, of setting up will-worship, and other mediators than the Lord Jesus Christ.

The assembly convoked at Oxford, by whom Wickliff's doctrines were condemned, was numerous and eminent for rank and authority. He stood alone in the place where he once had delivered the doctrines of truth to approving auditories, but now he was forsaken. With the apostle Paul he might have said, “At mine answer no man stood with me, but all men forsook me.” With that apostle he experienced that the Lord stood by him, and strengthened him, and he was delivered out of the mouth of the lion. His defence, as we have seen, was such as to demand praise from his adversaries, and his written confessions recapitulated his former views upon the subject. There were two—one in Latin, in which he argued the subject after the scholastic method, the other in English, which he drew up so as to be intelligible to the people.†

Courtney and his associates probably felt at a loss how to act towards the reformer. As yet they had not found any who resisted unto blood, nor had they arrived at the decision with which their successors put the summary requisition, “Turn or burn.”

* The writers subsequent to the first thousand years after Christ.

† For this confession, see p. 46.

They appear at that time to have contented themselves with terminating Wickliff's connexion with the university of Oxford. A mandate from the king was addressed to the vice-chancellor, dated July, 1382, ordering the expulsion of Wickliff and his adherents from the university, within seven days. Probably the increasing age and infirmities of the reformer indicated his speedy removal from this world, and inclined his enemies to suspend more violent and unpopular measures.

The next proceeding was a summons from the pope ordering Wickliff to appear before him at Rome. He was too much afflicted with paralysis to undertake such a journey, even had it been a desirable plan for him to adopt. He addressed a letter to the pope, professing his faith, expressing his willingness to retract any opinions which might be proved to be erroneous, and his hope that personal appearance before the pontiff would not be insisted upon.

Although Wickliff was excluded from Oxford, and age advanced rapidly upon him, he did not cease to labour for the welfare of the souls of men. His translation of the scriptures was completed about this period. The greater part also of his tracts and sermons appear to have been composed during the latter years of his life. They were written out, and circulated with avidity—the numerous copies of his writings yet remaining, show the extent to which they must have been transcribed, especially when we consider that the Romish clergy destroyed not a few.

Among these pieces is an address written against the friars, in which, commenting on the text, "Beware of the leaven of the pharisees which is hypocrisy," Wickliff directs against the followers of St. Francis and St. Dominic of that day, the censures addressed to the pharisees of Judea of old. The reformer's feelings of abhorrence at the proceedings of the mendicants, had been renewed by their activity in behalf of pope Urban against his opponent pope Clement. Each of the popes endeavoured to stimulate his adherents to take up arms against his rival, by the same promises of spiritual blessings, and the same denunciations of divine wrath, as had been used to obtain supporters to the crusades, or military expeditions for the recovery of the holy land from the infidels. These military expeditions were represented as equally meritorious, and were designated by the same title, while all the nefarious practices employed in support of the crusades were employed on the present occasion. The bishop of Norwich raised a considerable army by the bulls of pope Urban, promising full remission of sins, and a place in paradise to all who assisted his cause by money or in person! This military prelate headed his troops, and invaded France, by which kingdom pope Clement was supported. But his campaign was unsuccessful: he returned to England in a few months with the scanty remains of his army, and was the subject of general derision.

Against such proceedings Wickliff spoke boldly. He says, "Christ is a good shepherd, for he puts his own life for the saving of the sheep. But antichrist is a ravening wolf, for he ever does the reverse, putting many thousand lives for his own wretched life. By forsaking things which Christ has bid his priests forsake, he might end all this strife. Why is he not a fiend stained foul with homicide, who, though a priest, fights in such a cause? If manslaying in others be odious to God, much more in priests who should be the vicars of Christ. And I am certain that neither the pope, nor all the men of his council, can produce a spark of reason to prove that he should do this." Wickliff speaks of the two popes, as fighting, one against the other, with the most blasphemous leasings (or falsehoods) that ever sprang out of hell. But "they were occupied," he adds, "many years before in blasphemy, and in sinning against God and his church. And this made them to sin more, as an ambulating blind horse, when he beginneth to stumble, continues to stumble until he casts himself down." Several passages written by Wickliff at this time, express his condemnation of all warfare unless in self-defence, and as sanctioned by the new testament. The scenes of slaughter, cruelty, and profligacy, occasioned by this papal schism, are related by historians.

The danger incurred by Wickliff in his proceedings, now was greater than ever, but he pursued his course with steadfastness to the last. "The language of his conduct" has been well described, as being to this effect; "To live, and to be silent is with me impossible—the guilt of such treason against the Lord of heaven is more to be dreaded than many deaths. Let the blow therefore fall. Enough I know of the men whom I oppose, of the times on which I am thrown, and of the mysterious providence which relates to our sinful race, to expect that the stroke will ere long descend. But my purpose is unalterable; I wait its coming."*

The stroke, however, was stayed; the duke of Lancaster still acted as the patron of Wickliff; the popes were occupied by their mutual contests, the political distractions of England absorbed the attention of all the leading characters, and Wickliff was permitted to pass the short remainder of his days without interruption from the hand of violence. He had also a constant patroness in Anne of Bohemia, queen of Richard II., who was eminent for her piety and blameless conduct. For two years previously to his decease, Wickliff was paralytic, and had the assistance of a curate named Purvey, who partook of his master's sentiments, but he continued himself to officiate. It is said that he was engaged in distributing the bread of the Lord's supper, when seized with the last and fatal attack of paralysis. He was at once deprived of consciousness and the power of speech. After a brief struggle, his spirit left the earth, and

* Vaughan ii. p. 257.

found a joyful refuge in another and a better world. He was taken ill on the 29th, and died on the 31st of December, 1384.

Wickliff was buried in peace, but in the year 1415 the council of Constance ordered his remains to be disinterred, and cast forth from consecrated ground. This was not enforced till 1428, when by command of the pope, forty-four years after his interment, his bones were dug up, and burnt to ashes, which were then cast into the brook hard by. Fox observes, "And so was he resolved into three elements, earth, fire, and water; they thinking thereby to abolish both the name and doctrine of Wickliff for ever. Not much unlike to the example of the old pharisees and sepulchre knights, who when they had brought the Lord to the grave, thought to make him sure never to rise again. But these and all others must know, that as there is no council against the Lord; so there is no keeping down of verity, but it will spring and come out of dust and ashes, as appeared right well in this man. For though they dug up his body, burned his bones, and drowned his ashes, yet the word of God and truth of his doctrine, with the fruit and success thereof they could not burn, which yet TO THIS DAY, for the most part of his articles, do remain, notwithstanding the transitory body and bones of the man was thus consumed and dispersed."

Some further observations on this treatment of the remains of this illustrious reformer, with a brief account of his principal disciples, and a sketch of the measures progressively adopted for the suppression of the truths he had advocated, will be found in another part of the present volume. His writings and the doctrines he taught now claim our attention.

Writings of Wickliff.

Soon after the decease of Wickliff, an English prelate stated that the writings of the reformer were as voluminous as those of Augustine. Those which are still extant, would make several large volumes, and embrace a great variety of subjects. Bale, who wrote a century and a half subsequent to Wickliff's death, states that he had seen more than a hundred and fifty of his works, partly in Latin and partly in English, and that he had ascertained the titles of more than a hundred others. Many of the latter, however, most probably, were only different names for pieces which Bale had seen; for amongst the manuscripts yet existing, the same piece is sometimes designated by more than one title. Lewis has transcribed Bale's catalogue, noticing the pieces he was acquainted with, and adding others which increased the list to nearly three hundred. The catalogue given by Baber is more correct; it is drawn up with much care from

a personal examination of many of the works of Wickliff, and contains about one hundred and eighty articles.

But the list of Wickliff's writings most useful to the general reader, has been compiled by Vaughan, who with much personal labour examined the writings of the reformer yet in existence, and made himself better acquainted with their contents than any other person appears to have done during the last four centuries. It is not difficult to ascertain that the principal works attributed to Wickliff are his genuine productions. Many are expressly mentioned in the public documents intended to suppress his opinions, while others possess sufficient internal evidence.

Printing had not then been discovered, copies could only be increased by the slow process of writing, while his enemies were indefatigable in their endeavours to destroy them, yet the copies were so numerous, and so much valued, that nearly the whole of his writings are still extant—a sufficient proof, if any were wanting, that the doctrines he taught were widely diffused and highly esteemed. Nor was this confined to England; copies are also found in public libraries on the continent. Subinco Lepus, bishop of Prague, burned more than two hundred volumes, many of which were richly adorned, the property of persons of the higher classes in Bohemia. It also appears that the greater part of the writings of Wickliff that have not come down to us, treated of philosophical or scholastic subjects, which would be little prized except by the students of that period, while the copies of Wickliff's writings which remain, seem to have been preserved by the laity. Many of these are large volumes which could not have been written without much labour and cost. We may suppose they were prepared under the direction of some of his powerful supporters, while their plain appearance, contrasted with that of many of the highly adorned volumes written at that period, shows that the contents formed the chief value in the estimation of their possessors, nor do they seem to have been the workmanship of the religious establishments of that day. In one of Wickliff's homilies, he complains of the endeavours of the clergy to prevent the circulation of the English scriptures, and adds, "But one comfort is of knights, that they savour (esteem) much the gospel, and have will to read in English the gospel of Christ's life." Another, and even more interesting class of the Wickliff manuscripts, are the little books written with much less elegance, but which evidently were designed for the solace and instruction of souls, thirsting in secret for the waters of life. The tattered and well used appearance of many of these small volumes, is an indisputable testimony to the correctness of the allegations in the bishop's registers of the next two centuries, as to the manner in which these "pestilent books" were read by the followers of the truth, till, by the invention of printing, copious supplies of other religious tracts were brought forward.

Wickliff's principal work, the translation of the scriptures, has been already noticed. Copies of the whole or of detached portions are found in several public, and in some private libraries. A very beautiful and perfect specimen is preserved in the royal library in the British Museum, (Bib. Reg. I. c. viii.) The new testament has been printed, in 1731 and 1810, but being a literal reprint, in the original orthography, it is only calculated for libraries. Specimens of his version will be found at p. 45. As a work for popular use, Wickliff's bible now is of course wholly superseded by later translations.*

The *Triologus* is the work next in importance. It contains a series of dialogues between three persons, characterised as *Alethia*, or Truth, *Pseudis*, or Falsehood, and *Phronesis*, or Wisdom. Truth represents a sound divine, and states questions; Falsehood urges the objections of an unbeliever; Wisdom decides as a subtle theologian. This work probably contains the substance of Wickliff's divinity lectures, with considerable additions. It embraces almost every doctrine connected with the theology of that day, treated however in the scholastic form then universal. Although very unattractive to modern readers, it was doubtless a useful and important work. As Turner observes, "It was the respected academician, reasoning with the ideas of the reformer." It is evident that Wickliff wrote this work under a decided impression that his efforts for the truth were likely to be crowned with martyrdom. It was printed in 1524. Copies are rare, for this work was actively sought for by the Romanists, and destroyed. A specimen will be found in a subsequent page. The following remark of Baber is but too applicable to the method in which this work is written. "The scholastic theology which was taught at this period, was a species of divinity which obscured the excellence and perverted the utility of that sacred science. By the introduction of this jargon of the schoolmen, philosophical abstraction and subtilty had superseded that unaffected simplicity and engaging plainness, with which the primitive teachers of Christianity explained the doctrines of salvation." Thus, although Wickliff in the *Triologus* vanquished the opponents of the truth with their own weapons, it was not calculated to be a work of general utility like his more popular tracts in the English language. A good summary of the contents of the *Triologus* is given by Vaughan.

Only one other of Wickliff's writings appears to have been printed at the period of the reformation—his *Wicket*, a small treatise on the Lord's supper, which will be found in the present collection. This was among the most influential of his works, as appears from the frequent mention of it in those records of persecution, the bishops' registers.

His treatise, *Of the Truth of Scripture*, is a very valuable

* A prospectus for the printing of Wickliff's version of the old testament has been issued. (1830.)

performance. It is in Latin: only two manuscript copies are known to exist; one in the Bodleian library at Oxford, the other at Trinity College, Dublin. The latter is the preferable copy; and is described as containing two hundred and forty-four large double columned pages, of nearly a thousand words in a page. It would therefore be equal in contents to a common octavo of more than seven hundred pages. It abounds in contractions, but is fairly and legibly written. Fox the martyrologist possessed a copy which he intended to translate and print. Vaughan describes this work as embodying almost every sentiment peculiar to the reformer. James made considerable use of its contents in his apology for Wickliff, but it was neglected by Lewis. An accurate reprint, with a correct translation, would be exceedingly valuable. The extent of this piece wholly precluded insertion in the present collection, even in an abridged form.

Another useful and popular work in its day, was the *Poor Caitiff*. This is a collection of English tracts, which were widely circulated. Several copies of the whole, or of detached portions are in existence, but only a few sentences from its pages have hitherto been printed. This neglect has probably arisen from the little reference it contains to the controversies in which Wickliff was constantly engaged, and to which perhaps an undue prominence has been given by Lewis, and other early biographers. This valuable memorial of the reformation will be found in the present volume.

Many of Wickliff's homilies or postills have been preserved; they appear rather to have been written down by his hearers, than to be finished copies prepared by himself. (See p. 24.)

Wickliff's other writings need not here be mentioned minutely. His Memorial to the King and Parliament, and Objections of Friars, were printed by James. Some of his small tracts have been printed by Lewis and Vaughan, to whose lists of the reformer's writings, particularly the latter, the reader may be referred.*

Most of these smaller pieces are in the British Museum, in the libraries of Trinity college, Dublin, and Trinity college, Cambridge. In the library of Corpus Christi college in the latter university, among the valuable collection of manuscripts the gift of archbishop Parker, is a volume containing many of the controversial pieces. The following note is prefixed: "In this book are gathered together all the sharp treatises concerning the errors and defaults which John Wickliff did find in his time, specially in the clergy and religious, and in other estates of the world." †

* One of Wickliff's tracts, *Why poor priests have no benefices*, is printed in the *History of the Church of Christ*, vol. iv.

† Dr. Lamb, the master of Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, very kindly permitted several of these pieces to be transcribed for the present selection.

At the period when Wickliff wrote, the English language had begun to recover from the disuse into which it had fallen. From the time of the Conquest many French and other foreign words and phrases were introduced by the higher ranks, who chiefly used the French language, but the lower orders adhered more closely to the Saxon phraseology. Mr. Baber observes, "Those of the works of Wickliff, written by him in his vernacular tongue, will be perused with interest and admiration by every one curious in the history of the English language, for Wickliff's English will, I apprehend, be found upon strict examination to be more pure than that of contemporary writers. Wickliff, when he wrote in his native tongue, did it not for the benefit of courtiers and scholars, but for the instruction of the less learned portion of the people. He therefore, as much as possible, rejected all 'strange English,' and was studious to express himself in a diction simple and unadorned; at the same time avoiding the charge of a barbarous and familiar phraseology." The use of English instead of barbarous Latin, in so large a portion of his writings, gave much efficacy to his exertions for the spiritual welfare of his countrymen.

A specimen of Wickliff's writings in their original orthography, will be found in two extracts from his version of the old testament in the following pages. At first they will appear hardly intelligible to the reader unaccustomed to the writings of that day. But on closer examination, it will be found that if the Saxon terminations, expletives, and a few peculiar words are removed, the language is, as it has been well characterised, "undefiled English;" in fact, very similar to the language of our rural districts at the present day. To have printed Wickliff's tracts exactly in the form in which they were written, would have rendered them useless for the purposes of the present collection. It was necessary to remove some of the peculiarities just adverted to, but further the editor had no wish to proceed; and he felt the necessity of retaining the precise words of the original, wherever they would convey the meaning of the reformer to the general reader. How far the attempt has been successful, it is for those to say who may compare the present edition with the original manuscripts; he will only add that it was not an easy task, from the labour and the responsibility incurred.

The pieces included in this volume, which have not hitherto been printed, were copied from the originals expressly for the present collection. Many others were selected for the same purpose, but the limits of the work prevented their insertion.*

It is deeply to be regretted, that a complete edition of Wick-

* The result of this examination enables the writer of these remarks to bear testimony to the value of Vaughan's account of the writings of Wickliff. He would again acknowledge that the present compilation has been much facilitated by the work of Mr. V. as well as by his pointing out some of the pieces which proved most suitable for insertion.

liff's writings never has been printed. Such a monument is due to the illustrious individual to whom we perhaps are indebted more than to any other, for the gospel light and religious liberty we enjoy. Milton says, "A good book is the precious life blood of a master spirit, imbalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life." Surely the writings of Wickliff ought not to be suffered to perish. A much smaller sum than in many instances has been vainly expended in monumental attempts to preserve the remembrance of persons whose names in a few short years have been almost entirely forgotten, would suffice to complete a national memorial record of our great reformer, "more lasting than brass." But, blessed be the Most High, when we look around, in every circumstance which endears to us the protestant faith of our land, we are reminded of JOHN WICKLIFF.

To use the words of Henry Wharton, "Wickliff was a man than whom the Christian world in these last ages has not produced a greater; and who seems to have been placed as much above praise as he is above envy."

Doctrines taught by Wickliff.

The doctrines taught by Wickliff have been continually misrepresented by papists, and often misunderstood by protestants. They may be stated as follows:—

Wickliff's FAITH was derived from the scriptures. He considered them as a divine revelation, containing a sufficient and perfect rule of Christian belief and practice. The authority of scripture he esteemed to be superior to any other writing, or to any tradition. He considered the canonical books alone as inspired. He urged that all truth is contained in scripture, and that no conclusion was to be allowed unless sanctioned by the sacred records.

The pope's authority, or right to interfere in temporal concerns, he wholly rejected, and considered that it was only to be admitted in other respects, when conformable to scripture. He maintained that the pope might err in doctrine as well as in life.

The church of Christ he considered to be the universal congregation of those predestinated to life eternal. The church of Rome he considered not to be superior in authority to any other. He did not allow that the pope was head of the church, and opposed the extravagant authority claimed by the hierarchy, considering it as antichrist, whether usurped by the pope or the clergy at large, while he strongly urged the respect due to consistent and holy ministers of the word. He urged that the

clergy ought not to be accounted lords over God's heritage, but as ministers and stewards of their heavenly Master.

He supported the king's supremacy over all persons, even ecclesiastics, in temporal matters. He never taught any doctrine contrary to the legal rights of property.

He sometimes mentions the sacraments as seven, but only lays stress upon two, baptism and the Lord's supper. Of the others he spoke so lightly, as to be accused by his enemies of rejecting them. His opinion of the Lord's supper is stated in his *Wicket* and his *Confession*. The doctrine of transubstantiation he wholly rejected.

He approved outward worship, and public assembling for that purpose, but condemned the superstitious rites of the Romish church. He disapproved the church music then esteemed, which was elaborate, often trifling, and opposed to devotional feeling.

He admitted the doctrine of purgatory—that early error, but rejected the most corrupt and profitable part of the fable, that the sufferings of purgatory may be shortened by the prayers of men or the intercessions of saints. According to his statements, it was rather the doctrine of an intermediate state, than the popish purgatory, which he condemns as "pious falsehood." As he advanced in life, his views on this subject became more clear and scriptural. (See extract from Dr. James, p. 109). In *Wickliff's tract*, *Of the church of Christ, her members, and her governance*, he says, "The second part of the church are saints in purgatory, and these sin not anew, but purge their old sins; and many errors are fallen in praying for these saints. And since they are all dead in body, Christ's words may be taken of them, Let us follow Christ in our life, and let the dead bury the dead." This widely differs from the doctrine of the church of Rome, thus determined by the council of Trent; "The souls detained in purgatory are assisted by the suffrages (prayers) of the faithful, and most especially by the acceptable sacrifice of the altar."

He allowed the memory of the saints to be honoured, but only that men might be excited to imitate their example, not as objects of worship. He denied the efficacy of their mediation, asserting that the Lord Jesus Christ is the only Mediator. Pilgrimages he wholly disapproved, and the worship of images he frequently condemns.

The doctrines of papal indulgences and pardons he condemned in the strongest terms, as encouragements to sin. He also objected to sanctuaries, as affording impunity to crime. He held that absolution or forgiveness of sins belonged to God only. He condemned the celibacy imposed by the church of Rome upon its clergy. His opinions respecting the papacy are stated at p. 184.

Wickliff is accused of wishing to deprive the church of its property, by what he has said upon the subject of tithes. His

views were simply these. It is reasonable that the priest should have a suitable provision, besides the mere necessities of food and raiment. He allowed that dymes (or tythes) and offerings are God's part, and that priests should live on them, but he urges "that the principal cause for which tythes and offerings should be paid, was curates teaching their parishioners in word and examples." When, however, the curates were wicked and neglected their duty, he considered that the tythes might be withheld from them, though they ought to be devoted to the service of God. It should not be forgotten, that the priesthood then taught that men should have the divine blessing in this life, and heaven hereafter, if they duly paid their tythes and offerings. The reader who wishes a fuller account of Wickliff's opinions upon this subject may refer to his biographers.*

He condemned the blasphemous adjurations then so common: this has occasioned his being misrepresented as asserting that judicial oaths were unlawful, whereas he expressly declares that it is lawful to make oath by God Almighty in a needful case.

Of the election of grace he thus speaks in his *Trialogus*: "We are predestinated, that we may obtain divine acceptance, and become holy; having received that grace through Christ's taking human nature, whereby we are rendered finally pleasing to God. And it appears that this grace, which is called the grace of predestination, or the charity of final perseverance, cannot by any means fail."

On the great doctrines of Justification and Merit, Dr. James quotes passages, which prove Wickliff to have taught "That faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, is sufficient for salvation, and that without faith it is impossible to please God; that the merit of Christ is able, by itself, to redeem all mankind from hell, and that this sufficiency is to be understood without any other cause concurring; he persuaded men therefore to trust wholly to Christ, to rely altogether upon his sufferings, not to seek to be justified but by his righteousness; and that by participation in his righteousness, all men are righteous." Dr. James adds, "In the doctrine of merits, Wickliff was neither pelagian nor papist; he beateth down all these proud pharisees, who say that God did not all for them but think that their merits help. Wickliff says, 'Heal us, Lord, for nought; that is, no merit of ours; but for thy mercy, Lord, not to our merits, but to thy mercy, give thy joy. Give us grace to know that all thy gifts are of thy goodness. Our flesh, though it seem holy, yet it is

* The reader would also do well to examine the disputations of Huss upon this subject, in the university of Prague. (See Fox.) What was said of Luther by Erasmus, may also be applied to Wickliff as the great cause of the vehement opposition he experienced; "He touched the pope on the crown, and the monks on the belly." The English reformer perhaps went further than the German in the latter respect.

not holy. We all are originally sinners, as Adam, and in Adam; his leprosy cleaveth faster to us than Naaman's did to Gehazi. For according to his teaching, we all are sinners, not only from our birth, but before, so that we cannot so much as think a good thought unless Jesus the Angel of great counsel send it; nor perform a good work unless it be properly his good work. His mercy comes before us that we receive grace, and followeth us, helping us, and keeping us in grace. So then it is not good for us to trust in our merits, in our virtues, in our righteousness, but to conclude this point, good it is only to trust in God.' "

The foregoing summary of doctrines taught by Wickliff, is taken from the statements of Baber, Vaughan, James, and Lewis, who quote passages confirmatory of every point. In their works the reader will find those references; the limits of these pages do not allow them to be inserted here in any form which could be useful. The reader should also again be reminded that he must not expect to find all these opinions clearly set forth in every part of Wickliff's writings. Dr. James, speaking of the countenance some passages give to prayer to saints and the virgin, observes, "I am persuaded that he retracted these opinions in his latter and more learned works. If ever it be God's pleasure that his works, which were cut and mangled, and scattered worse than Absyrtus' limbs were in the poet, may be brought forth and set together again, that we may have the whole body of his learned and religious works, and be able to distinguish the time and order wherein he wrote, then, I say, we should receive due satisfaction on this point." Vaughan has done much to settle the dates of Wickliff's writings, and has thereby shown his gradual and satisfactory progress on several points.

We must not expect to find in Wickliff's writings a finished system of doctrine. Many of his statements taken separately perhaps will appear incorrect, but take them as a *whole*, and we shall be convinced that he well merited his glorious title, "The gospel doctor." For the variations which exist, as Dr. James observes, "considering the times wherein, and the persons with whom he lived, he may easily obtain pardon of any impartial reader. H. Wharton justly observes, these variations do not detract from him; they show that his opposition to Romish errors was directed by a matured judgment; and that he should not detect them all at once cannot be matter of surprise.

Vaughan also has ably cleared the reformer from the charge of inconsistency, or wavering; he has "fairly vindicated Wycliffe from the long reiterated accusation of having concealed his opinions to escape the terrors of power."

Upon the great and leading doctrine of the Christian faith, Vaughan well observes, that Melancthon could have known but little of Wickliff's theological productions when he described him as "ignorant of the righteousness of faith." He adds, "If

by that doctrine Melancthon meant a reliance on the atonement of Christ, as the only, and the certain medium for the guilty, it is unquestionable that this truth was the favourite, and the most efficient article in the faith of the English, as well as in that of the German reformer. It must be acknowledged that this tenet is more frequently adverted to in the writings of Luther, than in those of Wycliffe; and his notices respecting it, are also frequently more definite, because distinguishing more commonly between the acceptance of offenders in virtue of the Saviour's death, and the growth of devout affections in the heart, under the influence of the divine Spirit. But that such was the design of the Redeemer's sacrifice, was not more distinctly apprehended by the professor of Wittemberg, than by the rector of Lutterworth; nor was this truth the source of a more permanent confidence with the one than with the other."

In the history of the reformation, there are perhaps no two characters more nearly allied than Wickliff and Luther. Both looked to the holy scriptures as the standard of truth: for human instruction each learned much from the writings of Augustine. The boldness of the German professor was perhaps manifested at an earlier period of life, and the situation in which he was placed more favourable to the permanency of the work wherein he was called to labour; but Wickliff's sun shone brightest when setting, and the decided manner in which he rejected the errors of popery respecting the sacrament, while Luther never was wholly freed from their fatal influence, directed the efforts of his followers with undivided attention against the church of Rome. Thus, when the doctrines of the gospel, as taught by the German reformers, were made known in England, the soil was found well prepared. Many among the lower and middle classes were informed on these points, and already had received the truth. The bishops' registers prove how extensive were the results of Wickliff's labours. The records of bishop Longland's persecutions in 1521, (see Fox) show their effect was not evanescent.

This sketch of the life of Wickliff may be closed with "The public testimony given by the university of Oxford, touching the commendation of his great learning and good life."

"Unto all and singular the children of our holy mother the church, to whom this present letter shall come, the vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford, with the whole congregation of the masters, wish perpetual health in the Lord. Forsomuch as it is not commonly seen, that the acts and monuments of valiant men, nor the praise and merits of good men should be passed over and hidden with perpetual silence, but that true report and fame should continually spread abroad the same in strange and far distant places, both for the witness of the same, and example of others—forsomuch also as the provident discretion of man's nature being recompensed with cruelty, hath de-

vised and ordained this buckler and defence against such as do blaspheme and slander other men's doings, that whensoever witness by word of mouth cannot be present, the pen by writing may supply the same.—

“Hereupon it followeth, that the special good will and care which we bare unto John Wickliff, sometime child of this our university, and professor of divinity, moving and stirring our minds, as his manners and conditions required no less, with one mind, voice, and testimony, we do witness, all his conditions and doings throughout his whole life to have been most sincere and commendable; whose honest manners and conditions, profoundness of learning, and most redolent renown and fame, we desire the more earnestly to be notified and known unto all faithful, for that we understand the maturity and ripeness of his conversation, his diligent labours and travels to tend to the praise of God, the help and safeguard of others, and the profit of the church.

“Wherefore, we signify unto you by these presents, that his conversation, even from his youth upward, unto the time of his death, was so praiseworthy and honest, that never at any time was there any note or spot of suspicion noised of him. But in his answering, reading, preaching, and determining, he behaved himself laudably, and as a stout and valiant champion of the faith; vanquishing, by the force of the scriptures, all such, who by their wilful beggary blasphemed and slandered Christ's religion. Neither was this doctor convict of any heresy, either burned of our prelates after his burial. God forbid that our prelates should have condemned a man of such honesty, for a heretic; who, amongst all the rest of the university, hath written in logic, philosophy, divinity, morality, and the speculative art, without equal. The knowledge of all which and singular things we do desire to testify and deliver forth; to the intent that the fame and renown of the said doctor may be the more evident, and had in reputation, amongst them unto whose hands these present letters testimonial shall come.

“In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters testimonial to be sealed with our common seal. Dated at Oxford, in our congregation-house, October 1st, 1406.”*

* The Romanists, according to their usual practice, have endeavoured to represent this testimony as a forgery. Lewis has fully examined the subject, and has shown there is no reason to doubt that it was the recorded opinion of a considerable part, at least, of the members of the university. The public brand of heresy was not affixed to Wickliff's character till his bones were burned in 1428.

THE DISCIPLES OF WICKLIFF.

THE appellation of Lollard was early given to the followers of Wickliff. There are various opinions respecting the origin of this name, but that of Mosheim appears the most probable. He considers that it was derived from a German word, *lollen*; signifying to sing with a low voice. It originated upon the continent, and from the middle of the eleventh century was applied to persons distinguished for their piety: they were generally remarkable for devotional singing.

The number of Wickliff's disciples at the time of his decease is described by Knighton, a canon of Leicester, his contemporary.* He says, "The number of those who believed in Wickliff's doctrine very much increased, and were multiplied like suckers growing from the root of a tree. They every where filled the kingdom; so that a man could scarcely meet two people on the road but one of them was a disciple of Wickliff." Knighton also says, "They so prevailed by their laborious urging of their doctrines, that they gained over the half of the people, or a still greater proportion, to their sect. Some embraced their doctrines heartily, others they compelled to join them from fear or shame." In another place he accuses them of causing divisions in families—the followers of the truth ever have been opposed by "parents, and brethren, and kinsfolk, and friends." The testimony of Knighton is valuable. It is the evidence of an enemy who fails in bringing forward any just cause of accusation. That a people so persecuted could compel others to belong to them, is a charge too improbable to need refutation.

In reality, the followers of the Reformer were of two classes. The first included those who felt disgust at the usurpations of the popedom, and the vices of the Romish priesthood, while they cared little for the doctrinal errors of that church, though they could not but perceive their opposition to scripture, and even to common sense. When we remember the conflicts in which the king and parliament of England had been engaged with the papacy during many years, and the impunity with which ecclesiastics were allowed to pursue their profligate courses, we may well suppose that a large portion of the community entertained the sentiments just

described; so that Knighton's statement of every second person in the kingdom being a disciple of Wickliff, may scarcely have been an exaggeration when so understood.

But there was another class whose attachment to the doctrines of the Reformer was of a more spiritual nature; who felt the evil of sin, and desired to live holy unto God: these were far less numerous. They are described by Reinher, an inquisitor of those times. He says, "The disciples of Wickliff are men of a serious, modest deportment; they avoid all ostentation in dress, mix little with the busy world, and complain of the debauchery of mankind. They maintain themselves entirely by their own labour, despising wealth, being fully content with mere necessaries. They follow no traffic, because it is attended with so much lying, swearing, and cheating. They are chaste and temperate, never seen in taverns, nor amused by vain pleasures. You find them always employed, either learning or teaching. They are concise and devout in their prayers, blaming lifeless tediousness. They never swear, they speak little; in public preaching they lay the chief stress upon charity. They disregard the canonical hours, saying that the Lord's prayer repeated with devotion is better than tedious hours (Romish services) without devotion. They explain the scriptures differently from the interpretations of the holy doctors and church of Rome. They speak little, and with humility; they are well behaved in appearance."

The writings of Wickliff fully demonstrate that he wished his followers to be such as the Romish inquisitor describes them. The nominal followers of Wickliff, those who merely opposed the outward errors of the papacy, will not require our particular notice, although they left many valuable testimonies against the errors of popery, and some in favour of the Lollards. In this number may be included the poets, Chaucer and Gower. Langland, the author of the bold reproofs on the vices of ecclesiastics, contained in the Visions of Piers Plowman, also wrote during the early life of Wickliff.

Among those actuated by higher motives, there were many individuals of rank and influence, who although not separated from the world to the extent above described, yet were sufficiently decided to incur censure from the Roman ecclesiastics. The high rank of one, however, prevented this so far as regarded herself. Ann of Bohemia, the consort of Richard II., evidenced her attachment to the scriptures, copies of which she possessed, and constantly studied. Even the Romish prelate Arundel speaks of her piety and knowledge of the bible, as reflecting shame upon the ignorance of many ecclesiastics. She interfered in behalf of Wickliff; and to the intercourse established between England and her native land, as means, may be ascribed the progress of the gospel in Bohemia, with the subsequent opposition to the errors of popery in that country. The history of the reformation in Bohemia, and the

affecting narratives respecting the Waldenses at this period, should be perused in connection with the accounts of the English Lollards.

Fox, Lewis, and others, mention sir Thomas Latimer, sir Lewis Clifford, the queen mother, John of Gaunt, lord Henry Percy, sir John Montague, the earl of Salisbury, and others, among the protectors of the Lollards, apparently upon principle. But LORD COBHAM was the most illustrious in this respect among the British nobility. He laid down his life for the truth. The particulars of his history are given in the following pages. John of Northampton, mayor of London, in 1382, and the following year, was characterised as a Lollard on account of his bold proceedings against persons of wicked life. The terms of reproach applied to the inhabitants of London, on account of the proceedings of their mayor, show that the principles of Wickliff had made considerable progress in the chief city of the land.

Some other adherents of Wickliff claim more distinct notice. Their history presents many interesting particulars of that period. NICHOLAS HEREFORD was of Queen's college, Oxford. He was included in some of the proceedings against the Reformer, both at Oxford and in London. The accounts given of him are inconsistent and confused. This is not surprising, as almost the only particulars we possess are given by Romish writers. It appears that he went to Rome, and there defended his opinions in the presence of the pope, by whom he was imprisoned. Being liberated by a popular tumult, he returned to England, where he was imprisoned by the archbishop of Canterbury. From the statement of Thorpe, he seems to have submitted to the church of Rome. Hereford is supposed to have assisted Wickliff in the translation of the scriptures. He was one of the most learned of the followers of the Reformer, but did not possess firmness or consistency. He sat among the clergy who passed judgment, in 1391, upon Walter Brute, and yet, in the following year, he again needed and obtained the royal protection against his enemies.

JOHN ASHTON was also included in the proceedings against the Reformer. He was a zealous preacher. Knighton describes him, as "travelling on foot, with a staff in his hand, visiting the churches throughout the kingdom." His vigilance is thus characterised, "He was like a dog raised from sleep, ready to bark at every noise, and as expeditious in passing from one place to another, as if he had been a bee; full of arguments, ready to dogmatize or spread his opinions. He boldly, to the utmost of his power, declared the doctrines of his master Wickliff at the tables of sinful hearts, that he might increase his sect. Nor was he contented with the enticing conclusions of his master, nor ashamed out of his own novel, subtle invention, to add many others, sowing tares among the wheat wherever he

preached." Ashton's fate is uncertain, but it would appear that he retained his profession of the faith, while by some concession he was permitted to resume his scholastic engagements. To Ashton and Hereford, Wickliff is supposed to allude in one of his homilies, which has been quoted in the life of Wickliff but may be here repeated. "He (Courtney) pursueth a certain priest, because he writeth to men this English, and summoneth him and travailleth him, so that it is hard for him to bear it. And thus he pursueth another priest, by the help of pharisees, because he preacheth Christ's gospel freely and without fables. O men who are on Christ's behalf, help ye now against anti-christ, for the perilous times are come which Christ and Paul foretold." Vaughan adds, "We can readily believe that Wickliff's auditory would sympathize with their pastor at this foreboding moment."

PHILIP REFINGDON was a canon of Leicester, and a noted preacher at Oxford. He also was included in the proceedings against Wickliff. For a time he preached very boldly respecting the sacrament, and against the Romish ecclesiastics. But his fall was a decided one. Terrified by the prospect of sufferings, or allured by promotion, he forsook the Lollards, and became a bitter persecutor of the truth. He was afterwards bishop of Lincoln and a cardinal! A sufficient proof that the papists would gladly have induced the principal followers of Wickliff to join their party, had the usual worldly inducements availed for that purpose.

JOHN PURNEY, or PURVEY, was an active preacher like Ashton. Knighton describes him as a simple priest of grave aspect and behaviour, with an appearance of greater sanctity than others. In his dress and habits a common man; giving himself no rest of body, he was unwearied in his endeavours by travelling up and down, to persuade the people and bring them over to his views. He adds, "Being an invincible disciple of his master, John Wickliff, Purney conformed to his opinions, and fearlessly confirmed them like an able executor. For that he boarded with his master when alive, and so having drunk more plentifully of his instructions, he more abundantly sucked them in, and always, even to his dying day, as an inseparable companion, followed both him and his opinions and doctrines, being unwearied in his labours and endeavours to propagate them." Walden calls him, "the library of the Lollards, and the glosser (annotator) upon Wickliff."

Purney was curate to Wickliff during the latter abode of the Reformer at Lutterworth. He is supposed to have written the prologue to the English bible which has by some been attributed to his master, an extract from which will be found in the following pages. It is also conjectured, that to his care we are indebted for a considerable part of the homilies of Wickliff which have been preserved. He was afterwards

imprisoned by Arundel, and by tortures induced to recant at Paul's Cross, in 1396. A small living was then given to him. He is mentioned in Thorpe's examinations as living in conformity to the manners of the world. But his conscience did not allow him to pursue this course. He was imprisoned again in 1421, by archbishop Chichely, and is supposed to have died in confinement.

Knighton mentions several other active Lollards; among them was **WILLIAM SWINDERBY**. He was originally a hermit. Coming to Leicester he preached against the corruptions of the age, particularly reprovng the pride and vanity of females, until, as we are told, "the good and grave women, as well as the bad, threatened to stone him out of the place!" He then addressed the merchants and rich men, denouncing those who neglected heavenly riches for worldly wealth; so often dwelling thereon, that, as the Romish chronicler remarks, had not the divine clemency interposed, he had driven some honest men of the town into despair! Swinderby then became a recluse, but after a short time resumed his preaching, directing his discourses against the errors and vices of popery. Knighton, of course, stigmatizes his doctrines as erroneous, but adds, "He so captivated the affections of the people, that they said they never had seen or heard any one who so well explained the truth." Being excommunicated, and forbidden to preach in any church or churchyard, he made a pulpit of two millstones in the high-street of Leicester, and there preached "in contempt of the bishop." "There," says Knighton, "you might see throngs of people from every part, as well from the town as the country, double the number there used to be when they might hear him lawfully." Swinderby was cited to appear before the bishop of Lincoln, when he was convicted of heresy and errors, for which it is said, "he deserved to be made fuel for the fire." Many of his hearers had accompanied him, and lamented his danger, but the duke of Lancaster being at Lincoln interposed in his behalf; he was allowed to escape upon promising to recant his opinions, and publicly acknowledging them to be errors. He afterwards settled at Coventry, where he preached and taught with greater success than before. Walsingham, another Romish historian, says, that the multitude raged in his behalf, so as to deter the bishop of Lincoln from further measures against him.

Swinderby then retired to Herefordshire, where proceedings were instituted against him by the bishop of the diocese, in 1391. Fox has given them at length from the registers of the bishop. They show that Swinderby taught the same doctrines as Wickliff, and was active in preaching the truth. One of the articles against him states, that "The same William, unmindful of his own salvation, hath many and often times come into a certain desert wood, called Dorvallwood, and there, in a certain chapel not hallowed, or rather in a profane cottage,

bath, in contempt of the keys,* presumed of his own rashness to celebrate, nay rather to profanate." He was also accused of similar "doings" elsewhere. Already had the poor Lollards resorted to village worship in private houses, then considered a crime worthy of death! This accusation was denied by Swinderby in his replies to the articles alleged against him, but rather on the ground of the facts being wrongly stated, than as admitting such conduct to be contrary to God's law. From the registers it appears that Swinderby being cited to appear again, absented himself, when he was excommunicated. He addressed a letter to the parliament, urging an examination into the errors and abuses then prevalent, but no particulars are recorded of the subsequent events of his life.

WALTER BRUTE, or BRITTE, was a layman. He studied at Oxford, and graduated there. In 1360 he opposed the favourite tenet of the friars, that Christ obtained his livelihood by begging. He was of the diocese of Hereford, where he was accused of heresy in October, 1391. The tenets objected to him are those usually attributed to the Lollards. He was also accused as a favourer of Swinderby. His answers were clear and decisive as to his belief, that he approved Swinderby's answers, that real bread remained after the consecration of the sacrament, and that the pope was antichrist. He further presented some written declarations of the doctrines he held, which were entered in the bishop's register, and have been copied by Fox. They present an interesting record of his sentiments, extending to thirty folio pages. Some extracts will be found in the present volume.

It appears that Brute was a man of some consequence, from the pains taken by the Romanists to bring him to their views: they probably were more earnest on account of his descent from the ancient Britons. The proceedings lasted for two years, when after an examination of three days' continuance, before a number of prelates and other ecclesiastics, among whom was his late associate Nicholas Hereford, Brute made a submission in general terms, which, however, did not imply a recognition of the errors of the church of Rome. The register also contains a letter sent to Nicholas Hereford by some Lollard, faithfully rebuking his apostasy. Swinderby and Hereford were deemed of sufficient importance for royal proclamations to be issued, denouncing them by name. What became of Brute is not known. If he survived till the persecutions became more severe he probably perished in prison.

Many other disciples of Wickliff are enumerated by Lewis and Fox. Among them was THOMAS THORPE, whose examinations are an important document in the history of the Reformation. They were written by himself, and printed by

* Or ecclesiastical authority.

Tindal and Fox. They will be found in the present selection. The Acts and Monuments of Fox contain interesting particulars of many others of the faithful band who constituted the church of Christ in England, till the brighter days of the Reformation commenced. To insert the narratives here would make the present work a martyrology rather than a collection of the writings of the British Reformers. It is, however, much to be regretted that they are so little known, having been almost entirely unnoticed in the numerous imperfect extracts from Fox which have issued from the press. A correct reprint of that truly national work is most desirable.

The industry of the martyrologist has not left much for those who come after him, but in the present volume will be found the *Lantern of Light*, a piece to which he has only adverted by name, the contents of which will amply repay the perusal.

We have now to take a brief view of the course pursued to suppress the English Lollards.

Of this period, Milton well observes in his discourse of the Reformation in England, "When I recall to mind, how the bright and blissful Reformation, by divine power, strook through the black and settled night of ignorance and antichristian tyranny, after so many dark ages, wherein the huge overshadowing train of error had almost swept all the stars out of the firmament of the church, methinks a sovereign and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom of him that reads or hears; and the sweet odour of the returning gospel, imbathes his soul with the fragrant of heaven. Then was the sacred BIBLE sought out of the dusty corners, where profane falsehood and neglect had thrown it; the schools opened; divine and human learning were raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues; the princes and cities came trooping apace to the newly erected banner of salvation; the martyrs, with the irresistible might of weakness, shaking the powers of darkness, and scorning the fiery rage of the old red dragon."

The doctrines of the truth were so widely diffused, at the time of Wickliff's decease, that the Romish ecclesiastics found prompt and decisive measures alone would preserve their power. To reformation they were utterly averse. As they would not relinquish their vices and errors, the only course was to establish their authority so fully, that whatever they chose to sanction or permit, should not be gainsaid. The dictates of the church of Rome were to be received as equal in authority to the faith builded on Christ, set forth in the scriptures; every opponent, therefore, of the papal doctrines, was to be treated as an infidel, and as an enemy to Christianity.

Various measures were adopted to repress the obnoxious doctrines. As early as 1387, commissioners were appointed in many parts of the kingdom, who were directed to search for and seize the books and tracts of Wickliff, Hereford, and Ashton, and to

send them up to the council. All persons were forbidden to defend, maintain, or teach, openly or privately, the opinions set forth in those books; or to keep, copy, buy, or sell them, under pain of imprisonment and forfeiture of all their property. Many were apprehended in consequence of these measures, and compelled to abjure, or to suffer imprisonment, perhaps death. Knighton, however, expresses regret that these edicts were slowly and faintly executed. The numerous copies of portions of Wickliff's writings still extant, are evidences to confirm his statement as to the nonsuppression of the Reformer's writings, but the indisputable authority of the bishops' registers show that very active exertions were made against the Lollards.

The contest between the English government and the papal court was still kept alive by the encroachments of the latter. This encouraged the Lollards, or rather those who were the outward adherents of Wickliff, to make a bold attack upon the ecclesiastics. A parliament was held in 1394, at which they presented twelve articles of complaint. These chiefly attacked the power and profligacy of the clergy, but the more gross errors of popery were also adverted to. A variety of small satirical papers exposing these errors and vices, were actively circulated. The clergy were much alarmed at these open proceedings. They sent some of their number to the king, then in Ireland, who induced him to return without delay. He summoned Clifford, Latimer, Montague, and others, and by threats prevented them from giving encouragement to the Lollards. The pope was not wanting on such an occasion. He addressed a letter to the king and prelates; the latter were especially admonished that they must no longer be slothful, but must make strenuous efforts "to root out and destroy" their heretical opponents.

The clergy, in truth, did not deserve these reproaches. Courtney had been active in his proceedings, and Arundel, who succeeded to the primacy in 1396, followed his example. Immediately after his accession, he held a council at London, when eighteen conclusions taken from Wickliff's *Dialogus* were condemned. By order of the prelate, a friar named Woodford drew up a long reply to the opinions thus deduced from the writings of the Reformer.*

In the same year, a royal brief was directed to the university of Oxford, directing the removal of all Lollards and others suspected of heretical pravity. The *Dialogus* of Wickliff was also to be examined, that the errors contained therein might be

* It is printed in the *Fasciculus Rerum*. The date at the conclusion is 1396, but some passages show that it was not completed till the commencement of the reign of Henry IV. Arundel's occupation of the see of Canterbury was interrupted, in consequence of his political intrigues, till the accession of Henry replaced him in power. He attributed his restoration to the especial interference of the virgin Mary in his behalf, and ordered new acts of worship to her honour!

pointed out. In the following year, letters patent were issued, forbidding the university to plead any exemption to the prejudice of the royal authority, or in favour and support of Lollards and heretics. Some unwillingness to proceed against the followers of Wickliff probably had been evinced, for archbishop Arundel wrote to the chancellor that he was informed almost the whole university was touched with heretical pravity. To avert the dangers consequent upon such a charge, twelve delegates were appointed, who from fourteen of Wickliff's tracts selected three hundred conclusions as worthy of censure. These they sent to the archbishop and the convocation.

A darker hour was at hand, although the civil discords, which terminated in the dethronement and death of Richard II., checked the proceedings against the Lollards for a brief interval, and the accession of the son of John of Gaunt, their most zealous patron, excited hopes of protection. These, however, were speedily disappointed. Henry IV. was a usurper; he felt that he needed the support of the Romish clergy, and at once entered decisively into their views. In his first message to the convocation, October, 1399, he declared that he never would demand money from them except in the most urgent necessity: he also promised to protect their immunities, and to assist them in exterminating heretics. Arundel and the ecclesiastics lost no time in availing themselves of the royal disposition in their favour. In the next parliament a law was enacted, at the instance of the clergy, forbidding any one to preach without leave of his diocesan, and ordaining "that none should from thenceforth preach, hold, teach, or instruct, openly or privily, or make or write any book contrary to the Catholic faith or determination of holy church, or make any conventicles or schools." All books of heresy were to be delivered up within forty days. Whoever offended was to be arrested by the diocesan, proceeded against according to the canons, to be kept in prison, and fined at the discretion of the diocesan. "If he refused to abjure, or relapsed, he was to be delivered to the sheriff or chief magistrate, to be **BURNED ALIVE**, in a conspicuous place, for the terror of others!"

Thus the liberties and immunities of the Romish clergy, or in other words, their errors, usurpations, and profligacies, were protected by a statute which constituted them sole judges in their own cause, and compelled the civil power to put to death any one whom they might denounce as differing from themselves in opinion! It is unnecessary to say that such measures evidently originated with the Romish clergy; in fact this law, though, as Fox observes, it "cost many a Christian man his life," never was legally enacted—it was the act of the king, the nobility, and the clergy, without the concurrence of the commons.

The ecclesiastics did not suffer this bloody law to remain an

idle letter. During the session wherein it was enacted, William Sawtree, priest of St. Osyth's, in London, was condemned for heresy, chiefly for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation, and refusing to worship the cross. He was burned alive in Smithfield, in February, 1401, and was the first of the noble band who sealed the truth with their blood, and rejoiced in the flames, in the metropolis of our land.

These cruel proceedings, with the activity used by Arundel against the doctrines of truth, by degress repressed the outward manifestations of attachment to Wickliff or his opinions. Titled and distinguished leaders no longer appeared among the Lollards, but their sentiments were entertained in secret by great numbers in almost every part of England. In Fox's Acts and Monuments will be found details of numerous sufferers, taken from the bishops' own registers; and many documents reprinted at length by Wilkins, show both the cruelty and the superstition of the prelates of that day. While the Lollards were persecuted with additional ceremonies and acts of worship to the virgin and saints.*

The principal measures which followed may be briefly noticed. In 1408, Constitutions were made by archbishop Arundel, forbidding any one to call in question what the church had determined; and again prohibiting the perusal of Wickliff's writings. Severe measures were taken to clear the university of Oxford from Lollards. It was also ordained, "that no one thereafter should, by his own authority, translate any text of holy scripture into English, or any other language, by way of a book, little book, or tract.† And that no such publication composed in the time of John Wickliff, or since, should be read, under pain of excommunication, until approved by the diocesan, or a provincial council."‡

In the preface to Arundel's Constitutions, the pope is said to carry the keys of eternal life and eternal death; and to be the viceregent of the true God, to whom God had committed the government of the kingdom of heaven! At that time there

* Among other documents may be mentioned a papal bull, in 1494, to inquire respecting miracles said to have been worked by Henry VI. with a view to his canonization! The expense, more than 1500 golden ducats, probably interfered with this design to make a saint of "the meek usurper." A manuscript in the British Museum contains a list of more than fifty miracles (so called) said to have been performed by Henry!

† It has long been the policy of the church of Rome to impede or prevent translations of the bible, while its own legends are freely circulated in many languages. The lying falsehoods respecting the chapel of Loretto are printed for the convenience of pilgrims; they are provided even in such languages as are not likely to be called for by many pilgrims—as, for instance, the Welsh!

‡ In these Constitutions of Arundel, the heretics were described as the tail of the black horse in the apocalypse!

were two popes, each of whom had denounced the other as a child of Satan, and shortly after both were deposed by the council of Pisa as heretics!

The desire to diminish the unnecessary wealth of the ecclesiastics was not extinguished. In 1409, it was represented to the king in parliament, that if the estates of the bishops, abbots, and priors, which they spent in unnecessary pomp and luxury, were taken away, the king might support from their revenues, 15 earls, 1500 knights, 6200 esquires, and 100 hospitals, in addition to those which then existed; leaving a further surplusage of £20,000 yearly to the king. Nor was this a vague computation. Various abbeys and other ecclesiastical endowments were enumerated, amounting to 322,000 marks yearly.* In addition to this large sum, other "houses of religion" possessed endowments sufficient to maintain 15,000 priests. Such a measure was not listened to at that time. When renewed at the commencement of the following reign, the prelates engaged Henry V. in war with France, to divert his attention from the subject. But the stone was loosened, and a hundred and twenty years after, this important measure respecting the ecclesiastical revenues was partly carried into effect.

In 1411, forty-five articles, attributed to Wickliff, were condemned at London by the prelates and doctors. The first of these was, that the substance of bread and wine remain in the sacrament of the altar.

Henry IV. died in 1413, and archbishop Arundel in the following year; but the proceedings against the Lollards were urged forward with still greater activity by Henry V. and primate Chicheley. In 1415, enactments yet more severe were made. All officers at their admission were ordered to take an oath to destroy Lollardy. It has been observed, that "these wholesome severities," or "pious rigours," as they were called, show that the Romish clergy at this time ceased not to rage and roar after Christian blood, like roaring lions. Whosoever did the fault, all horrible mischiefs whatsoever were imputed to the poor Lollards. Lord Cobham was one of the first victims of this reign.

Further active measures were directed in 1416, whereby inquisitors were appointed to search after persons suspected of heresy; also to inform against all who asserted heresies or errors, or had suspected books, or "who differed in life and manners from the common conversation of the faithful." What that conversation commonly was, is sufficiently shown, not only by the writings of Wickliff, but by the public documents and histories of the Romish church! As Lewis observes, "Now an inquisition was set up in every parish, and men were set at variance against their own fathers and mothers and nearest

* A mark was 13s. 4d.; equal to about £12 of our present money.

relations. So that often a man's greatest foes were those of his own household. Bishop Longland's registers, a century later, show sisters and brothers detecting their own brothers and sisters, the husband the wife, children their own father and mother, the parents their own sons and daughters, masters and servants accusing each other." In fact every bond of relative and social life was dissolved by these measures; general distrust became prevalent. Perhaps much of the proceedings during the civil wars of York and Lancaster, with the easy transfer of allegiance from "the meek Henry," enthralled by the priesthood, may be attributed to the deep felt abhorrence excited by these persecutions.

Lewis continues, "But though these barbarities, so reproachful to the Christian name and religion, terrified men's minds, and forced them to great submission; yet they no way contributed to alter their judgments or settle their belief. Nay, it was very plain, that, though by authority or the secular arm, they were devoted to destruction, the Wickliffites were *oppressed* but not *extinguished*. Though it was made more than capital to have even a line of Wickliff's writings, there were those who had courage enough to preserve them, although for the crime of having them, some were burned alive with their little books. And, indeed, how little these cruelties served to convince men, very plainly appeared, when at the Reformation, about one hundred years after, these restraints were moderated or quite taken off. The whole nation, whatever their outward profession was before, unanimously, as it were, embraced these principles, and showed themselves very earnest in their defence. Although we are now unhappily fallen into an age that has lost its first love, and is so generally corrupted both in principle and practice, as to suffer the opposition then made to popish tyranny and superstition to be condemned, and the cruelties used to force men to approve of them, to be palliated and discredited."* The details of these cruelties will be found in the martyrologists.

In 1415, the council of Constance sat, when the articles prepared by the Oxford delegates were presented. Forty-four conclusions were drawn up, said to be found in Wickliff's writings, which were condemned as false, heretical, and erroneous. He was declared to have been an obstinate heretic. His bones were ordered to be dug up and cast upon a dung-hill, if they could be separated from the bones of the faithful. This sentence was not executed till 1428, when pope Martin V. sent renewed orders to Fleming, bishop of Lincoln, once a professed favourer of the reformer's doctrine! The bishop's officers accordingly took the mouldering remains from the grave, where

* Lewis' Life of Wickliff, ch. viii. These observations were written in 1719, but are in some respects applicable at the present day. The desire for the writings of the Reformers which has of late been evinced, is, however, an encouraging circumstance.

they had quietly lain for more than forty years, and burned them! The ashes were cast into an adjoining rivulet called Swift. As Fuller beautifully observes, "This brook conveyed his ashes into the Avon; Avon into Severn; Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wickliff are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over."

Chicheley held the primacy till 1443. The extent of his scriptural knowledge appears from a decree, in which he speaks of the Lord's day as the seventh day of the week, on which God rested after the work of creation! Although he did not so much delight in the open execution of heretics as his predecessor, several martyrs were committed to the flames, and he was not less active in using other means of extermination. Some faint attempts at outward reformation were made, but these were scarcely more than nominal. A commission, of this nature, granted by archbishop Bourchier, in 1455, speaks of many of the clergy as ignorant and illiterate, profligate, negligent of their cures, while they strolled about the country with abandoned females, spending their revenues in luxury and debauchery. During this period the error of transubstantiation was farther established in England by the withholding of the cup from the laity. These documents, and others referred to in the present sketch, will be found in Wilkins's Concilia. On the accession of Edward IV., in 1462, he obtained the support of the clergy by granting them a charter of immunity, whereby all civil magistrates were forbidden to take any notice of treasons, murders, rapes, robberies, thefts, or other crimes committed by archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, or any person in holy orders. What must have been the general character of a class of men who could desire, or even accept, such immunities? What would have been the reply of Wickliff and his associates, had such privileges been offered to them? Nor was this all; it was referred to the clergy at all times, to decide whether any person claiming exemption was of their number or not! Many purchased holy orders when accused of crimes they had committed, and thus escaped with impunity. The ruling ecclesiastics were, as might be supposed, lenient in the punishment of vice among the clergy, while the fate of bishop Pecock, and others, shows how little favour was extended to those who differed as to views of doctrine.

Edward IV. addressed letters to the university of Oxford, urging the suppression of Wickliff's and Pecock's doctrines. This letter, with the reply of the university, are among archbishop Parker's manuscripts in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The former is printed in the present collection.

Morton succeeded to the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1486. He called a synod for the reformation of the manners of the clergy, but his efforts were mostly directed against irregularities

in dress—the preachers of the order of St. John were censured, but it was for reproving the vices of the clergy in their sermons! That there was occasion for them to do so is evident from a bull of Innocent VIII. in 1490, grievously complaining of the dissolute lives of the monastic orders in England. Morton's admonitory letter to the abbot of St. Alban's shows that the monks were most detestable miscreants. This primate, finding his journeys to London impeded by the ruinous state of Rochester bridge, granted remission of the punishment incurred for sins for a certain term, to all who assisted in repairing it! Still there were many in the land who bowed not to Baal, as appears from the records of martyrs suffering at the close of this century, and in the early years of the next.

During the unsettled state of affairs in the middle of the fifteenth century, we do not find that many had suffered publicly for the truth; as Fuller observes, "The very storm was their shelter, and the heat of these intestine commotions cooled the persecutions against them." Towards its close the scenes of persecution were renewed. The annals of martyrdom then become more full; they present numerous records of suffering.

The divine judgments might well be expected to fall heavily upon a land where evil so much abounded; where the doctrines of the truth had been so plainly set forth and rejected; and where the blood of the followers of Christ was so freely shed: Judgments came upon England. Famine, pestilence, and war, foreign and domestic, depopulated the country to a terrific extent. This is proved by parliamentary enactments, and the testimony of eye-witnesses to the ruined villages, uncultivated fields, and decayed towns. There is good reason to believe that the whole population of England and Scotland, at the termination of the civil wars of York and Lancaster, did not amount to three millions! Rich and powerful families experienced sudden reverses; those who had revelled at home in pomp and luxury, were seen begging their bread in foreign lands. We may easily suppose the misery of the lower classes, where neither person nor property were secure.* Yet such times are described by Romish historians of the present day, with unblushing effrontery, as days of happiness in England, almost equalling the golden ages of poetic fiction! But it may be asked, wherein were they superior to preceding centuries or to those that have followed?—They were the reverse, as appears from the public documents of the Romish ecclesi-

* The civil power in the dark ages was unable to preserve public peace. This led to deadly feuds, and pretexts for plunder were easily found where sufficient power existed. The council of Clermont ordered that all violence should be suspended from sunset on Wednesday to sunrise on Monday, calling it the truce of God. Grateful, indeed, were the people at large for an enactment by which they passed so large a portion of the week in peace, instead of being in peril every hour. The scenes which took place on the other two days and nights of the week, may be better supposed than described.

astics themselves, which have been preserved. We know from divine authority that the poor will never cease from out of the land; in the mysterious but wise dispensations of providence, much outward suffering will exist at all times in this world of sin and sorrow, and true history never yet has recorded a people as prosperous or happy, when sinning as a nation against the Most High, or when suffering under divine judgments deservedly sent upon their country.

In the following pages will be found some pieces relative to the Lollards, and the proceedings of their oppressors during the fifteenth century. Among the most valuable are the history of lord Cobham and the examinations of Thorpe. The *Lantern of Light* will also be read with interest, as a production of the immediate followers of the Reformer. Other pieces in this volume carry us to that period when the light of the German reformation shone upon the plants which had sprung up from the seeds so widely sown by Wickliff.

Meanwhile, as in former ages, the operations of divine grace were not limited to any one class of men. Although the Lollards were the main instruments of diffusing the truth, and of preparing the way for the English Reformation of the sixteenth century, there were some, even within the Romish church in England, who loved the Saviour, and looked to him alone for salvation; and others who opposed the cruel persecutions urged forward by their associates.

A brief specimen of the first of these will be found in the extract from the writings of Walter Hilton, a monk who lived soon after Wickliff. Of the latter class was bishop Pecock, whose melancholy history shows us one of those who allow their prejudices or connexions to lead them to oppose and keep aloof from the real followers of Christ, on account of outward differences, while they are inwardly convinced of the religious truths they maintain, and, there is ground to hope, partakers of like precious faith.

Another and still more valuable character, connected with the church of Rome, but in reality a forerunner of the Reformation, was **DR. JOHN COLET**; a narrative respecting him is given by Fox, with which this sketch of the disciples of Wickliff and the precursors of the British Reformers may be concluded.

"About this time, A. D. 1519, died doctor John Colet; to whose sermons the known men (or Lollards) about Buckinghamshire, had great mind to resort. After he came from Italy and Paris, he first began to read the epistles of St. Paul openly

in Oxford, instead of Scotus and Thomas Aquinas. From thence he was called by the king and made dean of Paul's, where he preached much to great auditories of the king's court, the citizens, and others. His diet was frugal, his life upright, in discipline he was severe. So that his canons, because of their straiter rule, complained that they were made like monks. The honest and honourable state of matrimony he ever preferred before the unchaste singleness of priests. At his dinner, commonly was read either some chapter of St. Paul, or of Solomon's Proverbs. He never used to sup. And although the blindness of that time carried him away after the common errors of popery, yet in ripeness of judgment he seemed to incline from the common manner of that age. The orders of monks and friars he fancied not. Neither could he greatly favour the barbarous divinity of the school doctors, as of Scotus, but least of all of Thomas Aquinas. Insomuch that when Erasmus, speaking in praise of Thomas Aquinas, commended him that he had read many old authors, and had written many new works, to prove and to know his judgment, Colet, supposing that Erasmus meant good faith, burst out in great vehemence, saying, 'What tell you me of the commendation of that man, who except he had been of an arrogant and presumptuous spirit, would not define and discuss all things so boldly and rashly; and also except he had been rather worldly minded than heavenly, would never have so polluted Christ's whole doctrine with man's profane doctrine, in such sort as he hath done.'

"The bishop of London at that time was Fitzjames, aged no less than eighty; who, bearing long grudge and displeasure against Colet, with other two bishops taking his part, like to himself, complained against Colet to archbishop Warham. The complaint was divided into three articles. The first was for speaking against worshipping of images. The second was about hospitality, for that he in treating upon the place of the gospel, 'Feed, feed, feed,' John xxi. when he had expounded the two first, for feeding with example of life and with doctrine, in the third, which the schoolmen expound for feeding with hospitality, he left out the outward feeding of the belly, and applied it another way. The third crime wherewith they charged him, was for speaking against such as used to preach only by bosom sermons,* declaring nothing else to the people, but as they bring in their papers with them. Which, because the bishop of London then used much to do, for his age, he took it as spoken against him, and therefore bare him this displeasure. The archbishop, more wisely weighing the matter, and being well acquainted with Colet, so took his part against his accusers, that he at that time was rid out of trouble.

* Written sermons, carried about in the bosoms of the preachers.

"William Tindal, in his book answering master More, testifies that the bishop of London would have made dean Colet a heretic for translating the Paternoster into English, had not the archbishop of Canterbury holpen the dean!

"But yet the malice of bishop Fitzjames ceased not; he practised how to accuse Colet unto the king. The king (Henry VIII.) was preparing for war against France. Whereupon the bishop, with his coadjutors, taking occasion upon certain words of Colet, wherein he seemed to prefer peace before any kind of war, were it ever so just, accused him therefore. And upon Good Friday, Dr. Colet, preaching before the king, treated of the victory of Christ, exhorting all Christians to fight, under the standard of Christ, against the devil; adding moreover what a hard thing it was to fight under Christ's banner, and that all they who upon private hatred or ambition took weapon against their enemy one Christian to slay another, such did not fight under the banner of Christ, but rather of Satan; and therefore concluding his matter, he exhorted that Christian men in their wars would follow Christ their Prince and Captain, in fighting against their enemies, rather than the example of Julius or Alexander, &c. The king, fearing lest by his words the hearts of his soldiers might be withdrawn from his war, took Colet, and talked with him alone in his garden walking. His enemies thought now that Colet must be committed to the Tower, and waited for his coming out. But the king with great gentleness entertaining Dr. Colet, bidding him familiarly to put on his cap, in long courteous talk much commended his learning and integrity of life, agreeing with him in all points, only he required him, for that the rude soldiers should not rashly mistake that which he had said, more plainly to explain his words and mind in that behalf, which after he did; and so after long communication and great promises, the king dismissed Colet with these words, saying, 'Let every man have his doctor as him liketh; this shall be my doctor,' and so departed. Whereby none of his adversaries durst ever trouble him after that time.

"Among many other memorable acts left behind him, he erected a worthy foundation of the school of Paul's; I pray God the fruits of the school may answer the foundation, for the cherishing of youth in good letters. He provided a sufficient stipend as well for the master as for the usher, whom he willed rather to be appointed out of the number of married men, than of single priests with their suspected chastity. The first master of the school was William Lily."

Dr. Colet was born in London, A. D. 1466. He was of Magdalen-college, Oxford, and held various ecclesiastical preferments, but his wealth was chiefly patrimonial. Some of his writings have been preserved; the principal is a faithful sermon preached before the convocation in 1511.



A
BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF
THOMAS BILNEY;
TO WHICH ARE SUBJOINED HIS LETTERS TO
BISHOP TONSTAL.

THOMAS BILNEY was brought up in the university of Cambridge from an early age. He made considerable proficiency in study, particularly in the civil and canon law. But, as Fox expresses it, "Having gotten a better school-master, even the Holy Spirit of Christ, who endued his heart by secret inspiration, with the knowledge of better and more wholesome things, he came at the last unto this point, that forsaking the knowledge of man's laws, he converted his study to those things which tended more to godliness than gain."

He was anxious to teach others the truths he had learned. Among other seals to his ministry was that faithful servant of Christ Hugh Latimer. In the Acts and Monuments of John Fox, the reader will find a particular account of the life and martyrdom of Bilney; in these pages only a brief notice can be inserted, as an introduction to the small, yet important written remains of this martyr, which have been preserved by the enemies of the truth.

Leaving the university, Bilney travelled into several parts of the country, accompanied by Thomas Arthur, another of the seals to his ministry. The scriptural doctrines he taught were frequently attacked by the Romanists and were powerfully defended by him. One memorial of these controversies has been preserved by his opponent, a friar Brusierd of Ipswich, who wrote down their conference to make it a ground of accusation against Bilney. We cannot suppose that this singular document does full justice to

the reformer, but it contains sufficient proof of the scriptural origin of the doctrines he taught, while it shows the fallacies advanced by the popish advocate.

The friar objected to Bilney, "Whereas you have said that none of the saints make intercession for us, nor obtain for us any thing, you have blasphemed the efficacy (power) of the church, consecrated with the precious blood of Christ; which, nevertheless, you are not able to deny, seeing they (the church) incessantly knock at the gates of heaven, through the continual intercession of the saints, as is plainly set forth in the seven-fold Litany."

Bilney referred to the text, "There is but one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus;" and asked, "If there be but one Mediator between God and man, even Christ Jesus, where is our blessed lady? where is St. Peter, and the other saints?"

The friar admitted that such was the doctrine of the primitive church, and that St. Paul was right in making such a statement, "when as yet there was no saint canonized, nor put into the calendar!" but "now the church assuredly knew and believed, that the blessed virgin, and the other saints, were placed in the bosom of Abraham; and that the church, like a good mother, diligently taught her children to praise the omnipotent Jesus in his saints, and also to offer up by the same saints our petitions to God!"

To this sophistical argument, Bilney replied, by quoting the words of our Saviour, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father, in my name, he will give it unto you;" adding, "He saith not, Whatsoever ye ask the Father in the name of St. Peter, St. Paul, and other saints; but *in my name*. Let us, then, ask help in the name of Him who is able to obtain for us of the Father whatsoever we ask; lest, at the day of judgment, we should hear him say, "Hitherto have ye asked nothing in my name." The friar could not evade the force of this reasoning, but endeavoured to entangle Bilney in a scholastic argument, and a discussion respecting the authority of the church of Rome. Bilney, However, was too well informed to be so caught; and again referred to Scripture, inquiring if the friar knew the ten commandments. His answer deserves notice: "According as the catholic doctors do expound them, I know them." The remainder of their conference was very similar to what is already given.

As Fox states, "The whole sum of Bilney's preaching

and doctrine proceeded chiefly against idolatry, invocation of saints, vain worship of images, false trust to men's merits, and such other gross points of religion, as seemed prejudicial and derogatory to the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. As touching the mass and sacrament of the altar, he never differed thereon from the grossest (Roman) catholics."

In November, 1527, Bilney and Arthur were apprehended by command of cardinal Wolsey, who after a short examination committed their further examination to Tonsal, bishop of London, a decided Romanist, though milder than his brethren in his proceedings against the protestants.* Fox gives the particulars of their examinations from the bishop's own register, wherein Tonsal, with scrupulous fidelity, caused several letters written to him by Bilney to be inserted. Fox states,

"The third day of December, the bishop of London with the other bishops, assembling at the house of the bishop of Norwich, after that Bilney had denied utterly to return to the church of Rome, the bishop of London in discharge of his conscience, as he said, lest he should hide any thing that had come to his hands, exhibited unto the notaries, in the presence of Bilney, five letters or epistles, with a schedule in one of the epistles,† containing his articles and answers folded therein, and another epistle folded in manner of a book, with six leaves; which all and every one he commanded to be written out and registered, and the originals to be delivered to him again. This was done in the presence of Bilney, desiring a copy of them; and the bishop bound the notaries with an oath, for the safe keeping of the copies, and true registering of the same. Which articles and answers, with three of the same epistles, with certain depositions deposed by the aforesaid witness, here follow, truly drawn out, partly of his own hand-writing, and partly out of the register."

A brief account of some of the depositions against Bilney will present awful proofs of the spiritual darkness which then prevailed, and shows the blindness in which the church of Rome sought to retain its votaries.

It was deposed, that in his sermon in Christ's church in Ipswich, Bilney preached and said, Our Saviour Christ is our Mediator between us and the Father. What should we

* See the life of Bernard Gilpin in the *Christian Biography*.

† Only three of these letters are printed by Fox.

need then to seek any saint for remedy? Wherefore, it is great injury to the blood of Christ, to make such petitions, and blasphemeth our Saviour.

That man is so unperfect of himself, that he can in no wise merit by his own deeds.

Also, that the coming of Christ was long prophesied before, and desired by the prophets. But John Baptist being more than a prophet, did not only prophesy, but with his finger showed him, saying, Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. Then if this were the very Lamb which John did demonstrate, that taketh away the sins of the world, what an injury is it to our Saviour Christ, to say that to be buried in St. Francis's cowl,* should remit four parts of penance: what is then left to our Saviour Christ, which taketh away the sins of the world? This I will justify to be a great blasphemy to the blood of Christ.

Also, that it was a great folly to go on pilgrimage, and that preachers in times past have been antichrists, and now it hath pleased God somewhat to show forth their falsehood and errors.

Also, that the miracles done at Walsingham, at Canterbury, and there in Ipswich, were done by the devil, through the sufferance of God, to blind the poor people; and that the pope hath not the keys that Peter had, except he follow Peter in his living.

Moreover, it was deposed against him, that he was notoriously suspected as a heretic, and twice pulled out of the pulpit in the diocese of Norwich.

Also it was deposed against him, that he should in the parish church of Willesdon, exhort the people to put away their gods of silver and gold, and leave their offerings unto them, for that such things as they offered have been known oftentimes afterward to have been given to harlots. Also that Jews and Saracens would have become Christian men long ago, had it not been for the idolatry of Christian men in offering of candles, wax, and money, to stocks and stones.

Tonstal was particularly desirous not to proceed to

* To be buried in a friar's cast-off habit, accompanied by letters, enrolling the deceased in a monastic order, was accounted a sure deliverance from eternal condemnation! In *Piers the Ploughman's* creed a friar is described as wheedling a poor man out of his money, by assuring him that if he will contribute to his monastery,

St. Francis himself shall fold thee in his cope,

And present thee to the Trinity, and pray for thy sins.

King John was buried in a monk's cowl! See note, p. 158.

extremities with Bilney. He repeatedly remanded him to give time for reflection, and even after reading a part of the sentence deferred the remainder. These continued attacks upon the constancy of Bilney were seconded by several friends of the reformer, and probably were of greater efficacy than severer measures. We find that at length he recanted; he was released after carrying a fagot in a Romish procession, and standing bareheaded before the preacher at Paul's cross, during the sermon. In this recantation he admitted the worship of saints, and prayer to them, also that men could merit by their deeds.

Bilney returned to Cambridge after his abjuration, deeply lamenting and sorrowing for his weakness. He was almost brought into a state of utter desperation, as Latimer described in his sermons.* He relates that Bilney's agony of mind was so great, "that his friends dared not suffer him to be alone day or night. They comforted him as they could, but no comforts would serve. And as for the comfortable places of Scripture, to bring them to him was as though a man should run him through the heart with a sword."

Fox, or rather archbishop Parker,† whose narrative of Bilney's martyrdom he inserts, proceeds thus:—

By this it appears how vehemently this good man was pierced with sorrow and remorse for his abjuration, the space almost of two years, that is, from the year 1529, to the year 1531. It followed then, that by God's grace and good counsel he came at length to some quiet of conscience, being fully resolved to give his life for the confession of that truth, which before he had renounced. And thus being fully determined in his mind, and setting his time, he took his leave in Trinity Hall at ten of the clock at night, of certain of his friends, and said that he would go to Jerusalem; alluding belike to the words and example of Christ in the gospel, going up to Jerusalem,‡ what time he was appointed to suffer his passion. And so Bilney, meaning to

* See Latimer, p. 56, 115, 260.

† Archbishop Parker, then resident at the university, went from Cambridge to Norwich to witness the martyrdom of Bilney, for whom he entertained a warm affection. He was thus enabled to bear testimony to the faithful adherence of the martyr to the truth during his last moments, in contradiction to the assertions of Sir Thomas More, who falsely declared that Bilney had recanted at the stake. A particular statement respecting this is given by Fox, supported by several undoubted testimonies.

‡ Or probably to the words of St. Paul, Acts xix. 21., xx. 22

give over his life for the testimony of Christ's gospel, told his friends that he would go up to Jerusalem, and so would see them no more, and immediately departed to Norfolk, and there preached, first privately in households to confirm the brethren and sisters, and also to confirm the anchoress* whom he had converted to Christ. Then preached he openly in the fields, confessing his fact, and preaching publicly that doctrine which he before had abjured, to be the very truth, and willed all men to beware by him, and never to trust to their fleshly friends in causes of religion. And so setting forward in his journey toward the celestial Jerusalem, he departed from thence to the anchoress in Norwich, and there gave her a New Testament of Tindal's translation, and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*; whereupon he was apprehended and carried to prison, there to remain, till the blind bishop Nix† sent up for a writ to burn him.

In the mean season, the friars and religious men, with the residue of their doctors, civil and canon, resorted to him, busily labouring to persuade him not to die in those opinions, saying, he should be damned body and soul, if he so continued. Among whom, first were sent to him of the bishop, doctor Call, minister, as they call him, or provincial of the Gray Friars: and doctor Stokes, an Augustine friar, who lay with him in prison in disputation, till the writ came that he should be burned. Doctor Call, by the word of God, through the means of Bilney's doctrine, and good life, whereof he had good experience, was somewhat reclaimed to the gospel's side.

The order of his martyrdom was this, as follows:—

Thomas Bilney, after his examination and condemnation, was degraded, according to the popish custom, by the assistance of all the friars and doctors of the same suit. Which done, he was immediately committed to the lay power, and to the two sheriffs of the city, of whom Thomas Necton was one. This Thomas Necton was Bilney's special good friend, and sorry to accept him to such execution

* A sort of nun, or female hermit.

† Nix, bishop of Norwich, was a bitter persecutor, and ever ready to send the followers of the truth to the fire, telling them when brought before him, that they smelt of the frying-pan. He endeavoured to prevent the circulation of the reformers' books, especially Tindal's New Testament, "which he could not endure to be read." At this time he was fourscore years of age, infirm and blind, "blind both in body and soul."

as followed. But such was the tyranny of that time, and the dread of the chancellor and friars, that he could no otherwise do, but needs must receive him;* who notwithstanding, as he could not bear in his conscience himself to be present at his death: so, for the time that he was in his custody, he caused him to be more friendly looked unto, and more wholesomely kept, concerning his diet, than he was before.

After this, the Friday following, at night, which was before the day of his execution, being St. Magnus day and Saturday, the said Bilney had divers of his friends resorting unto him in the guildhall, where he was kept. Amongst whom one of the said friends finding him eating of an ale-brew† with such a cheerful heart and quiet mind as he did, said that he was glad to see him at that time, so shortly before his heavy and painful departure, so heartily to refresh himself. Whereunto he answered, "I follow the example of the husbandmen of the country, who having a ruinous house to dwell in, yet bestow cost as long as they may, to hold it up; and so do I now with this ruinous house of my body, and with God's creatures, in thanks to him, refresh the same as ye see." Then sitting with his said friends in godly talk, to their edification, some put him in mind, that though the fire which he should suffer the next day, should be of great heat unto his body, yet the comfort of God's Spirit should cool it to his everlasting refreshing. At this word Bilney putting his hand toward the flame of the candle burning before them (as also he did divers times besides) and feeling the heat thereof, said, "I feel by experience, and have known it long by philosophy, that fire, by God's ordinance is naturally hot; but yet I am persuaded by God's holy word, and by the experience of some spoken of in the same, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the fire they felt no consumption; and I constantly believe, that howsoever the stubble of this my body shall be wasted by it, yet my soul and spirit shall be purged thereby: a pain for the time, whereon notwithstanding followeth joy unspeakable." And then he much treated of this place of Scripture: "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, and called

* Master More being lord chancellor, when the message was sent to him for a writ of discharge to burn Bilney, speaks in this wise to the messengers that came: "Go your ways, and burn him first, and then afterward come to me for a bill of my hand."—*Fox.*

† Or posset.

thee by thy name, thou art mine own. When thou goest through the water, I will be with thee, and the strong floods shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest in the fire it shall not burn thee, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee, for I am the Lord thy God, the Holy One of Israel," Isaiah xliii. Which he did most comfortably entreat of, as well in respect of himself, as applying it to the particular use of his friends there present, of whom some took such sweet fruit therein that they caused the whole said sentence to be fairly written in tables, and some in their books. The comfort whereof, in divers of them, was never taken from them to their dying day.

The Saturday next following, when the officers of execution, as the manner is, with their gleaves and halberds were ready to receive him, and to lead him to the place of execution without the city gate, called Bishop's gate, in a low valley, commonly called the Lollard's pit, under St. Leonard's hill, environed about with great hills—which place was chosen for the people's quiet sitting to see the execution—at the coming forth of Bilney out of the prison door, one of his friends came to him, and with few words, as he durst, spake to him, and prayed him in God's behalf to be constant, and to take his death as patiently as he could. Whereunto the said Bilney answered, with a quiet and mild countenance: "Ye see when the mariner is entered his ship to sail on the troublous sea, how he for a while is tossed in the billows of the same; but yet in hope that he shall once come to the quiet haven, he beareth in better comfort the perils which he feeleth: so am I now toward this sailing, and whatsoever storms I shall feel, yet shortly after shall my ship be in the haven; as I doubt not thereof by the grace of God, desiring you to help me with your prayers to the same effect."

And so he going forth in the streets, giving much alms by the way by the hands of one of his friends, and accompanied with one doctor Warner, doctor of divinity, and parson of Winterton, whom he did choose as his old acquaintance, to be with him for his spiritual comfort; came at the last to the place of execution, and descended down from the hill to the same, apparelled in a layman's gown, with his sleeves hanging down, and his arms out, his hair being piteously mangled at his degradation; a little single* body in person, but always of a good upright countenance, and drew near to

* Slight.

the stake prepared; and somewhat tarrying the preparation of the fire, he desired that he might speak some words to the people, and there standing, thus he said:

"Good people, I am come hither to die, and born I was to live under that condition, naturally to die again; and that ye might testify that I depart out of this present life as a true Christian man, in a right belief towards almighty God, I will rehearse unto you in a fast faith, the articles of my creed." He then began to rehearse them in order as they are in the common creed, often elevating his eyes and hands to almighty God; and at the article of Christ's incarnation, having a little meditation in himself, and coming to the word, crucified, he humbly bowed himself and made great reverence; and so he proceeded on, without any manner of words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him to his death.

This once done, he put off his gown, and went to the stake, and kneeling upon a little ledge coming out of the stake, whereon he should afterward stand to be better seen, he made his private prayer with such earnest elevation of his eyes and hands to heaven, and in so good quiet behaviour, that he seemed not much to consider the terror of his death, and ended at the last his private prayers with the cxliii. psalm, beginning, "Hear my prayer, O Lord, consider my desire:" and the next verse he repeated in deep meditation, thrice, "And enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified:" and so finishing that psalm, he ended his private prayers.

After that, he turned himself to the officers, asking them if they were ready, and they answered, Yea. Whereupon he put off his jacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went unto the stake, standing upon that ledge, and the chain was cast about him; and standing thereon, the said doctor Warner came to him to bid him farewell, who spake but few words for weeping.

Upon whom the said Thomas Bilney did most gently smile, and inclined his body to speak to him a few words of thanks, and the last were these: "O master doctor "Feed your flock, feed your flock, that when the Lord cometh he may find you so doing: and farewell, good master doctor, and pray for me;" and so he departed without any answer, sobbing and weeping.

And while he thus stood upon the ledge at the stake,

certain friars, doctors, and priors of their houses, being there present, as they were uncharitably and maliciously present at his examination and degradation, &c. came to him, and said, "O master Bilney, the people are persuaded that we are the causers of your death, and that we have procured the same, and thereupon it is like that they will withdraw their charitable alms from us all, except you declare your charity towards us, and discharge us of the matter." Whereupon the said Thomas Bilney spake with a loud voice to the people, and said, "I pray you, good people, be never the worse to these men for my sake, as though they should be the authors of my death; it was not they." And so he ended.

Then the officers put reeds and fagots about his body and set fire on the reeds, which made a very great flame that sparkled and deformed the visor of his face, he holding up his hands, and knocking upon his breast, crying sometimes "Jesus," sometimes "I believe." Which flame was blown away from him by the violence of the wind, which was that day, and two or three days before, notably great, in which it was said that the fields were marvellously plagued by the loss of corn: and so for a little pause he stood without flame, the flame departing and recouring thrice ere the wood took strength to be the sharper to consume him: and then he gave up the ghost, and his body being withered, bowed downward upon the chain. Then one of the officers, with his halberd, smote out the staple in the stake behind him, and suffered his body to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood on it, and so he was consumed.*

* From Bilney's first letter to Bishop Tonstal, it will be seen that his conversion was rather by the direct influences of the Holy Spirit, opening his mind to study the Scriptures, than by any human instruction as means. Several articles exhibited against him indicate a greater similarity in his tenets to those of the followers of Wickliff, than to the German reformers, we may therefore class him with the former, although he differed from them in some respects.



Tindal

SOME ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE OF WILLIAM TINDAL,

MARTYR, 1536.

WILLIAM TINDAL was born about the year 1500, on the borders of Wales, and was sent at an early age to Magdalen hall, in the University of Oxford. He was generally esteemed for his virtuous conduct and learning, and especially applied himself to the study of the scriptures. He also became acquainted with the writings of Luther and Erasmus, and privately instructed his fellow-students in scriptural truth. On account of his abilities, Tindal received an appointment in cardinal Wolsey's newly-founded college, but becoming suspected of Lutheranism, he was imprisoned, and being compelled to leave the university of Oxford, he removed to Cambridge.

When Tindal had finished his studies, he became tutor in the family of sir John Welch, of Little Sodbury, in Gloucestershire. Here he had access to many of the clergy, with whom he conferred on religious subjects, frequently engaging in disputations with those who were the most strenuous supporters of the papacy. The knight and his lady were much surprised at the boldness of their tutor, and returning one day from a banquet, to which they had been invited by some dignified ecclesiastics, they repeated some of the trite arguments advanced by the priests. Tindal, answering by the scriptures, maintained the truth, and reproved their false opinions. Then said lady Welch, "Well, there was such a doctor, who may spend a hundred pounds, and another two hundred pounds, and another three hundred pounds; and what, were it reason, think you, that we

TINDAL.

should believe you before them?" To this personal argument, Tindal found it was unavailing to reply at that time, but shortly after he presented the knight and his lady with a translation he had made of a work written by Erasmus, called, *The Manual of a Christian Soldier*. They were impressed by its contents, and no longer gave the same entertainment and countenance to the ignorant and immoral Romish doctors. This the priests attributed to Tindal, and speedily began to manifest their hatred against him. Being summoned to appear before the chancellor of the diocese, he prayed earnestly to God to give him strength to stand fast in the truth of his word. He was protected; none of his accusers came forward, and he was dismissed with a reprimand.

There dwelt, not far off, a certain doctor, who had formerly been chancellor to a bishop, but who was an intimate friend of Tindal. The reformer went to him, and opened his mind upon several subjects relating to the scriptures: after conversing thereon, the ancient doctor said, "Do you not know that the pope is very antichrist, whom the scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say: for if you shall be perceived to hold that opinion, it will cost you your life;" adding, "I have been an officer of his, but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works." There is, indeed, good reason to believe that from the days of Wickliff, many individuals in England secretly held the truth.

Far different was the opinion of another divine, accounted a learned man, with whom Tindal reasoned not long after. Being hard pressed by the arguments of truth, he broke out into this blasphemous expression, "We had better be without God's laws than the pope's!"* Tindal, filled with godly indignation, replied, "I defy the pope, and all his laws;" adding, that if God spared his life, ere many years he would cause the boys that drove the plough to know more of the scripture than his opponent: a memorable declaration, which was accomplished, and blessed be God, we still see it fulfilled in our land.

The Romish priests now troubled Tindal still more, and he

* Erasmus, in his annotations on 1 Tim. i. mentions several of the blasphemous disputations often maintained in the schools; among them was, "Whether the pope be not more merciful than Christ was, since we do not read that Christ ever recalled any from the pains of purgatory."

found it became dangerous for him to remain in that part of the country. He therefore took leave of his friends, and went to London. From the preface to his translation of the five books of Moses, it appears that Tindal had then resolved to translate the new testament into English: but his views and proceedings are best stated in his own words. Speaking of the papists he says:—

“A thousand books had they rather to be put forth against their abominable doings and doctrine, than that the scripture should come to light. For as long as they may keep that down, they will so darken the right way with the mist of their sophistry, and so tangle them that either rebuke or despise their abominations, with arguments of philosophy, and with worldly similitudes and apparent reasons of natural wisdom; and with wresting the scripture unto their own purpose, clean contrary unto the process, order, and meaning of the text; and so delude them in descanting upon it with allegories; and amaze them, expounding it in many senses before the unlearned lay people, when it hath but one simple, literal sense, whose light the owls cannot abide, that though thou feelest in thine heart, and art sure, that all is false which they say, yet thou couldest not solve their subtle riddles.

“Which thing only moved me to translate the new testament. Because I had perceived by experience that it was impossible to establish the lay people in any truth, except the scriptures were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text: for else, whatsoever truth is taught them, these enemies of all truth quench it again, partly with the smoke of their bottomless pit, whereof thou readest in the Apocalypse, chap. ix.; that is, with apparent reasons of sophistry, and traditions of their own making, founded without ground of scripture, and partly in juggling with the text, expounding it in such a sense as is impossible to gather from the text, if thou see the process, order, and meaning thereof.

“And even in the bishop of London’s house* I intended to have done it. For I was so turmoiled in the country where I was, that I could no longer dwell there.

“The bishop of London came to my remembrance, whom

* Tonstal, afterwards bishop of Durham, the most moderate of the Romish prelates. See the life of Bernard Gilpin.

Erasmus (whose tongue maketh, of little gnats, great elephants, and lifts up above the stars whosoever gives him a little exhibition) praises exceedingly, among others, in his Annotations on the new testament, for his great learning. Then, thought I, if I might come to this man's service, I were happy. And so I gat me to London, and, through the acquaintance of my master, came to sir Harry Guildford, the king's grace's comptroller, and brought him an oration of Isocrates, which I had translated out of Greek into English, and desired him to speak unto my lord of London for me; which he also did as he showed me, and willed me to write an epistle to my lord, and to go to him myself, which I also did, and delivered my epistle to a servant of his own, one William Hebilthwayte, a man of mine old acquaintance. But God, who knows what is within hypocrites, saw that I was beguiled, and that this counsel was not the next way unto my purpose, and therefore he gave me no favour in my lord's sight.

"Whereupon my lord answered me, his house was full, he had more than he could well find, and advised me to seek in London, where he said I could not lack a service. And so in London I abode almost a year, and marked the course of the world, and heard our praters, I would say our preachers, how they boasted themselves and their high authority; and beheld the pomp of our prelates, and how busy they were, as they yet are, to set peace and unity in the world, though it be not possible for them that walk in darkness to continue long in peace, for they cannot but either stumble or dash themselves at one thing or another that shall clean unquiet all together; and I saw things whereof I defer to speak at this time; and understood at the last not only that there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the new testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England, as experience now openly declares."

During his abode in London, Tindal, thus rejected by one who professed to be a chief shepherd of Christ's flock, was protected and supported in his undertaking by a citizen and draper, named Humphry Monmouth, who being afterwards imprisoned for having countenanced and assisted Tindal, gave this account of his inmate:—

"Four years and a half past, or more, (about 1523,) I heard sir William Tindal,* otherwise called Hotchens, preach two

* In those days the title "sir" was usually given to priests.

or three sermons at St. Dunstan's in the west;" Monmouth then relates Tindal's disappointment from the bishop, and that he requested his assistance, and proceeds, "I took him into my house half a year, and there he lived like a good priest as methought. He studied most part of the day and the night at his book, and by his good will he would eat but sodden meat, nor drink but small single beer. I never saw him wear linen about him in the space he was with me.* I promised him ten pounds sterling to pray for my father and mother's souls, and all Christian souls.† I paid it him when he went to Hamburgh. Afterwards, he had from some others ten pounds sterling more, which he left with me, and within a year after sent for it." In a subsequent passage of this petition, Monmouth bears further testimony in favour of Tindal, and also shows the mental bondage in which good men were then held by the Romish ecclesiastics. "When I heard my lord of London preach at Paul's cross that sir William Tindal had translated the new testament into English, and that it was naughtily translated, that was the first time that ever I suspected or knew any evil of him. And shortly after, all the letters and treatises that he sent me, with divers copies of books which my servant did write, and the sermons that the priest did make at St. Dunstan's, I burned them in my house. He that wrote them out saw it. I burned them for fear of the translator, more than for any evil I knew of them." Monmouth was released, though not till he had suffered much loss and inconvenience; and he continued to favour and support the followers of the truth.‡ He was afterwards alderman and sheriff, and died in 1537.

Tindal proceeded to Saxony, where he saw Luther and other reformers, and then settling at Antwerp, in which city several English merchants favourable to the truth resided, he proceeded with his translation, assisted by Frith and Roye. In 1526, an edition of fifteen hundred copies of the new testament was printed; many of them were sent into England and widely circulated. The wrath of the Romish prelates at this proceeding was very great; a mandate was immediately issued by

* Linen was an expensive luxury in those days. Sodden meat, means food merely boiled, or plain fare.

† From Tindal's writings it will be seen that he did not long retain this ancient error.

‡ For a pleasing anecdote of this excellent man, see Latimer's Sermons, p. 208—210.

Tonstal, bishop of London, commanding that all the testaments translated by Tindal should be brought to the vicar-general. Several books written by Tindal, Luther, and other reformers, were also forbidden. Of them Fox truly observes, "These books of W. Tindal, being compiled, published, and sent over into England, it cannot be spoken what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole English nation, which before were many years shut up in darkness."

We have noticed bishop Tonstal being anxious to suppress Tindal's testament; to forward his design, he adopted the following singular expedient. He consulted one Packington, a mercer and merchant of London, who traded to Antwerp, how he might get all these testaments into his hands, and burn them. We may believe that bishop Tonstal wished to prevent their dispersion, without resorting to those cruel measures, which he, differing from most of the Romish prelates, abhorred to put in practice.

Packington is said to have been a secret friend of Tindal's, and knew his want of money, and that a great many copies of this testament were still on hand: this appeared a fair opportunity to assist the reformer; he therefore told the bishop, that if his lordship pleased, he would endeavour to purchase all that remained unsold. To this the bishop consented; Tindal had the money, Packington many thanks, and the bishop the books, which were sent to England, and burned in Cheapside, to the great surprise and grief of the people in general.

The bishop now thought that all was safe, but soon discovered that he was mistaken; for the printers in Holland, finding the books were eagerly sought after, immediately printed another edition, and by the next year, they came over in greater numbers than before. His lordship, finding this to be the case, sent for Packington, and blamed him for not buying up all the testaments according to his promise. Packington assured the bishop that he had bought all that remained unsold, adding, that "he believed they had printed more since, and that he really did not see how this could be stopped, unless his lordship would also buy the types and presses!" The bishop, however, only smiled at this proposal, and so the matter ended. These last editions were printed by the booksellers of Holland as a matter of profit.

Sir Thomas More, then lord chancellor, was very bitter

against all the reformers, and their writings, particularly against the translation of the new testament; and from the records of those times, it appears that he was very strict in examining all heretics supposed to be in any manner connected with Antwerp. Amongst others, George Constantine, who had been beyond sea, was brought before him; and the chancellor, after many questions, told him that he would be favourable to him, if he would but truly say from whom Tindal and his companions had received the money on which they lived. "My lord," said Constantine, "I will tell you truly; it is the bishop of London that hath assisted us; for he bestowed among us a great deal of money for the new testaments which he burnt, and that has been, and still is, our only support." "Now, by my troth," said the chancellor, "I think this is the truth, for I told the bishop it would be so before he went about it!"

The public burning of the word of God excited much attention; most people concluded that there must be something in that book very different from the doctrines of the clergy, who were so eager to destroy it; and all the arguments of sir Thomas More, and others, who wrote against the translation, could not remove these suspicions, which were confirmed by the perusal of the testaments. The demand for them increased, although the bishop preached at St. Paul's Cross, declaring that there were two thousand texts wrong translated, and though all who imported these testaments, or purchased them, were prosecuted with severity. Among others, one John Raimund, a Dutchman, was punished for "causing fifteen hundred to be printed at Antwerp, and bringing five hundred of them into England." John Tindal, the brother of the translator, also was punished for "sending five marks to his brother, and receiving letters from him;" and condemned, with Thomas Patmore, another merchant of London, to do penance, by riding to the standard in Cheapside, with their faces to their horses' tails, having the testaments hung thickly round them, fastened to their gowns; they were then compelled to cast the books into a fire kindled on purpose to consume them.

It appears that several persons in London sold these testaments; the price of them wholesale, in large quantities, was about thirteen pence each; but singly, by retail, from twenty-eight to thirty pence or even more; reckoning the difference of the value of money, we may consider these sums as equal to ten

times the amount in our days. Notwithstanding all these exertions of the prelates, three large editions were sold before 1530. We may here remark, that although this translation was in some respects faulty, as always must be the case with a first edition, yet the number of errors before mentioned is an absurd exaggeration, even including mere typographical faults, such as broken letters, and words spelt amiss; and Dr. Geddes has observed, that "although it is far from a perfect translation, yet few first translations will be found preferable to it. It is astonishing how little obsolete the language of it is, even at this day; and in point of perspicuity and noble simplicity, propriety of idiom, and purity of style, no English version has yet surpassed it."

The following extract from the confession of John Tyball, of Bumsted in Essex, made before bishop Tonstal on April 28th, 1528, contains some interesting information relative to the circulation of Tindal's testament:—

"Furthermore he saith, that at Michaelmas last past was twelve months, this respondent and Thomas Hills came to London to friar Barons, then being at the Friars Augustines in London, to buy a new testament in English, as he saith. And they found the said friar Barons in his chamber, where there was a merchant man reading a book, and two or three more present. And when they came in, the friar demanded from whence they came, and they said from Bumsted; and they desired friar Barons, that they might be acquainted with him, because they had heard that he was a good man, and because they would have his counsel in the new testament, which they desired to have of him. And he saith, that the said friar Barons did perceive very well that Thomas Hills and this respondent were infected with opinions, because they would have the new testament. And then further they showed the said friar, that one sir Richard Fox, curate of Bumsted, by their means was well entered in their learning; and said that they thought to get him wholly in a short space; wherefore they desired the said friar Barons to make a letter to him, that he would continue in that he had begun. Which friar did promise so to write to him a letter at afternoon, and to get them a new testament. And then, after that communication, they showed the friar Barons certain old books that they had, as the four

evangelists and certain epistles of Peter and Paul in English.* Which books the said friar did little regard, and made a twyt of it,† and said, ‘A point for them, for they are not to be regarded toward the new printed testament in English; for it is of more clean English.’‡ And then the said friar Barons delivered to them the said new testament in English, for which they paid three shillings and two-pence, and desired them that they would keep it close, for he would be loth it should be known. And after the delivering of the said new testament to them, the said friar Barons did liken the new testament in Latin to a cymbal tinkling and a brass sounding, but what further exposition he made upon it, he cannot tell. And then at afternoon they fetched the said letter from the said friar, which he wrote to sir Richard, and he read it openly before them. And so they departed from him; and never since spake with him, or wrote to him.”

Robert Necton confessed that he had bought of Mr. Fish, dwelling by the Whitefriars in London, many of the new testaments in English of the great volume, at sundry times, to the number of twenty or thirty. He also bought of Geoffery Usher of St. Anthonies, eighteen new testaments of the small volume, and twenty-six other books. A Dutchman then in the Fleet prison, also would have sold him two or three hundred testaments, for which he was to have given ninepence each. These probably were the inferior edition, printed by the booksellers in Holland; the larger testaments of Tindal’s first edition he sold for about three shillings and fourpence each. These confessions and others which Strype has printed in the appendix to his Memorials, from bishop Tonstal’s own register, show that these books were widely circulated; also the extent to which the doctrines of the gospel were diffused among the lower classes, and the high price at which they purchased the word of God. These farmers and labourers willingly paid a sum of money for a new testament in English, which, when the difference in value of money is considered, is equal to two or three pounds at the present day.

Sir Thomas More published, in 1529, a Dialogue, in which he

* Probably of Wickliff’s translation; in another part of his confession, Tyball says, he burnt them on hearing the curate was taken up.

† Made light of it.

‡ Better expressed, easier to be understood.

strongly advocated the doctrines of popery, and attacked the writings of the Reformers, especially the English testament; to which Tindal replied, ably defending his translation against the imputations cast upon it.* Meanwhile Tindal proceeded with his version of the old testament, and having completed the five books of Moses, he embarked for Hamburgh, designing to print that portion without delay. On the voyage he was shipwrecked, and lost all his books and papers, but being steadfastly resolved to proceed in his great work, he again proceeded to that city. Coverdale came to him, they resided there from Easter till December, 1529, during which time they again translated the pentateuch; and it was printed in the following year, apparently at different presses.

Tindal then returned to Antwerp, where he continued his labours and printed a revised edition of his testament in 1534.

* In his preface to the five books of Moses, Tindal thus notices the cavils of his adversaries against his translation:—"When I had translated the new testament, I added an epistle unto the latter end, in which I desired them that were learned to amend if ought were found amiss. But our malicious and wily hypocrites, who are so stubborn, and hard hearted in their wicked abominations, that it is not possible for them to amend any thing at all, (as we see by daily experience, when both their lyings and doings are rebuked with the truth,) say, some of them, that it is impossible to translate the scripture into English; some, that it is not lawful for the lay people to have it in their mother tongue; some, that it would make them all heretics; as it would no doubt from many things which they of long time have falsely taught; and that is the whole cause wherefore they forbid it, though they pretend other cloaks. And some, or rather every one, say that it would make them rise against the king, whom they themselves (unto their damnation is it) never yet obeyed. And lest the temporal rulers should see their falsehood, if the scripture came to light, causes them so to lie.

"And as for my translation, in which they affirm unto the lay people, as I have heard say, to be I know not how many thousand heresies, so that it cannot be mended or corrected, they have yet taken such great pains to examine it, and to compare it unto what they would fain have it, and to their own imaginations and juggling terms, and to have somewhat to rail at; and, under that cloak, to blaspheme the truth, that they might with as little labour, as I suppose, have translated the most part of the bible. For they which in times past were wont to look on no more scripture than they found in their Duns, or such like devilish doctrine, have yet now so narrowly looked on my translation, that there is not so much as one i therein, if it lack a tittle over its head, but they have noted it, and number it unto the ignorant people for a heresy. Finally, in this they are all agreed—to drive you from the knowledge of the scripture, and that you shall not have the text thereof in the mother tongue; and to keep the world still in darkness, to the intent they might sit in the consciences of the people, through vain superstition and false doctrine, to satisfy their filthy lusts, their proud ambition, and unsatiable covetousness; and to exalt their own honour above king and emperor, yea, and above God himself."

During this period, the anger of the papists against him increased more and more; his books were prohibited by the king's proclamation but were anxiously sought after by the people. Many persons ventured their lives by bringing them into England; among them Richard Bayfield, who was burned in 1531. The Romish prelates and sir Thomas More were very particular in their inquiries respecting Tindal's proceedings, manner of life, &c., and at length the plans of his adversaries were matured. In 1534, they sent to Antwerp a Romanist, named Henry Philips, who, having an introduction to the merchants there, formed an acquaintance with Tindal. This popish emissary made himself so acceptable to his unsuspecting victim, that Tindal procured him a lodging in the house where he himself resided, and communicated his views and proceedings to his treacherous countryman. After some time, Philips proceeded to Brussels, and obtained authority from the officers of the emperor Charles V. to seize Tindal as a heretic. He then returned to Antwerp, and watching an opportunity when Poyntz, the person with whom Tindal lodged, was from home, he went to the house, and desired the hostess to provide dinner for himself and Tindal; from whom he borrowed some money. The latter declined this proposal, as he was engaged to dine elsewhere, but asked Philips to accompany him. The invitation being accepted, at the appointed time they went forth together, and having to pass through a long narrow entry into the street, Philips, with pretended courtesy, insisted upon his companion going first. When they came to the doorway, two officers were waiting, to whom Philips pointed out their prisoner. They seized Tindal, and carried him to the emperor's procurator, who caused search to be made for his writings, and sent him to the castle of Filford, (or Vilvorde,) where he remained until they put him to death.

Considerable interest was made for Tindal by the protestants in England, but without success; he was condemned as an offender against the imperial decree, passed in the Diet of Augsburg, and after an imprisonment of a year and a half, during which interval the Romish doctors had many disputations with him, he was carried to the place of execution in 1536. Tindal was strangled, and his body afterwards burned, his last words were, "O Lord, open the king of England's eyes."

Such was the power of his doctrine, and the spirit of his life,

that during the time of his imprisonment, it is said, he became the means of converting his keeper, his daughter, and others of the household. Also the rest who were in the castle reported of him, that if he were not a good Christian man, they knew not whom to trust. Even the emperor's procurator left this testimony of him, that he was a learned, a good, and a godly man.

The writings of Tindal are numerous; in addition to the new testament and the pentateuch, he translated the other books of the old testament to the end of Nehemiah, which were printed as a part of the first complete English bible, published in 1535, by Coverdale. The psalms and the prophet Jonah were printed separately in his lifetime.* His other works, and the prologues prefixed to the books of scripture, were collected by Fox, and printed by Day in one volume, with the writings of Frith and Barnes. In addition to the pieces contained in the present work, Tindal wrote an answer to sir Thomas More's Dialogue—The Practice of Prelates, which contains a very severe exposure of the corruptions of popery—A Commentary upon the Epistles of St. John, which also enters fully into the errors of the church of Rome—and, A Treatise upon Signs and Sacraments. Some other small pieces have been ascribed to him.

Tindal also translated some writings of the German reformers, and published the Prayer and Complaint of the Ploughman; also, the Examinations of lord Cobham and William Thorp.

One of his principal works is, "The Obedience of a Christian Man, and how Christian Rulers ought to govern;" part of the preface and the summary with which it concludes, are given in the present volume. Respecting this tract, an anecdote has been preserved too interesting to be omitted.

Ann Boleyn, before she was queen, lent to Mrs. Gainsford, one of her female attendants, a tract written by Tindal, called, "The Obedience of a Christian Man." One day as she was reading it, a young gentleman named Zouch, also in the service

* As a translator of the scriptures, Tindal laboured with the most scrupulous accuracy; he says, "I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches, might be given me." See his letter to Frith. The reader has already had other particulars respecting his version.

of lady Ann, snatched the book away in sport, and refused to restore it. He was, however, induced to peruse the tract; and his heart was so affected by its contents, that 'he was never well but when he was reading that book.' Cardinal Wolsey had directed all the ecclesiastics about the court, to take especial care to prevent the writings of the reformers from being circulated there, lest they should come into the hands of the king; but this very caution proved the means of bringing to pass what he most feared! Dr. Sampson, the dean of the royal chapel, saw this book one day in the young man's hand, who was reading it in the chapel; most probably being weary of attendance upon the mass, the processions, and other mummeries. The dean called Zouch, and took the book from him, and gave it to the cardinal. Some days after, Lady Ann asked her attendant for the book, who, 'on her knees, told all the circumstances,' doubtless being fearful lest her mistress, as well as herself, should come into trouble from this carelessness. Lady Ann instantly went to the king, and 'upon her knees' entreated his help, that the book might be restored. Henry interfered, and at his command the book was given up to lady Ann, who brought it to him, requesting he would read it. The king did so, and was much pleased with the contents, saying, "This book is for me and all kings to read."

To the preceding account of Tindal, may be added the concluding paragraph of his life, prefixed by Fox to the collected edition of his works.

"And here to end and conclude this history with a few notes, touching his private behaviour in diet, study, and especially his charitable zeal, and tender relieving of the poor. First he was a man very frugal and spare of body, a great student and earnest labourer in setting forth the scriptures of God. He reserved or hallowed to himself two days in the week, which he named his days of pastime, and those days were Saturday and Monday. On the Monday he visited all such poor men and women as had fled out of England to Antwerp by reason of persecution, and those who well understood good exercises and qualities, he very liberally comforted and relieved; and in like manner provided for sick and diseased persons. On the Saturday he walked round the town of Antwerp, seeking out every corner and hole where he suspected any poor person dwelt, and where he found any well occupied and yet overburdened with children,

TINDAL.

or else aged or weak, those also he plentifully relieved. And thus he spent his two days of pastime as he called them. And truly his alms were very large and great; and so they might well be, for his exhibition that he had yearly from the English merchants was considerable, and for the most part he bestowed it upon the poor as before is said. The rest of the days of the week he gave himself wholly to his books, wherein he laboured most diligently. When the Sunday came, then went he to some one merchant's chamber, or other, whither came many other merchants, and unto them would he read some part of scripture, either out of the old testament or out of the new, which proceeded so fruitfully, sweetly, and gently from him, much like to the writing of St. John the evangelist, that it was a heavenly comfort and joy to the audience to hear him read the scriptures; and likewise after dinner he spent an hour in the same manner. He was a man without any spot, or blemish of rancour, or malice, full of mercy and compassion, so that no man living was able to reprove him of any kind of sin or crime, although his righteousness and justification depended not thereupon before God, but only upon the blood of Christ, and his faith upon the same; in the which faith he died with constancy at Filford, and now resteth with the glorious company of Christ's martyrs blessedly in the Lord, who be blessed in all his saints. Amen.

“And thus much of the life and story of the true servant and martyr of God, WILLIAM TINDAL, who for his notable pains and travail, may well be called the apostle of England in this our latter age.”

SOME ACCOUNT
OF
JOHN FRITH,
MARTYR, 1533.

JOHN FRITH was the son of an innkeeper at Sevenoaks in Kent, where he was born about the year 1503. From his childhood he was remarkable for his abilities and his inclination for learning, in which he made very considerable progress. He studied at Cambridge, where he was of King's college, and was one of the persons selected by cardinal Wolsey, on account of their learning, to be members of his new college at Oxford, which he founded in 1527, upon a very magnificent scale, and enlarged by suppressing several monasteries and other ecclesiastical institutions. While in London, about 1525, Frith had become acquainted with Tindal, through whose instructions he first received into his heart the seed of the gospel and pure godliness. Frith and several of his companions at Oxford soon evinced an attachment for the doctrines of the truth, which excited the enmity of the Romanists, who imprisoned them in a deep cellar belonging to the college, where the salt fish was kept. The damp and noisome stench of this place affected them so that several of their number died.

After some time Frith was released. In 1528 he went beyond sea, where he remained two years, during which interval he made considerable progress in the knowledge of the truth, and wrote his book against purgatory. He then returned; he went to Reading, having, it is supposed, some expectations from the abbot of that place. These, however, appear to have been disappointed; he was taken up and set in the stocks as a vagrant.

After being confined some time, when ready to perish with hunger, he asked to see the schoolmaster of the town, who, discovering his abilities and learning, procured his release, and gave him assistance.

Frith then went to London, where he endeavoured to remain concealed, but he soon became "a marked man," and was earnestly sought for by sir Thomas More, who offered large rewards for his apprehension. In his book against purgatory, Frith had written in answer to sir Thomas More's reply to the Supplication of the Beggars, (see page 30,) showing that the doctrine of purgatory was opposed to the truths of scripture respecting the pardon of sin and salvation by Christ alone. Frith was apprehended at Milton in Essex, endeavouring to escape to the continent, and sent to the Tower. There he gained the favour of his keeper, so that he was allowed sometimes to visit the followers of the truth in the city. Strype relates, that "When John Frith was in the tower, he came to Petit's key in the night, notwithstanding the strait watch and ward by commandment. At whose first coming, Mr. Petit was in doubt whether it was Mr. Frith or a vision; no less doubting than the apostles, when Rhoda the maid brought tidings that Peter was out of prison. But Mr. Frith showed him that it was God that wrought him that liberty in the heart of his keeper, Phillips, who, upon the condition of his own word and promise, let him go at liberty in the night to consult with godly men." Petit was a wealthy merchant of London, who was member of parliament for the city many years, but being suspected by sir Thomas More of favouring those of the new religion, and assisting to print their books, he was imprisoned and laid in a dungeon upon a pad of straw, where he contracted a disease of which he soon afterwards died.

While in confinement, Frith was induced by a friend to commit to writing his opinions upon the sacrament of the Lord's supper. These we are told were four. 1. That the matter of the sacrament is no article of faith necessary to be believed under pain of damnation. 2. That forasmuch as Christ's natural body hath all properties of our body, sin only excepted, it cannot be, neither is it agreeable unto reason, that he should be in two places or more at once, contrary to the nature of our body. 3. Moreover it is not right or necessary, that we should in this place understand Christ's words according to the literal sense,

but rather according to the order and phrase of speech, comparing phrase with phrase, according to the analogy of the scripture. 4. The sacrament ought to be received according to the true and right institution of Christ, albeit the order which at this time has crept into the church, and is used now-a-days by the priest, ever so much differs from it.

At that period there was in London a tailor named William Holt, who pretended to be very friendly towards the followers of the truth. Having obtained a copy of this writing of Frith's, he carried it to sir Thomas More, and it was the cause of Frith's death. More, at that time, was very active in defence of the Romish doctrines; he not only imprisoned Frith, but printed a refutation of his arguments. His book, however, was kept from Frith and his friends with much care for some time; with considerable difficulty he obtained a written copy, and saw the printed work during an examination before the bishop of Winchester. Frith then replied to More's answer in an able treatise, written under all the disadvantages of strict confinement.

Frith had now attracted considerable notice, as the first who publicly advocated the doctrines of Zuingle, in England. One of the king's chaplains alluded to him in a sermon, at the instigation of the bishop of Winchester; in consequence of which his imprisonment in the tower was terminated by an order to the bishops to examine him. The subsequent account is best given in the words of Fox.

"That there should be no concourse of citizens at the said examination, my lord of Canterbury removed to Croydon, unto whom resorted the rest of the commissioners. Now, before the day appointed, my lord of Canterbury sent one of his gentlemen, and one of his porters, whose name was Perlebean, a Welshman born, to fetch John Frith from the Tower unto Croydon. This gentleman had both my lord's letters and the king's ring unto my lord Fitzwilliams, constable of the Tower, then lying in Canon-row, at Westminster, in extreme anguish and pain from a disorder, for the delivery of the prisoner. Master Fitzwilliams, more passionate than patient, understanding for what purpose my lord's gentleman was come, banned and cursed Frith and other heretics, saying, Take this my ring unto the lieutenant of the Tower, and receive your man, your heretic, with you, and I am glad that I am rid of him."

"When Frith was delivered unto my lord of Canterbury's gentleman, they twain, with Perlebean, sitting in a wherry and rowing towards Lambeth, the said gentleman much lamenting in his mind the infelicity of the said Frith, began to exhort him, to consider in what state he was, a man altogether cast away in this world, if he did not look wisely to himself. And yet though his cause was ever so dangerous, he might, by somewhat relenting to authority, and so giving place for a time, help both himself out of trouble, and when opportunity and occasion should serve, prefer his cause, which he then went about to defend, declaring further that he had many well-willers and friends, who would stand on his side, so far as they were able, and durst do; adding hereunto, that it were great pity that he, being of such singular knowledge both in the Latin and Greek, both ready and ripe in all kind of learning, and as well in the scriptures as in the ancient doctors, should now suddenly suffer all those singular gifts to perish with him, with little commodity or profit to the world, and less comfort to his wife and children, and others his kinsfolks and friends. And as for the verity of your opinion in the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, added he, it is so untimely opened here amongst us in England, that you shall rather do harm than good; wherefore be wise and be ruled by good counsel until a better opportunity may serve. This I am sure of, that my lord Cromwell and my lord of Canterbury, much favouring you, and knowing you to be an eloquent, learned young man, and now towards the felicity of your life, young in years, old in knowledge, and of great forwardness, and likely to be a most profitable member for this realm, will never permit you to sustain any open shame, if you will somewhat be advised by their counsel. On the other side, if you stand stiffly to your opinion, it is not possible to save your life. For like as you have good friends, so have you mortal foes and enemies.

"I most heartly thank you, said master Frith unto the gentleman, both for your good will and for your counsel; by which I well perceive that you intend well unto me; howbeit, my cause and conscience is such, that in no wise I may not, and cannot for any worldly respect, without danger of damnation, start aside, and fly from the true knowledge and doctrine which I have conceived of the supper of the Lord or the communion, otherwise called the sacrament of the altar; for if it be my

chance to be demanded, what I think in that behalf, I must needs say my knowledge and my conscience, as partly I have written therein already, though I should presently lose twenty lives if I had so many. And this you shall well understand, that I am not so unfurnished, either of scripture or ancient doctors, schoolmen, or others for my defence; so that if I may be indifferently* heard, I am sure that mine adversaries cannot justly condemn me or mine assertion, but that they shall condemn with me St. Augustine and the most part of the old writers; yea, the very bishops of Rome of the oldest sort shall also say for me and defend my cause. Yea, marry, quoth the gentleman, you say well, if you might be indifferently heard. But I much doubt thereof, for our master Christ was not indifferently heard, nor should be, as I think, if he were now present again in the world, especially in this your opinion, the same being so odious unto the world, and we so far off from the true knowledge thereof.

"Well, well, said Frith then unto the gentleman, I know very well that this doctrine of the sacrament of the altar which I hold, and have opened, contrary to the opinion of this realm, is very hard meat to be digested, both of the clergy and laity thereof. But this I will say to you, (taking the gentleman by the hand,) that if you live but twenty years more, whatsoever become of me, you shall see this whole realm of mine opinion concerning this sacrament of the altar; namely, the whole estate of the same, though some men particularly shall not be fully persuaded therein. And if it come not so to pass, then account me the vainest man that ever you heard speak with tongue. Besides this, you say that my death would be sorrowful and uncomfortable unto my friends. I grant that for a small time it would be so; but if I should so mollify, qualify, and temper my cause in such sort as to deserve only to be kept in prison, that would not only be a much longer grief unto me, but also to my friends would breed no small disquietness, both of body and of mind. And therefore all things well and rightly pondered, my death in this cause shall be better unto me and all mine, than life in continual bondage and penuries. And almighty God knoweth what he hath to do with his poor servant, whose cause I now defend and not my own; from the

* Impartially.

which I assuredly do intend, God willing, never to start or otherwise to give place, so long as God will give me life.

"This communication, or the like in effect, my lord of Canterbury's gentleman and Frith had, coming in a wherry upon the Thames from the Tower to Lambeth.

"Now, when they were landed, after repast being taken at Lambeth, the gentleman, the porter, and Frith went forward towards Croydon on foot. This gentleman still lamenting with himself the hard and cruel destiny of Frith, if he once came amongst the bishops; and now also perceiving the exceeding constancy of Frith, devised with himself some way or means to convey him quite out of their hands, and thereupon considering that there were no more persons there to convey the prisoner, but the porter and himself, he took in hand to win the porter to his purpose. Quoth the gentleman unto Perlebean the porter, they twain privately walking by themselves without the hearing of Frith, You have heard this man I am sure, and noted his talk since he came from the Tower.—Yea, that I have right well marked him, quoth the porter, and I never heard so constant a man nor so eloquent a person.—You have heard nothing, quoth the gentleman, in respect both of his knowledge and eloquence: if he might either in university or pulpit freely declare his learning, you would then much more marvel at his knowledge. I take him to be such a one of his age in all kind of learning and knowledge of tongues, as this realm never yet brought forth, and yet those singular gifts in him are no more considered of our bishops than if he were a very dolt or an idiot; yea, they abhor him as a devil therefore, and covet utterly to extinguish him as a member of the devil, without any consideration of God's special gifts.—Marry, quoth the porter, if there were nothing else in him but the consideration of his personage, both comely and amiable, and of natural disposition, gentle, meek, and humble: it were pity that he should be cast away.

"The gentleman then proposed that they should suffer Frith to escape, saying, You see yonder hill before us named Bristow (Brixton) causeway; there are great woods on both sides; when we come there we will permit Frith to go into the woods on the left hand of the way, whereby he may convey himself into Kent among his friends, for he is a Kentish man; and when he is gone we will linger an hour or two about the high-

way, until it draw towards night. Then in great haste we will approach Streatham and make an outcry in the town that our prisoner is broken from us on the right hand towards Wandsworth, so that we will draw as many as we can of the town to search the country that way for our prisoner, declaring that we followed him above a mile or more, and at length lost him in the woods. So when my lord of Canterbury's gentleman came nigh to the hill, he joined himself in company with the said Frith, and, calling him by his name, said, Now, master Frith let us twain commune together another while; you must consider that the journey which I have now taken in hand thus in bringing you to Croydon, as a sheep to the slaughter, it grieveth me, and as it were overwhelmeth me in cares and sorrows, that I little mind what danger I fall in, so that I could find the means to deliver you out of the lion's mouth. And yet yonder good fellow and I have devised a means, whereby you may both easily escape from this great and eminent danger at hand, and we also be rid from any vehement suspicion.

"When Frith had heard all the matter concerning his delivery, he said to the gentleman, with a smiling countenance, Is this the effect of your secret consultation, thus long between you twain? Surely, surely, you have lost a great deal more labour in times past, and so are you like to do this, for if you should both leave me here, and go to Croydon declaring to the bishops that you had lost Frith, I would surely follow after as fast as I might, and bring them news that I had found and brought Frith again. Do you think that I am afraid to declare my opinion unto the bishops of England in a manifest truth?

"You are a foolish man, quoth the gentleman, thus to talk: as though your reasoning with them might do some good. But I do much marvel, that you were so willing to fly the realm before you were taken, and now so unwilling to save yourself.—There was and is a great diversity of escaping, between the one and the other, quoth Frith. Before, I was indeed desirous to escape, because I was not attached, but at liberty; which liberty I would fain have enjoyed for the maintenance of my study beyond the sea, where I was reader in the Greek tongue, according to St. Paul's counsel. Howbeit, now being taken by the higher power, and as it were, by almighty God's permission and providence, delivered into the hands of the bishops only for religion and doctrine's sake, such as in conscience and

under pain of damnation I am bound to maintain and defend; if I should now start aside and run away, I should run from my God and from the testimony of his holy word, worthy then of a thousands hells. And therefore I most heartily thank you both, for your good wills towards me, beseeching you to bring me where I was appointed to be brought, for else I will go thither all alone. And so with a cheerful and merry countenance he went with them, spending the time with pleasant and godly communications, until they came to Croydon, where for that night he was well entertained in the porter's lodge. On the morrow he was called before certain bishops and other learned men sitting in commission with my lord of Canterbury, to be examined, where he showed himself passing ready and ripe in answering to all objections, as some then reported, incredibly and contrary to all men's expectations. And his allegations both out of Augustine and other ancient fathers of the church, were such that some of them much doubted of Augustine's authority in that behalf. Insomuch that it was reported by them who were nigh and about the archbishop of Canterbury, (who then was not fully resolved of the sincere truth of that article,) that when they had finished their examination of Frith, the archbishop, conferring with Dr. Heath privately between themselves, said, This man hath wonderfully laboured in this matter, and yet in mine opinion he taketh the doctors amiss. Well, my lord, said Dr. Heath, there was no man who could do away his authorities from St. Augustine. Then he began to repeat them again, inferring and applying them so strongly that my lord said, I see that you with a little more study will easily be brought to Frith's opinion;* and some there present openly reported that Dr. Heath was as able to defend Frith's assertions of the sacrament, as Frith was himself.

"This learned young man being thus thoroughly sifted at Croydon, to understand what he could say and do in his cause, there was no man willing to prefer him to answer in open disputation as poor Lambert was. But without regard of learning or good knowledge, he was sent and detained unto the butcher's stall; I mean bishop Stokesly's consistory, there to hear, not the

* This was not realized with respect to Heath, who was archbishop of York in queen Mary's days, but Cranmer himself was led to see the truth of Frith's doctrine, and was influenced by his writings.

opinion of Augustine and other ancient fathers of Christ's primitive church, of the said sacrament, but either to be instructed and to hear the maimed and half cut-away sacrament of anti-christ the bishop of Rome, with the gross and fleshly imagination thereof, or else to perish in the fire, as he most certainly did, after he had before the bishops of London, Winchester, and Chichester, in the consistory in St. Paul's church, most plainly and sincerely confessed his doctrine and faith in this weighty matter. He left an account of his examinations.

"Sentence being passed and read against him, the bishop of London (Stokesly) directed his letter to the mayor and sheriffs of the city of London, for receiving of John Frith into their charge; who was delivered over unto them. While in Newgate Frith was put into the dungeon under the gate, and laden with bolts and irons as many as he could bear, and his neck with a collar of iron made fast to a post, so that he could neither stand upright nor stoop down, yet was he there continually occupied in writing, namely with a candle, both day and night, for there came no other light into that place. In this sad case he remained several days. On the fourth day of July, in the year 1533, he was by them carried to Smithfield to be burned; and when he was tied unto the stake, there sufficiently appeared with what constancy and courage he suffered death. For when the fagots and fire were put unto him, he willingly embraced the same; thereby declaring, with what uprightness of mind he suffered his death for Christ's sake: and the true doctrine, whereof that day he gave with his blood a perfect and firm testimony.

"A young man, apprenticed to a tailor in Watling-street, named Andrew Hewit, was burned at the same stake with Frith, for holding the same opinions. When before the bishops, Hewit was asked how he believed concerning the sacrament. He replied, Even as John Frith does. Bishop Stokesly said, Why Frith is a heretic, and already condemned to be burned; and except thou revoke thy opinion, thou shalt be burned also with him. His reply simply was, Truly I am content withal: upon which he was condemned and burned with Frith!

"When they were at the stake, doctor Cook, a priest in London, openly admonished the people, that they should in no wise pray for them—no more than they would do for a dog. At which words Frith, smiling, desired the Lord to forgive them. These words did not a little move the people unto

anger, and not without good cause. The wind made his death somewhat the longer, which bore away the flame from him unto his fellow that was burning with him; but he had established his mind with such patience, God giving him strength, that even as though he had felt no pain in that long torment, he seemed rather to rejoice for his fellow, than to be careful for himself.—This, truly, is the power and strength of Christ, striving and vanquishing in his saints; who sanctify us together with them, and direct us in all things to the glory of his most holy name. Amen.”

*A Letter of John Frith to his friends, concerning his troubles: wherein after he had first with a brief preface saluted them, entering then into the matter, thus he writeth,—being the articles wherefore he died, which he wrote in Newgate the 23rd day of June, 1533.**

I doubt not, dear brethren, but that it doth vex you, to see the one part have all the words, and freely to speak what they list, and the other to be put to silence, and not to be heard indifferently.† But refer your matters to God, who shortly shall judge after another fashion. In the mean time I have written unto you as briefly as I may, what articles were objected against me, and what were the principal points of my condemnation, that ye might understand the matter certainly.

The whole matter of this my examination was comprehended in two special articles, that is to say, of purgatory, and of the substance of the sacrament.

And first of all, as touching purgatory, they inquired of me whether I did believe there was any place to purge the spots and filth of the soul after this life. But I said, that I thought there was no such place. For man, said I, doth consist, and is made only of two parts, that is to say, of the body and the soul,

* This letter is to be seen in the end of that excellent and worthy work which he made in the Tower concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.—*Fox*.

This letter is printed from the copy in Fox's Acts and Monuments, which is fuller than the original tract or the folio edition, but does not differ in any essential respect.

† Impartially.

whereof the one is purged here in this world, by the cross of Christ, which he layeth upon every child that he receiveth; as affliction, worldly oppression, persecution, imprisonment, &c. and last of all, the reward of sin, which is death, is laid upon us; but the soul is purged with the word of God, which we receive through faith, to the salvation both of body and soul. Now if ye can show me a third part of man beside the body and the soul, I will also grant unto you the third place, which you call purgatory. But because ye cannot do this, I must also of necessity deny unto you the bishop of Rome's purgatory. Nevertheless, I count neither part a necessary article of our faith, to be believed under pain of damnation, whether there be such a purgatory or no.

Secondly, they examined me touching the sacrament of the altar, whether it was the very body of Christ or no.

I answered, that I thought it was both Christ's body, and also our body, as St. Paul teaches us in the first epistle to the Corinthians, and tenth chapter. For in that it is made one bread of many corns,* it is called our body, which being divers and many members, are associated and gathered together into one fellowship or body. Likewise of the wine, which is gathered of many clusters of grapes, and is made into one liquor. But the same bread again, in that it is broken, is the body of Christ, declaring his body to be broken and delivered unto death, to redeem us from our iniquities.

Furthermore, in that the sacrament is distributed, it is Christ's body; signifying that as verily as that sacrament is distributed unto us, so verily is Christ's body and the fruit of his passion distributed unto all faithful people.

In that it is received, it is Christ's body, signifying that as verily as the outward man receiveth the sacrament with his teeth and mouth, so verily doth the inward man through faith receive Christ's body and fruit of his passion, and is as sure of it, as of the bread which he eateth.

Well, said they, dost thou not think that his very natural body, flesh, blood, and bone, is really contained under the sacrament, and there present without all figure or similitude? No, said I, I do not so think. Notwithstanding I would not that any should count that I make my saying, which is the negative, any article of faith. For even as I say, that you

* Grains of corn.

ought not to make any necessary article of the faith of your part, which is the affirmative, so I say again, that we make no necessary article of the faith of our part, but leave it indifferent for all men to judge therein, as God shall open their hearts, and no side to condemn or despise the other, but to nourish in all things brotherly love, and one to bear another's infirmity.

After this, they alleged the place of St. Augustine, where he saith, "He was carried in his own hands."

Whereunto I answered, that St. Augustine was a plain interpreter of himself: for he hath in another place, "He was carried *as it were* in his own hands:" which is a phrase of speech not of one that doth simply affirm, but only of one expressing a thing by a similitude. And albeit that St. Augustine had not thus expounded himself, yet he, writing unto Boniface, plainly admonishes all men, that the sacraments do represent and signify those things whereof they are sacraments, and many times even of the similitudes of the things themselves they take their names; and therefore according to this rule it may be said, he was borne in his own hands, when he bare in his hands the sacrament of his body and blood.

Then they alleged a place of Chrysostom, which at the first blush may seem to make much for them: who, in a certain homily upon the Supper, writeth thus: "Dost thou see bread and wine? Do they depart from thee into the draught, as other meats do? No, God forbid. For as in wax, when it cometh to the fire, nothing of the substance remaineth nor abideth; so likewise think that the mysteries are consumed by the substance of the body, &c."

These words I expounded by the words of the same doctor, who in another homily saith on this manner; "The inward eyes as soon as they see the bread, they flee over all creatures, and do not think of the bread that is baked of the baker, but of the bread of everlasting life, which is signified by the mystical bread." Now confer these places together, and you shall perceive that the last expoundeth the first plainly. For he saith; Dost thou see the bread and wine? I answer by the second, Nay. For the inward eyes as soon as they see the bread, do pass over all creatures, and do not any longer think upon the bread, but upon him that is signified by the bread. And after this manner he seeth it, and again, he seeth it not. For as he seeth it with his outward and carnal eyes, so with his inward eyes he seeth it not; that is to say, regardeth not the

bread, or thinketh not upon it, but is otherwise occupied. Even as when we play or do any thing else negligently, we commonly are wont to say, we see not what we do; not that indeed we do not see that which we go about, but because our mind is fixed on some other thing, and does not attend unto that which the eyes do see.

In like manner may it be answered unto that which follows, "Do they avoid from thee, saith he, into the draught as other meats do?" I will not so say. For other meats passing through, after they have of themselves given nourishment unto the body, are voided into the draught; but this is a spiritual meat, which is received by faith, and nourisheth both body and soul unto everlasting life; neither is it at any time avoided as other meats are.

And, as I said before, that the external eyes do behold the bread, which the inward eyes, being otherwise occupied, do not behold or think upon. Even so our outward man doth digest the bread, and void it into the draught; but the inward man doth neither regard nor think upon it, but thinketh upon the thing itself that is signified by that bread. And therefore Chrysostom a little before the words which they alleged, saith, "Lift up your minds and hearts." Whereby he admonishes us to look upon and consider those heavenly things which are represented and signified by the bread and wine, and not to mark the bread and wine itself.

Here they said, that was not Chrysostom's mind; but that by this example he declareth that there remained no bread nor wine. I answered, that was false; for the example that he taketh, tendeth to no other purpose, but to call away our spiritual eyes from the beholding of visible things, and to transport them another way, as if the things that are seen were of no force. Therefore he draweth away our mind from the consideration of these things, and fixeth it upon him who is signified unto us by the same. The very words which follow sufficiently declare this to be the true meaning of the author, whereas he commandeth us to consider all things with our inward eyes; that is to say, spiritually.

But whether Chrysostom's words do tend either to this or that sense, yet do they indifferently make on our part against our adversaries, which way soever we do understand them. For if he thought that the bread and wine do remain, we have no further to travel; but if he meant contrariwise, that they

do not remain, but that the natures of the bread and wine are altered, then are the bread and wine falsely named sacraments and mysteries, which can be said in no place to be in the nature of things; for that which is in no place, how can it be a sacrament, or supply the room of a mystery? Finally, if he spake only of the outward forms and shapes, as we call them, it is most certain that they do continually remain, and that they, by the substance of the body, are not consumed in any place; wherefore it must necessarily follow the words of Chrysostom are to be understood in such sense as I have declared.

Here peradventure many would marvel, that forso much as the matter touching the substance of the sacrament, being separate from the articles of faith, and binding no man of necessity, either unto salvation or damnation, whether he believe it or not, but rather may be left indifferently unto all men, freely to judge either on the one part or on the other, according unto his own mind; so that neither part do contemn or despise the other, but that all love and charity be still holden and kept in this dissention of opinions, what then the cause is, why I would therefore so willingly suffer death. The cause why I die is this; for that I cannot agree with the divines and other head prelates, that it should be necessarily determined to be an article of faith, and that we should believe, under pain of damnation, the substance of the bread and wine to be changed into the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the form and shape only not being changed. Which if it were most true, as they shall never be able to prove it by any authority of the scripture or doctors, yet shall they not so bring to pass, that that doctrine, were it ever so true, should be holden for a necessary article of faith. For there are many things, both in the scriptures and other places, which we are not bound of necessity to believe as articles of faith. So it is true, I was a prisoner and in bonds when I wrote these things, and yet for all that I will not hold it as an article of faith,* but that you may without danger of damnation, either believe it, or think the contrary.

But as touching the cause why I cannot affirm the doctrine of transubstantiation, divers reasons lead me thereunto. First, for that I plainly see it to be false and vain, and not to be

* This is to be weighed with the time when Frith wrote.—Fox.

grounded upon any reason, either of the scriptures, or of approved doctors.

Secondly, for that by my example I would not be an author unto Christians to admit any thing as a matter of faith, more than the necessary points of their creed, wherein the whole sum of our salvation doth consist, especially such things, the belief whereof have no certain argument of authority or reason. I added moreover, that their church, as they call it, hath no such power and authority, that it either ought or may bind us, under the peril of our souls, to the believing of any such articles.

Thirdly, because I will not for the favour of our divines or priests, be prejudicial in this point unto so many nations, of Germans, Helvetians, and others, which, altogether rejecting the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, are all of the same opinion that I am, as well those that take Luther's part, as those that hold with *Œcolampadius*. Which things standing in this case, I suppose there is no man of any upright conscience who will not allow the reason of my death, which I am put unto for this only cause, that I do not think transubstantiation, although it were true indeed, to be established for an article of faith.

Among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum (Galba B. X.) are two letters, one from Cromwell to Vaughan, the royal agent in the Low Countries, the other from Vaughan to the king, in which mention is made of Frith, and which show that he was accounted of considerable importance. Vaughan writes:—

“As concerning a young man being in these parts, named Frith, of whom I lately advertised your majesty, and whom your royal majesty giveth me in commandment with friendly persuasions, admonitions, and wholesome counsels to advertise to leave his wilful opinions and errors, and to return into his native country, I shall not fail, according unto your most gracious commandment, to endeavour to the utmost of my power to persuade him accordingly, so soon as my chance shall be to meet with him. Howbeit, I am informed that he is very lately married in Holland, but in what place I cannot tell. This

marriage may by chance hinder my persuasions. I suppose him to have been thereunto driven through poverty, which is to be pitied, and his qualities considered."

Cromwell writes thus to Vaughan :—

"As touching Frith mentioned in your said letter, the king's highness hearing well of his towardness in good love and learning, doth much lament that he should in such wise as he doth, set forth, show, and apply his learning and doctrine, in the semination and sowing forth evil seed of damnable and detestable heresies, maintaining, bolstering, and administering the venomous and pestiferous works, erroneous and seditious opinions, of the said Tindal and others, wherein his highness like a most virtuous and benign prince and guardian, having charge of his people and subjects, being very sorry to hear tell that any of the same should in such wise run headlong and digress from the laws of almighty God, and wholesome doctrines of holy fathers, unto such damnable heresies and seditious opinions, is inclined willingly and greatly desirous to provide for the same."

The letter then proceeds to state the king's readiness to provide for Frith, if he could be brought to forsake the doctrines of Tindal, and, leaving his "wilful opinions, like a good Christian would return to his native country," where he should find the king most favourable. Cromwell further exhorts Vaughan to use his best endeavours to win the refugees from their opinions, adding, "in which doing ye shall not only highly merit in almighty God, but also deserve highly thanks of the king's royal majesty, who will not forget your devoirs and labours in that behalf, so that his majesty may find that you effectually do intend the same."

Frith's works, as reprinted by Fox, consist of, his book of purgatory.—An answer to Rastal's dialogue.—An answer to sir Thomas More.—Answer to Fisher, bishop of Rochester.—A bulwark against Rastal.—Judgment upon M. Tracy's will and testament.—A letter written from the Tower to Christ's congregation.—A mirror or glass to know thyself.—A treatise upon the sacrament of baptism.—Antithesis between Christ and the pope.—A book of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.—Articles for which he died. He also translated some writings of foreign reformers.

THE HISTORY
OF
DR. ROBERT BARNES.

From the Acts and Monuments of John Fox.

THE first bringing up of Dr. Robert Barnes from a child, was in the university of Cambridge, and he was made a novice in the house of the Augustine friars in that place.* He being very apt unto learning, did so profit, that by the help of his friends, he was removed from thence to the university of Lovain, in Brabant, where he remained certain years, and greatly profited in the study of the tongues, and there proceeded doctor in divinity. From thence he returned again into England, and was made prior and master of the house of the Augustines, in Cambridge.

At that time (about 1520) the knowledge of good letters was scarcely entered into the university, all things being full of rudeness and barbarity, saving in very few, which were little known and secret. Whereupon Barnes, having some feeling of better learning and authors, began in his house to read Terence, Plantus, and Cicero; so that what with his industry, pains, and labour, and with the help of Thomas Parnel, his scholar, whom he brought from Lovaine with him, he caused the house shortly to flourish with good letters, and made a great part of the house learned, as master Cambridge, master Field, master Coleman, master Burley, master Coverdale, with divers others of the university, that sojourned there for learning's sake. After these

* Dr. Barnes was a native of Lynn, where he was born about the end of the fifteenth century. He passed through the schools at Cambridge in 1514. His history, as given in Fox's Acts and Monuments, is reprinted here on account of the particulars it contains relative to cardinal Wolsey, and the early days of the Reformation, which ought not to be omitted in this collection of the writings of the British Reformers.

foundations laid, then did he read openly in the house Paul's epistles, and put by Duns and Dorbel,* and yet he was a questionary himself. And because he would have Christ there taught and his holy word, he turned their unsavoury problems and fruitless disputations to other better matter of the holy scriptures, whereby in short space he made divers good divines. The same order of disputation, which he kept in his house, he observed likewise in the university abroad, when he should dispute with any man in the common schools. And the first man that answered doctor Barnes in the scriptures, was master Stafford for his form to be bachelor of divinity, which disputation was marvellous in the sight of the great blind doctors, and joyful to the godly-spirited.

Thus Barnes, what with his reading, disputation, and preaching, became famous and mighty in the scriptures, preaching ever against the bishops and hypocrites, and yet did not see his inward and outward idolatry, which he both taught and maintained, till that good master Bilney, the martyr, with others, converted him wholly unto Christ.

The first sermon that ever he preached of this truth, was the Sunday before Christmas-day, (1525,) at St. Edward's church, belonging to Trinity hall, in Cambridge, by the pease-market; his theme was the epistle of the same Sunday, "Rejoice in the Lord, &c." And he so postilled † the whole epistle, following the scripture and Luther's postil, that for that sermon he was immediately accused of heresy by two fellows of King's hall. Then the godly learned in Christ, both of Pembroke hall, St. John's, Peter house, Queen's college, the King's college, Gonwell hall, and Bene't college, showed themselves, and flocked together in open sight, both in the schools and at open sermons at St. Mary's and at the Augustines, and at other disputations, and then they conferred continually together.

The house that they resorted most commonly unto was the White-horse, which for despite of them, to bring God's word into contempt, was called Germany. This house especially was chosen because of them of St. John's. The King's college and the Queen's college men came in on the back of the house. At this time much trouble began to ensue. The adversaries of Dr. Barnes accused him in the regent house before the vice-

* The divinity of the schools.

† Expounded.

chancellor, where his articles were presented with him and received, he promising to make answer at the next convocation, and so it was done. Then Dr. Nottoris, a rank enemy to Christ, moved Dr. Barnes to recant, but he refused so to do, which appears in his book that he made to king Henry VIII. in English, confuting the judgment of cardinal Wolsey, and the residue of the papistical bishops, and so for the time he stood steadfast. And this tragedy continued in Cambridge, one preaching against another, in trying out God's truth, until within six days of Shrovetide. Then suddenly was sent down to Cambridge a serjeant-at-arms, called master Gibson, dwelling in St. Thomas the apostle's in London, who suddenly arrested Dr. Barnes openly in the convocation-house, to make all others afraid; and privily they had determined to make search for Luther's books, and all the German works suddenly.

But good Dr. Forman of the Queen's college sent word immediately thereof, to the chambers of those that were suspected, who were in number thirty persons. But, God be praised, they were conveyed away by the time that the serjeant-at-arms, the vice-chancellor, and the proctors were at every man's chamber, going directly to the place where the books lay, whereby it was perceived that there were some privy spies amongst that small company. That night they studied together, and gave him his answer, which answer Dr. Barnes carried with him to London the next morning, which was the Tuesday before Shrove Sunday, and came on the Wednesday to London, and lay at master Parnel's house, by the stocks. In the morning he was carried by the serjeant-at-arms to cardinal Wolsey, to Westminster, waiting there all day, but could not speak with him till night. Then by reason of Dr. Gardiner, secretary to the cardinal, of whose familiar acquaintance he had been before, and master Fox, master of the wards, he spoke the same night with the cardinal in his chamber of state, kneeling on his knees. Then, said the cardinal to them, "Is this Dr. Barnes your man, that is accused of heresy?"—"Yea, and please your grace, and we trust you shall find him reformable, for he is both well learned and wise."

"What, master doctor, said the cardinal, had you not a sufficient scope in the scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my poleaxes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my crosses did so sorely offend you, that you must make us appear

ridiculous amongst the people?*" We were jollily that day laughed to scorn. Verily, it was a sermon more fit to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit; for at the last you said, I wear a pair of red gloves, I should say, bloody gloves, said you, that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies." And Dr. Barnes answered, "I spake nothing but the truth out of the scriptures, according to my conscience, and according to the old doctors;" and then he delivered to him six sheets of paper written, to confirm and corroborate his sayings.

He received them, smiling on him, and saying, "We perceive then, that you intend to stand to your articles, and to show your learning."

"Yea," said Barnes, "that I do intend, by God's grace, with your lordship's favour."

He answered, "Such as you are, do bear us and the catholic church little favour. I will ask you a question; whether do you think it more necessary, that I should have all this royalty, because I represent the king's majesty's person in all the high courts of this realm, to the terror and keeping down of all rebellions, treasons, traitors, all the wicked and corrupt members of this commonwealth; or to be as simple as you would have us; to sell all these aforesaid things, and to give it to the poor, and so to put away this majesty of a princely dignity, which is a terror to all the wicked, and to follow your counsel in this behalf?"

He answered, "I think it necessary to be sold and given to the poor. For this is not comely for your calling; nor is the king's majesty maintained by your pomp and poleaxes, but by God, who saith, Kings and their majesties reign and stand by me."

Then answered he, "Lo, master doctors, here is the learned wise man, that you told me of." Then they kneeled down and said, "We desire your grace to be good unto him, for he will be reformable."

* Styrpe says of cardinal Wolsey, "That outward appearance which he delighted to show himself to the world in, bespake the intolerable loftiness and vanity of his mind. For besides all the state and magnificence of his house and officers which is related by Cavendish, his habit was most gorgeous. It was great that his upper vesture was all of scarlet, or else of fine crimson taffeta or crimson satin ingrained; he wore red gloves as well as a red hat; but greater still that he wore shoes of silver and gilt, set with pearls and precious stones; having also two crosses of silver, and two poll-axes and pillars of silver and gilt, and golden cushions carried before him.—*Memorials*, i. p. 184.

Then said he, "Stand you up; for your sakes and the university, we will be good unto him. How say you, master doctor, do you not know that I am Legatus de latere,* and that I am able to dispense in all matters concerning religion within this realm, as much as the pope may?" He said, "I know it to be so."

"Will you then be ruled by us, and we will do all things for your honesty, and for the honesty of the university."

He answered, "I thank your grace for your good will; I will stick to the holy scripture, and to God's book, according to the simple talent that God hath lent me."

"Answer well," said he, "thou shalt have thy learning tried to the uttermost, and thou shalt have the law."

Then Dr. Barnes required that he might have justice with equity, and forthwith he should have gone to the Tower, but that Gardiner and Fox became his sureties that night, and so he came home to master Parnel's house again, and that night fell to writing again and slept not, master Coverdale, master Goodwin, and master Field being his writers; and in the morning he came to York-place to Gardiner and Fox, and by-and-by he was committed to the serjeant-at-arms to bring him into the chapter-house at Westminster before the bishops and the abbot of Westminster, called Islip.

The same time when Dr. Barnes should appear before the cardinal, there were five Stilliard-men† to be examined for Luther's books and Lollardy; but after they spied Barnes, they set the others aside, and asked the serjeant-at-arms what was his errand. He said he had brought one Dr. Barnes to be examined of heresy, and presented both his articles and his accusers. Then immediately after a little talk, they swore him, and laid his articles to him. Who, like as he answered the cardinal before, so said he unto them; and then he offered the book of his probations unto them. Who asked him, whether he had another for himself, and he said, "Yea;" showing it unto them. Who then took it from him, and said they should have no leisure to dispute with him at that present, for other affairs of the king's majesty, which they had to do, and therefore bade him

* The pope's legate.

† German merchants, called Easterlings or merchants of the Stilliard, who dwelt at the place now called the Steel-yard in Thames-street, and were allowed particular privileges.

stand aside. Then they called the Stilliard-men again, one by one, and when they were examined, they called forth the master of the Fleet prison, and they were all committed to the Fleet. Then they called Dr. Barnes again, and asked him whether he would subscribe to his articles or no; he subscribed willingly; and they committed him and Parnel to the Fleet with the others. There they remained, till Saturday morning, and the warden of the Fleet was commanded that no man should speak with him.

On the Saturday he came again before them into the chapter-house, and there with the Stilliard-men remained till five o'clock at night. And after long disputations, threatenings and scornings, about five o'clock at night they called him, to know whether he would abjure or burn. He was then in a great agony, and thought rather to burn than to abjure. But then was he sent again to have the counsel of Gardiner and Fox, and they persuaded him rather to abjure than to burn, because, they said, he should do more in time to come, and with divers other persuasions, that were mighty in the sight of reason and foolish flesh. Upon that, kneeling upon his knees, he consented to abjure, and the abjuration being put in his hand, he abjured as it was there written, and then he subscribed with his own hand; and yet they would scarcely receive him into the bosom of the church, as they termed it. Then they put him to an oath, and charged him to execute, do, and fulfil all that they commanded him, and he promised so to do.

Then they commanded the warden of the Fleet to carry him and his fellows to the place from whence he came, and to be kept in close prison, and in the morning to provide five fagots for Dr. Barnes and the four Stilliard-men. The fifth Stilliard-man was commanded to have a taper of five pounds weight to be provided for him, to offer to the rood of Northen in Paul's,* and all these things to be ready by eight of the clock in the morning; and that he with all that he could collect with bills and gleaves, and the knight marshal with all his tipstaves that he could gather, should bring them to Paul's and conduct them home again. In the morning they were all ready by their hour appointed in Paul's church, the church being so full that no man could get in. The cardinal had a scaffold made on the top of the

* A crucifix or representation of the crucifixion at the north door of St. Paul's.

stairs for himself, with six and thirty abbots, mitred priors, and bishops, and he in his whole pomp mitred, which Barnes spake against, sat there enthroned, his chaplains and spiritual doctors in gowns of damask and satin, and he himself in purple, (scarlet,) even like a bloody antichrist. And there was a new pulpit erected on the top of the stairs also, for the bishop of Rochester to preach against Luther and Dr. Barnes; and great baskets full of books standing before them within the rails, which were commanded, after the great fire was made afore the rood of Northen, there to be burned, and these heretics after the sermon to go thrice about the fire and to cast in their fagots.

Now while the sermon was a doing, Dr. Barnes and the Stilliard-men were commanded to kneel down and ask God forgiveness, the catholic church, and the cardinal's grace; and after that, he was commanded at the end of the sermon to declare that he was more charitably handled than he deserved, or was worthy, his heresies were so horrible and so detestable, and once again he kneeled down on his knees, desiring the people to forgive and to pray for him; and so the cardinal departed under a canopy with all his mitred men with him, till he came to the second gate of Paul's, and then he took his mule, and the mitred men came back again. Then these poor men, being commanded to come down from the stage, (whereon the sweepers use to stand when they sweep the church), the bishops sat them down again, and commanded the knight marshal and the warden of the Fleet, with their company, to carry them about the fire, and so were they brought to the bishops, and there for absolution kneeled down. Rochester then stood up and declared unto the people, how many days of pardon and forgiveness of sins they had for being at that sermon, and there absolved Dr. Barnes with the others, and showed the people that they were received into the church again.

This done, the warden of the Fleet and the knight marshal were commanded to have them to the Fleet again, and were charged that they should have the liberty of the Fleet, as other prisoners had, and that their friends might resort unto them, and there to remain till the lord cardinal's pleasure was known.

After that Barnes had continued there in the Fleet the space of half a year, at length being delivered, he was committed to be a free prisoner at the Austin-friars in London. When those caterpillars and bloody men had there undermined him, they

complained again to the lord cardinal. Whereupon he was removed to the Austin-friars of Northampton, there to be burned. Yet he himself understanding nothing thereof, but supposing still, that he should there remain and continue in free prison, at last, one master Horne, who had brought him up, and was his special friend, having intelligence of the writ, which should shortly be sent down to burn him, gave him counsel to feign himself to be in despair—and that he should write a letter to the cardinal and leave it on his table where he lay, and a paper by, to declare whither he was gone to drown himself, and to leave his clothes in the same place; and there another letter to be left to the mayor of the town to search for him in the water, because he had a letter written in parchment about his neck, closed in wax for the cardinal, which should teach all men to beware by his example. Upon this, they were seven days in searching for him, but he was conveyed to London in a poor man's apparel, and so tarried not there, but took shipping and went by sea to Antwerp, and so to Luther, and there fell to study, till he had made an answer to all the bishops of the realm and had made a book entitled, *The acts of the Roman pontiffs*; and another book, with a supplication to king Henry. Immediately it was told the cardinal that he was drowned, and he said, "Perish his memory with his name." But this did light upon himself shortly after, who wretchedly died at Leicester.

In the same season Dr. Barnes was made strong in Christ, and got favour both of the learned in Christ, and foreign princes in Germany, and was great with Luther, Melancthon, Pomeranus, Justus Jonas, Hegendorphinus, and Æpinus, and with the duke of Saxony, and with the king of Denmark, which king of Denmark in the time of More and Stokesley sent him with the Lubeckers, as an ambassador to king Henry the eighth.* He lay with the Lubeck's chancellor at the Stilliard.

Sir Thomas More, then lord chancellor, would fain have entrapped him, but the king would not let him, for Cromwell was his great friend. And ere he went, the Lubeckers and he disputed with the bishops of this realm in defence of the truth, and so he departed again, without restraint, with the Lubeckers. After his going again to Wittenberg to the duke of Saxony, and to

* Seckendorf in his history of Lutheranism mentions Barnes's residence at Wittemberg. He was employed in several negotiations with the German princes, while Cromwell was in power.

Luther,* he remained there to set forward his works in print that he had begun, from whence he returned again in the beginning of the reign of queen Anne (Boleyn), as others did, and he continued a faithful preacher in this city, being all her time well entertained and promoted. After that he was sent ambassador by king Henry the eighth to the duke of Cleves, for the marriage of the lady Ann of Cleves, between the king and her, and was well accepted in that embassy and in all his doings, until the time that Stephen Gardiner came out of France; but after he came, neither religion prospered, nor the queen's majesty, nor Cromwell, nor the preachers. For after the marriage of the lady Ann of Cleves, he never ceased until he had grafted the marriage in another stock, by the occasion whereof he began his bloody broil.

For not long after, Dr. Barnes with two of his brethren in faith and tribulation, namely, master Garret, curate in Honeylane in London, and master Hierome, vicar of Stepney, were apprehended and carried before the king's majesty to Hampton-court, and there he was examined. Where the king's majesty, seeking the means of his safety, to bring Winchester and him agreed, at Winchester's request granted him leave to go home with the bishop to confer with him; and so he did. But as it happened, they not agreeing, Gardiner and his compartners sought by all subtle means, how to entangle and to entrap them in farther danger, which not long after was brought to pass. By certain complaints made to the king of them, they were enjoined to preach three sermons, the next Easter, at the Spital.

The occasion whereof, as I find it reported by Stephen Gardiner in his preface against George Joy, I will discourse more at large. The said Stephen Gardiner hearing that the said Barnes, Hierome, and Garret should preach the Lent following, anno 1541, at Paul's cross; to stop the course of their doctrine, sent his chaplain to the bishop of London, the Saturday before the first Sunday in Lent, to have a place for him to preach at Paul's. Which was granted to him, and time appointed that he should preach the Sunday following, which should be on the morrow; which Sunday was before appointed for Barnes to occupy that room. Gardiner, therefore, determining to declare the gospel of that Sunday containing the devil's three tempta-

* At Wittenberg in Germany.

tions, began amongst other things to note the abuse of scripture amongst some, as the devil abused it to Christ, and so alluding to the temptation of the devil, wherein he alleged the scripture against Christ, to cast himself downward, and that he should take no hurt, he inferred thereupon, saying,

"Now-a-days, the devil tempteth the world, and biddeth them to cast themselves backward. There is no forward in the new teaching, but all backward. Now, the devil teacheth, come back from fasting, come back from praying, come back from confession, come back from weeping for thy sins, and all is backward; insomuch that men must now learn to say their Pater-noster (Lord's prayer) backward. For where we said, forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors, now it is, As thou forgavest our debts, so I will forgive my debtors, and so God must forgive first; and all, I say, is turned backward," &c. And amongst other things, moreover, he noted the devil's craft and shift in deceiving man: who, envying his felicity, and therefore coveting to have man idle, and void of good works, and to be led in that idleness, with a vain hope to live merrily at his pleasure here, and yet to have heaven at the last, hath for that purpose procured out pardons from Rome, wherein heaven was sold for a little money, and to retail that merchandise, the devil used friars for his ministers.* "Now they be gone with all their trumpery, but the devil is not yet gone, &c. And now that the devil perceiveth that it can no longer be borne, to buy and sell heaven by the friars, he hath excogitated to offer heaven without works for it, so freely, that men shall not need to work at all for heaven, whatsoever opportunity they have to work; marry, if they will have any higher place in heaven, God will leave no work unrewarded; but as to be in heaven needs no work at all, but 'only belief, only, only,' and nothing else," &c.

This sermon of Stephen Winchester finished, Dr. Barnes, who was put off from that Sunday, had his day appointed, which was the third Sunday next ensuing, to make his sermon: who taking the same text of the gospel which Gardiner had done before, was on the contrary side no less vehement in setting forward the true doctrine of Christian religion, than Winchester had been before in plucking men backward from

* At that time Gardiner opposed the pope's supremacy and usurpations, though he supported most of the doctrines of the church of Rome.

truth to lies, from sincerity to hypocrisy, from religion to superstition, from Christ to antichrist. In the process of which sermon, he, proceeding and calling out Stephen Gardiner by name to answer him, alluding in a pleasant allegory to a cock fight, termed the said Gardiner to be a fighting cock, and himself to be another, but the garden cock, he said, lacked good spurs; objecting moreover to the said Gardiner, and opposing him in his grammar rules; thus saying, that if he had answered him in the schools, as he had there preached at the cross, he would have given him six stripes. Declaring further what evil herbs this Gardiner had set in the garden of God's scripture, &c.*

Finally, with this sermon Gardiner was so displeased that he immediately went to the king to complain, showing how he, being a bishop and a prelate of the realm, was handled and reviled at Paul's cross.

Whereupon the king, giving too much ear to Gardiner's grief, was earnestly incensed against Barnes, and with many high words rebuked his doings in his privy closet, having with him the earl of Southampton who was the lord Wriothealy, and the master of the horse, who was Anthony Brown, Dr. Cocks, and Dr. Robinson. Unto whom, when Barnes had submitted himself; "Nay," said the king, "yield thee not to me, I am a mortal man," and therewith rising up, and turning to the sacrament, and putting off his bonnet, said, "Yonder is the master of us all, the author of truth, yield in truth to him, and that truth will I defend, and otherwise yield thee not unto me." Much ado there was, and great matter laid against Barnes. In conclusion, this order was taken, that Barnes should go apart with Winchester, to confer and commune together of their doctrine, certain witnesses being thereunto appointed, to be as indifferent hearers, of whom the one was Dr. Cocks, the other was Dr. Robinson, with two others also to them assigned, who should be reporters to the king of the disputation. At the first entry of which talk, Gardiner, forgiving him, as he saith, all that was past, offered him the choice, whether he would answer or oppose—which was to be on the Friday after that Barnes had preached. The question propounded between them, by Gardiner's narration, was this; Whether a man could do any

* This method of playing upon words was very common and highly approved in those days.

thing good or acceptable before the grace of justification, or not? Which question rose upon a certain contention which had been between them before. For Barnes had affirmed, that albeit God requireth of us to forgive our neighbour, to obtain forgiveness of him; yet he said, that God must forgive us first, before we forgive our neighbour; for else to forgive our neighbour were sin, by the text which saith, All that is not of faith is sin, &c. Thus the matter being propounded, Gardiner, to prove the contrary, came forth with two or three arguments: to the which arguments Gardiner said, that Barnes could not answer, but desired to be spared that night, and the next morning he would answer his arguments. In the morning, Gardiner, with the hearers, being again assembled, Dr. Barnes, according to the appointment, was present, who then went about to assail his arguments. To his solutions Gardiner again replied. And thus continued they in this altercation by the space of two hours. This done, the king, being advertised of the conclusion of this matter between Barnes and Winchester, was content that Barnes should repair to the bishop's house at London the Monday following. Which he did, with a certain other companion joined unto him. Who he was, Winchester there does not express, only he saith that it was neither Hierome, nor Garret. In this next meeting between Barnes and the bishop, upon the aforesaid Monday, the said bishop studying to instruct Barnes, uttered to him certain articles or conclusions, to the number of ten, the effect whereof here followeth, (see p. 98.)

These articles, for so much as they are sufficiently answered and replied unto by George Joy, in his joinder and rejoinder against Winchester, I shall not need to cumber this work with any new ado therewith, but only refer the reader to the books aforesaid, where he may see matter enough to answer to these popish articles.*

* George Joy assisted Tindal in his translation of the scriptures. The following extract is from the commencement of his confutation of Gardiner's Articles.

"I chanced upon certain articles, entitled to the bishop of Winchester, called Stephen Gardiner, which were written against Dr. Barnes and his two followers, burnt 1541, for preaching only faith to justify. By these his articles, Winchester would prove that works must justify, that is to say, with our works we must merit the remission of our sins. Which doctrine, as it is contrary to God's word, so is it injurious to Christ's blood. Whose godly name is one alone, for all sufficient; even that same precious hid treasure in the gospel, in whom, saith Paul, are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden. For in him dwelleth the

I told you before, how the king was contented that Barnes should resort to the house of the bishop of Winchester, to be trained and directed by the bishop: which Barnes then hearing the talk of the people, and having also conference with certain learned men, within two days after his coming to the bishop's house, waxed weary thereof, and so, coming to the bishop, signified unto him, that if he would take him as one that came to confer, he would come still, but else he would come no more, and so wholly gave over the bishop.

This being known unto the king, through sinister complaints of popish sycophants, Barnes again was sent for, and convened before the king; who, being grievously incensed against him, enjoined both him, Hierome, and Garret, at the solemn Easter sermons at St. Mary Spital, openly in writing to revoke the doctrine which they before had taught. At which sermon, Stephen Gardiner himself was present to hear their recantation.

First, Dr. Barnes, according to his promise made to the king, solemnly and formally began to make his recantation; which done, he with much circumstance and obtestation called upon the bishop, and asking of him forgiveness, required him in token of a grant to hold up his hand, to the intent that he, there openly declaring his charity before the world, the bishop also would declare his charity in like manner. Which, when the bishop refused to do at the first, as he was required, Barnes again called for it, desiring him to show his charity, and to hold

most perfect fulness of God verily; and in him are we complete, even perfectly justified, without any interweaving of Winchester's works. This thing do I tell you, saith Paul, lest any man, as now would Winchester, deceive you with his apparent popish persuasions. This full justification, by only faith, Paul expresses clearly in these words also: 'This our everlasting, living priest and intercessor, Christ, abideth for ever unto this end, even absolutely, fully, and perfectly, without any lack or breach, to save all them, that through him by faith come to God the Father.' Here are we taught, Christ to have an everlasting priesthood, to save perfectly and sufficiently, through our faith only, and that he ever liveth unto this same end. Wherefore, for the defence of our so plentiful and perfect redemption, and for the rich favour and mercy of our heavenly Father, and free forgiveness in Christ's passion, through our faith only, and that the glory of his grace, whereby he hath made us his dearly beloved chosen children, through his beloved Son, should be praised, by whom we have redemption through his blood, even the remission of sins, according to the riches of his so plentiful grace, unable to be diminished; to defend this my Lord God's glory, I say, and to warn the simple unlearned, that they be not deceived by such blasphemous bishop's articles, I shall by God's help justly by his word clearly confute them, although he yet teach and preach them unto his own damnation, and deceiving of as many as believe him."

up his hand. Which when he had done with much ado, wagging his finger a little, then Barnes entering to his sermon, after his prayer made, began the process of a matter, preaching contrary to that which before he had recanted. Insomuch, that the mayor, when the sermon was finished, sitting with the bishop of Winchester, asked him whether he should from the pulpit send him to prison, to be forthcoming for that his bold preaching contrary to his recantation. The like also did Hierome, and Garret after him.

The king had appointed before certain persons to make report of the sermons. Besides them there was one, who writing to a friend of his in the court, in the favour of these preachers, declared how they had all handled the matter, both to satisfy the recantation, and also in the same sermons to utter the truth, that it might spread without being hindered by the world. Wherefore, partly by these reporters, and partly by the negligent looking to this letter, which came to the lord Cromwell's hands, saith Gardiner, Barnes with his other fellows were apprehended and committed to the Tower. Stephen Gardiner, in his book written against George Joy, would needs clear himself, that he was in no part nor cause of their casting into the Tower, and gives this reason for it, that he had then no access, nor had after, so long as Cromwell's time lasted, to the king's secret counsel; yet, notwithstanding, the said Gardiner cannot persuade us to the contrary, but that his private complaining to the king, and his secret whisperings in his friends' ears, and his other workings by his factors about the king, was a great sparkle to set their fagots on fire.

Thus then Barnes, Hierome, and Garret, being committed to the Tower after Easter, there remained till the 30th day of July, which was two days after the death of the lord Cromwell. Then ensued process against them by the king's council in parliament, to the which process Gardiner confesses that he was privy amongst the rest. Whereupon, all those three good saints of God, the 30th day of July, not coming to any answer, nor yet knowing any cause of their condemnation, without any public hearing, were brought together from the Tower to Smithfield,* where they preparing themselves to the fire, had

* Stowe, in his annals, A. D. 1541, says, "The 30th of July were drawn from the Tower of London to West Smithfield, Robert Barnes, doctor of divinity, T. Gerard, parson of Honey-lane, and William Jerome, vicar of

there at the stake divers and sundry exhortations, among whom Dr. Barnes first began with this protestation following :

“I am come hither to be burned as a heretic, and you shall hear my belief, whereby you shall perceive what erroneous opinions I hold. God I take to record, I never, to my knowledge, taught any erroneous doctrine, but only those things which scripture led me unto, and that in my sermons I never maintained any error, neither moved nor gave occasion of any insurrection. Although I have been slandered to preach that our lady was but a saffron bag, which I utterly protest before God that I never meant it, nor preached it; but all my study and diligence hath been utterly to confound and confute all men of that doctrine, as are those who deny that our Saviour Christ did take any flesh of the blessed virgin Mary, which sects I detest and abhor. And in this place there have been burned some of them, whom I never favoured nor maintained, but with all diligence ever more did I study to set forth the glory of God, the obedience to our sovereign lord the king, and the true and sincere religion of Christ—and now hearken to my faith.

“I believe in the holy and blessed Trinity, three persons and one God, that created and made all the world, and that this blessed Trinity sent down the second person Jesus Christ into the womb of the most blessed and purest virgin Mary. And here bear my record, that I do utterly condemn that abominable and detestable opinion which saith that Christ took no flesh of the virgin. For I believe that without man's will or power he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and took flesh of her, and that he suffered hunger, thirst, cold, and other passions of our body, sin excepted; according to the saying of St. Peter, he was made in all things like to his brethren, except sin. And I believe that his death and passion, was the sufficient ransom for the sin of all the world. And I believe that through his

Stepenheath, bachelors in divinity. Also Edward Powell, Thomas Able, and Richard Fetherstone, all three doctors. The first three were drawn to a stake and there burned. The other three were drawn to a gallows and there hanged, headed, and quartered. The three first as appeareth in their attainders were executed for divers heresies. The last three for treason, as in their attainder was mentioned, namely, for denying the king's supremacy, and affirming the marriage with queen Catharine to be good, of the which argument doctor Powell wrote a book.”

It is related that the three Romanists considered their sufferings much aggravated by being drawn to execution on the same sledges as heretics! These dreadful and barbarous executions show the extent to which the conflicts of the parties of that reign proceeded.

death he overcame sin, death, and hell, and that there is none other satisfaction unto the Father, but this, his death and passion only, and that no work of man did deserve any thing of God, but only his passion, as touching our justification. For I know the best work that ever I did is impure and imperfect." And with this he cast abroad his hands, and desired God to forgive him his trespasses. "For although perchance," said he, "you know nothing of me, yet do I confess, that my thoughts and cogitations are innumerable; wherefore I beseech thee, O Lord, not to enter into judgment with me; according to the saying of the prophet David, Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord! And in another place, Lord, if thou straitly mark our iniquities, who is able to abide thy judgment? Wherefore, I trust in no good work that ever I did, but only in the death of Christ. I do not doubt but through him to inherit the kingdom of heaven. Take me not here, that I speak against good works, for they are to be done, and verily they that do them not shall never come into the kingdom of God. We must do them, because they are commanded us of God, to show and set forth our profession, not to deserve or merit, for that is only the death of Christ.

"I believe that there is a holy church, and a company of all them that do profess Christ; and that all that have suffered and confessed his name, are saints; and that all they do praise and laud God in heaven, more than I, or any man's tongue can express, and I have always spoken reverently, and praised them, as much as scripture willed me to do. And that our lady, I say, was a virgin immaculate and undefiled, and that she is the most pure virgin that ever God created, and a vessel elect of God, of whom Christ should be born." Then said master sheriff, "You have said well of her before." And being afraid that master sheriff had been or should be grieved with any thing that he should say, he said, "Master sheriff, if I speak any thing that you will me not, do no more, but beckon me with your hand, and I will straightway hold my peace, for I will not be disobedient in any thing, but will obey."

Then there was one that asked him his opinion of praying to saints. Then said he; "Now of saints you shall hear my opinion: I have said before somewhat I think of them; how that I believe they are in heaven with God, and that they are worthy of all the honour, that scripture willeth them to have.

But, I say, throughout all scripture we are not commanded to pray to any saints. Therefore I neither can nor will preach to you, that saints ought to be prayed unto; for then should I preach unto you a doctrine of mine own head. Notwithstanding, whether they pray for us or no, that I refer to God. And if saints do pray for us, then I trust to pray for you within this half hour, master sheriff, and for every Christian man living in the faith of Christ, and dying in the same, as a saint. Wherefore, if the dead may pray for the quick, I will surely pray for you."

"Well, have you any thing more to say?" Then spake he to master sheriff and said, "Have you any articles against me for the which I am condemned?" And the sheriff answered, "No." Then said he, "Is there here any man else that knoweth wherefore I die, or that by my preaching hath taken any error? Let them now speak and I will make them answer." And no man answered. "Then," said he, "well, I am condemned by the law to die, and as I understand, by an act of parliament, but wherefore I cannot tell, but belike for heresy, for we are like to burn.* But they that have been the occasion of it, I pray God forgive them, as I would be forgiven myself. And Dr. Stephen, bishop of Winchester that now is, if he have sought or wrought this my death, either by word or deed, I pray God forgive him, as heartily, as freely, as charitably, and without feigning, as ever Christ forgave them that put him to death.

"And if any of the council, or any others have sought or wrought it through malice or ignorance, I pray God forgive their ignorance, and illuminate their eyes that they may see, and ask mercy for it. I beseech you all to pray for the king's grace, as I have done ever since I was in prison, and do now, that God may give him prosperity, and that he may long reign among you, and after him that godly prince, Edward, may so reign, that he may finish those things, that his father hath begun. I have been reported to be a preacher of sedition and disobedience unto the king's majesty; but here I say to you, that you all are bound by the commandment of God to obey your prince with all humility, and with all your heart, yea, not so much as in a look to show yourselves disobedient unto him,

* The Romanists who suffered at the same time for denying the king's supremacy were hanged. Barnes and his companions were sentenced under the act of six articles. See the life of Cranmer.

and that not only for fear of the sword, but also for conscience sake before God. Yea, and I say further, if the king should command you any thing against God's law, if it be in your power to resist him, yet may you not do it."

Then spake he to the sheriff and said, "Master sheriff, I require you on God's behalf, to have me commended unto the king's grace, and to show him that I require of his grace these five requests; first, that where his grace hath received into his hand all the goods and substance of the abbeyes——" Then the sheriff desired him to stop there. He answered, "Master sheriff, I warrant you I will speak no harm, for I know it is well done that all such superstition be wholly taken away, and the king's grace hath well done in taking it away. But his grace is made a whole king, and obeyed in his realm as a king, which neither his father, neither any of those his ancestors, that reigned before him, ever had, and that through the preaching of us and such other wretches as we are, which always have applied our whole studies, and given ourselves for the setting forth of the same; and this is now our reward! Well, it maketh no matter. Now he reigneth among you; I pray God, long may he live and reign among you. Would to God, it might please his grace to bestow the said goods, or some of them, to the comfort of his poor subjects, which surely have great need of them.

"The second, that I desire of his grace, is, that he will see that matrimony be had in more reverence than it is; and that men, for every light cause invented, cast not off their wives, and live in adultery and fornication; and that those, that are not married should not live abominably, following the filthy lusts of the flesh.

"The third, that the abominable swearers may be punished and straitly looked upon; for the vengeance of God will come on them for their mischievous oaths." Then desired he master Pope to have him commended to master Edgar, and to desire him for the dear blood of Jesus Christ, that he would leave that abominable swearing which he used; for surely, except he did forsake it, he would come to some mischievous end.

"The fourth, that his grace would set forth Christ's true religion, and seeing he hath begun, go forward and make an end; for many things have been done, but much more is to do; and that it would please his grace to look on God's word himself, for

that it hath been obscured with many traditions, invented of our own brains.—Now," said he, "How many petitions have I spoken of?" And the people said, "Four."—"Well," said he, "even these four are sufficient, which I desire you, that the king's grace may be certified of, and say, that I most humbly desire him to look earnestly upon them; and that his grace take heed that he be not deceived with false preachers and teachers, and evil counsel, for Christ saith, that such false prophets shall come in lambs' skins."

Then desired he all men to forgive him, and if he had said any evil at any time unadvisedly, whereby he had offended any man, or given any occasion of evil, that they would forgive it him, and amend that evil they took of him, and to bear him witness that he detested and abhorred all evil opinions and doctrines against the word of God, and that he died in the faith of Jesus Christ, by whom he doubted not but to be saved. And with those words he desired them all to pray for him, and then he turned him about, and put off his clothes, making him ready to the fire, patiently there to take his death.

And so after prayer made by him and his two fellow martyrs, wherein most effectually they desired the Lord Jesus to be their comfort and consolation in this their affliction, and to establish them with perfect faith, constancy, and patience through the Holy Ghost, they taking themselves by the hands, and kissing one another, quietly and humbly offered themselves to the hands of the tormentors, and so took their death both christianly and constantly with such patience as might well testify the goodness of their cause, and the quiet of their conscience.*

The works of Barnes are not numerous. He wrote in Latin the lives of the popes, and compiled in the same language "The Principal Articles of the Christian Faith," set forth from the sacred scriptures and the writings of the fathers. These Latin works were written during his abode at Wittenberg. Barnes indeed may be considered as a principal connecting link between the English and the Lutheran Reformers. He had much of the bold, uncompromising spirit of Luther, with whom he had been an inmate. Luther wrote a preface to the

* "One Standish, a fellow of Whittington college, a papist, wrote a scurrilous book against Barnes, refuting what he had said immediately before his burning, which his friend and old acquaintance Coverdale answered, and justified the deceased martyr." *Strype, Memorials*, i. 570.

lives of the popes, which is reprinted by Seckendorf. (Hist. Luth. Ind. iii.)

The doctrines of Barnes may be collected from the titles of "The Principal Articles of the Christian Faith," which were printed with a preface by Pomeranus. 1. Faith alone justifies. 2. Christ has satisfied not only for original sin, but for all sins. 3. The Commandments of God cannot be kept by our own strength. 4. Free-will of its own strength can do nothing but sin. 5. The righteous sin, even in good works. 6. The characteristics of the true church set forth. 7. The power of the keys (Matt. xvi. 19) depends upon the word of God, not the power of men. 8. Councils may err. 9. The communion is to be given under both kinds. 10. Human ordinances do not bind the conscience. 11. Auricular confession is not necessary to salvation. 12. Priests may lawfully marry. 13. Monks are not more holy than laymen, on account of their habits and vows. 14. Christian fasting consists not in abstinence from particular kinds of food. 15. Christians keep holy, or worship God, every day, not merely on the seventh. 16. Unjust papal excommunications do not hurt those against whom they are directed. 17. The real body of Christ is in the sacrament of the altar. 18. Saints are not to be invoked as mediators. 19. He exposes the errors of the Romish mass. On all the above subjects he adduced the words of scripture; or the writings of the fathers, or both, in support of his arguments:

In English, his principal work is a supplication to king Henry VIII. against the proceedings of the Romish prelates. In this work he treats upon a variety of doctrinal subjects, with an interesting but prolix account of the manner in which he was persecuted by the ecclesiastics, and his examinations before cardinal Wolsey. This work is divided into the following chapters or divisions, which embrace the greater part of the heads of doctrine he had set forth in Latin, but considerably enlarged. A supplication to king Henry VIII. His (Barnes) articles condemned by popish bishops.—The disputation between the bishops and him.—Faith only justifieth before God.—What the church is, and who are thereof; and whereby men may know her.—Another declaration of the church wherein he answereth M. More.—What the keys of the church are, and to whom they were given.—Free will of man, after the fall of Adam, of his own natural strength, can do nothing but sin

before God.—That it is lawful for all manner of men to read the holy scripture.—That men's constitutions (decrees) which are not grounded in scripture, bind not the conscience of man under the pain of deadly sin.—That all men are bound to receive the holy communion in both kinds, under the pain of deadly sin.—That by God's word it is lawful for priests that have not the gift of chastity, to marry wives.—That it is against the holy scripture to honour images and to pray to saints.

In the folio edition of Barnes's works printed by Day, some additions are appended to the preceding treatises, so that the whole of his Latin work on the articles of the Christian faith is given to the English reader.

Of these pieces, the treatise on justification is the most suitable for the present collection. It clearly shows how much this early British reformer had profited by his intercourse with the German protestants, according to the account given by his fellow-collegian Bale, who mentions his escape to the continent, and that he "took refuge with Luther in Germany; where, having remained for some years in friendship with that great reformer, and many other lovers of true piety, he again returned into England. From that time he with great firmness and sincerity maintained the justification of a sinner, through faith alone in the work of Christ our Saviour, against the ungodly preachers of human works: this he did both in sermons and writings; resting on the promise that the head of the old serpent would be bruised by the holy Seed alone. Satan therefore speedily devised new machinations against him through the medium of the insidious prelates. Under whose tyranny, although he seemed to sink, like one vanquished; yet now the departed saint triumphantly reigns in glory, and is made more than conqueror over his ungodly survivors."

The confidence with which Barnes contended for the faith "delivered to the saints," is thus expressed by himself in the statement of his opinions condemned by the Romanists:—"And where my lord cardinal said he would spend so much money to have me again, I have great marvel of it. What can they make of me? I am a simple poor wretch and worth no man's money in the world, saving theirs, not the tenth penny that they will give for me. And to burn me, or to destroy me,

cannot so greatly profit them. For when I am dead, the sun and the moon, the stars and the elements, water and fire, yea, and also stones, shall defend this cause against them rather than the verity should perish."

WINCHESTER'S ARTICLES AGAINST BARNES.

(See page 88.)

1. The effect of Christ's passion hath a condition. The fulfilling of the condition diminisheth nothing the effect of Christ's passion.

2. They that will enjoy the effect of Christ's passion, must fulfil the condition.

3. The fulfilling of the condition requireth first knowledge of the condition, which knowledge we have by faith.

4. Faith cometh of God, and this faith is a good gift. It is good and profitable to me; it is profitable to me to do well, and to exercise this faith; ergo, by the gift of God, I may do well before I am justified.

5. Therefore, I may do well by the gift of God before I am justified, towards the attainment of justification.

6. There is ever as much charity towards God, as faith; and as faith increaseth, so doth charity increase.

7. To the attainment of justification is required faith and charity.

8. Every thing is to be called freely done, whereof the beginning is free and at liberty, without any cause of provocation.

9. Faith must be to me the assurance of the promises of God made in Christ, (if I fulfil the condition,) and love must accomplish the condition; whereupon followeth the attainment of the promise according to God's truth.

10. A man, being in deadly sin, may have grace to do the works of penance, whereby he may attain to his justification.



Edward VI.

SOME ACCOUNT

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on the corpse, from her decease to the interment. An original letter from her physicians to the council is also in existence, dated the 24th, which describes her declining state, from an illness incident to her condition, and mentions her being supposed to be near death. There is also a letter extant from the queen herself, written after the birth of her son.

EDWARD VI.

roduced a more correct pronunciation of that language,* was appointed tutor to the prince. These excellent and learned men gave full attention to their important charge. The manner in which their labours were blessed is thus described by William Thomas, afterwards clerk of the council, himself a learned man. In a work entitled *The Pilgrim*, he says, "If ye knew the towardness of that young prince, your hearts would melt to hear him named, and your stomach abhor the malice of them that would him ill. The beautifullest creature that liveth under the sun; the wittiest, the most amiable, and the gentlest thing of all the world. Such a capacity in learning the things taught him by his schoolmasters, that it is a wonder to hear say. And finally, he hath such a grace of posture, and gesture in gravity, when he comes into a presence, that it should seem he were already a father, and yet passes he not the age of ten years. A thing undoubtedly much rather to be seen than believed." Sufficient proof still remains of the progress made by prince Edward under these instructors, from numerous letters written by him in Latin and in French, some as early as his ninth year, also by several Latin orations or themes, preserved in the British Museum. At this period of his life the prince chiefly resided in Hertfordshire. Of his tutors, Cheke appears to have been the most constantly with him, but the early formation of his habits and temper probably had devolved principally upon Cook and Cox. The prince afterward told Cardan he had two masters, Moderation and Diligence, designating Cox by the former, and Cheke by the latter appellation. Curio, the Italian reformer, addressing Cheke and Cook, said, "that by their united prayers, counsels, and industry, they had formed a king of the highest, even of divine hopes." But, in the history of this excellent prince, Cranmer must never be forgotten. The watchful care of that excellent prelate, and his anxiety for the progress of the reformation, were continually exercised for the benefit of the heir to the crown, and for his advancement in true religion and sound learning. It is however evident, that more than mere natural docility prepared the youthful prince to receive the instructions of his able and pious preceptors. The effects of divine influence upon his heart were manifest during the whole of his short yet interesting course. Without this, human teachers would have planted and watered in vain.

We have not many anecdotes of the youthful days of this excellent prince; but one which is characteristic of his piety, and evidences the principles in which he was trained, has been preserved by Fuller. When engaged with some companions in amusements suitable for his age, he wished to take down from a shelf

* Gardiner's zeal against every kind of reformation, and especially any which promoted the study of the scriptures in the original, was shown by his decided opposition to this improvement, he threatened expulsion to all who should favour it.

something above his reach. One of his playfellows offered him a large bible to stand upon, but perceiving it to be a bible, Edward refused such assistance with much indignation. He sharply reproved the offerer, adding, it was unfit that he should trample under his feet that which he ought to treasure up in his head and heart.

Fox says, that there was not wanting in the prince any diligence to receive that which his instructors would teach him. So that in the midst of all his play and recreation, he would always observe to keep the hours appointed to his study, using the same with much attention, till time called him again from his book to pastime. In this, his study and keeping of his hours, he so profited, that Cranmer, beholding his towardness, his readiness in both tongues, in translating from Greek to Latin, from Latin to Greek again, in declaiming with his school-fellows without help of his teachers, and that extempore, wept for joy, declaring to Dr. Cox, his schoolmaster, that he would never have thought it to have been in the prince except he had seen it himself.

Fox then mentions prince Edward's exact knowledge of the various parts of his own realm, Scotland, and France; also his minute acquaintance with the names and characters of all the magistrates and gentlemen who bore any authority. A manuscript in the British Museum relates how a schoolmaster, named Herne, incited his unwilling scholars to apply themselves more diligently to their books, and to improve in learning, by emulating the example of their prince.

While prince Edward was in the tenth year of his age, and was thus preparing for the duties which lay before him, Henry VIII. died, on January 28th, 1547. The office of protector devolved upon the earl of Hertford, one of the young king's maternal uncles. The appointment of this nobleman to that important office became a means of promoting the reformation. His piety appears from a devout prayer which he seems to have used constantly with reference to the important charge which devolved upon him. It is as follows:—

“Lord God of hosts, in whose only hand is life and death, victory and confusion, rule and subjection, receive me, thy humble creature, into thy mercy, and direct me in my requests, that I offend not thy high majesty. O my Lord and my God, I am the work of thy hands; thy goodness cannot reject me. I am the price of thy Son's death, Jesu Christ; for thy Son's sake thou wilt not lose me. I am a vessel for thy mercy: thy justice will not condemn me. I am recorded in the book of life, I am written with the very blood of Jesus; thy inestimable love will not cancel then my name. For this cause, Lord God, I am bold to speak to thy Majesty. Thou, Lord, by thy providence hast called me to rule; make me therefore able to follow thy calling. Thou, Lord, by thine order hast committed an anointed king to my governance; direct me therefore with thy hand, that I err

not from thy good pleasure. Finish in me, Lord, thy beginning, and begin in me that thou wilt finish.

"By thee do kings reign, and from thee all power is derived. Govern me, Lord, as I shall govern; rule me, as I shall rule. I am ready for thy governance; make thy people ready for mine. I seek thy only honour in my vocation; amplify it, Lord, with thy might. If it be thy will that I shall rule, make thy congregation subject to my rule. Give me power, Lord, to suppress whom thou wilt have to obey.

"I am by appointment thy minister for thy king, a shepherd for thy people, a sword-bearer for thy justice: prosper the king, save thy people, direct thy justice. I am ready, Lord, to do that thou commandest; command that thou wilt. Remember, O God, thine old mercies; remember thy benefits showed heretofore. Remember, Lord, me thy servant, and make me worthy to ask. Teach me what to ask, and then give me that I ask. None other I seek to, Lord, but thee, because none other can give it me. And that I seek is thine honour and glory.

"I ask victory, but to show thy power upon the wicked. I ask prosperity, but for to rule in peace thy congregation. I ask wisdom, but by my counsel to set forth thy cause. And as I ask for myself, so, Lord, pour thy knowledge upon all them which shall counsel me. And forgive them, that in their offence I suffer not the reward of their evil.

"If I have erred, Lord, forgive me; for so thou hast promised me. If I shall not err, direct me; for that only is thy property. Great things, O my God, hast thou begun in my hand; let me then, Lord, be thy minister to defend them. Thus I conclude, Lord, by the name of thy Son Jesus Christ. Faithfully I commit all my cause to thy high providence, and so rest to advance all human strength under the standard of thy omnipotency."

The coronation took place on the 28th of February. The usual grant of a general pardon followed; thus the prosecutions for religion commenced during the latter years of the preceding reign, under the act of six articles, were terminated. Although that and other persecuting acts were not regularly repealed till some months after, many were released from prison, and a number of learned and pious individuals were allowed to return from exile, whose assistance gave new vigour to the efforts for reformation. But the most remarkable circumstance connected with the coronation, was the address of archbishop Cranmer to the youthful monarch. The prelate therein gave the following charge, which the king did not forget, as his subsequent conduct shows. This address was found among the collections of archbishop Usher.

"Most dread and royal sovereign; the promises your highness hath made here, at your coronation, to forsake the devil and all his works, are not to be taken in the bishop of Rome's sense; when you commit any thing distasteful to that see, to hit your majesty in the teeth, as pope Paul the third, late bishop of

Rome, sent to your royal father, saying, 'Didst thou not promise, at our permission of thy coronation, to forsake the devil and all his works, and dost thou run to heresy? For the breach of this thy promise, knowest thou not, that it is in our power to dispose of thy sword and sceptre to whom we please! We, your majesty's clergy, do humbly conceive, that this promise reacheth not at your highness's sword, spiritual or temporal, or in the least at your highness swaying the sceptre of this your dominion, as you and your predecessors have had them from God. Neither could your ancestors lawfully resign up their crowns to the bishop of Rome or his legates, according to their ancient oaths then taken upon that ceremony.

"The bishops of Canterbury, for the most part, have crowned your predecessors, and anointed them kings of this land; yet it was not in their power to receive or reject them; neither did it give them authority to prescribe them conditions to take or leave their crowns, although the bishops of Rome would encroach upon your predecessors, by their act and oil, that in the end they might possess those bishops with an interest to dispose of their crowns at their pleasure. But the wiser sort will look to their claws and clip them.

"The solemn rites of coronation have their ends and utility; yet neither direct force or necessity: they are good admonitions to put kings in mind of their duty to God, but no increasement of their dignity; for they are God's anointed; not in respect of the oil which the bishop useth, but in consideration of their power, which is ordained; of the sword, which is authorized; of their persons, which are elected of God, and endued with the gifts of his Spirit, for the better ruling and guiding of his people.

"The oil, if added, is but a ceremony: if it be wanting, that king is yet a perfect monarch notwithstanding, and God's anointed, as well as if he was inoiled. Now for the person or bishop that doth anoint a king, it is proper to be done by the chiefest. But if they cannot, or will not, any bishop may perform this ceremony.

"To condition with monarchs upon these ceremonies, the bishop of Rome (or other bishops owning his supremacy) hath no authority; but he may faithfully declare what God requires at the hands of kings and rulers, that is, religion and virtue. Therefore, not from the bishop of Rome, but as a messenger from my Saviour Jesus Christ, I shall most humbly admonish your royal majesty, what things your highness is to perform.

"Your majesty is God's vicegerent, and Christ's vicar within your own dominions, and to see, with your predecessor Josiah, God truly worshipped, and idolatry destroyed; the tyranny of the bishops of Rome banished from your subjects, and images removed. These acts are signs of a second Josiah, who reformed the church of God in his days. You are to reward virtue, to revenge sin, to justify the innocent, to relieve the poor, to procure peace, to repress violence, and to execute justice through-

out your realms. For precedents on those kings who performed not these things, the old law shows how the Lord revenged his quarrel; and on those kings who fulfilled these things, he poured forth his blessings in abundance. For example, it is written of Josiah, in the book of the Kings, thus: 'Like unto him there was no king, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, according to all the law of Moses; neither after him arose there any like him.' This was to that prince a perpetual fame of dignity, to remain to the end of days.

"Being bound by my function to lay these things before your royal highness; the one, as a reward if you fulfil; the other, as a judgment from God if you neglect them; yet I openly declare, before the living God, and before these nobles of the land, that I have no commission to denounce your majesty deprived, if your highness miss in part, or in whole, of these performances: much less to draw up indentures between God and your majesty; or to say you forfeit your crown, with a clause for the bishop of Rome, as have been done by your majesty's predecessors, king John and his son Henry of this land. The Almighty God of his mercy let the light of his countenance shine upon your majesty, grant you a prosperous and happy reign, defend you, and save you; and let your subjects say, Amen.

"**GOD SAVE THE KING.**"

The piety of the youthful monarch was manifested at the coronation. Bale relates, upon the authority of credible witnesses, that when three swords were brought to be carried in the procession, as emblematical of his three kingdoms, the king said there was one yet wanting. The nobles inquiring what it was, he answered, *THE BIBLE*, adding, "That book is the sword of the Spirit, and to be preferred before these swords. That ought in all right to govern us, who use them for the people's safety by God's appointment. Without that sword we are nothing, we can do nothing, we have no power. From that we are what we are this day. From that we receive whatsoever it is that we at present do assume. He that rules without it, is not to be called God's minister, or a king. Under that we ought to live, to fight, to govern the people, and to perform all our affairs. From that alone we obtain all power, virtue, grace, salvation, and whatsoever we have of divine strength." When the pious young king had thus expressed himself, he commanded the bible to be brought with the greatest reverence, and carried before him.

His affection for Cranmer, and his pious feelings, appear from the following letter written by him to the archbishop, originally in Latin.

"Revered godfather, although I am but a child, yet I am not unmiadful of the services and the kindnesses you daily perform and manifest towards me. I have not forgotten your kind letters delivered to me on St. Peter's eve. I was unwilling to answer them until now, not from neglect or forgetfulness, but that, as I

daily meditated on them, and committed their contents faithfully to memory, at length having well considered them I might reply the more wisely. I do indeed embrace and venerate the truly paternal affection towards me which is expressed in them—may your life be prolonged for many years, and may you continue to be a respected father to me by your godly and wholesome counsels. For I consider that godliness is to be desired and embraced by me above all things, since St. Paul has said, Godliness is profitable to all things."

Cranmer's reply is as follows: it was also written in Latin.

"My beloved son in Christ—I am as much concerned for your welfare as my own; therefore when I learn that you are safe and well, I feel myself to be so also. My absence cannot be so unpleasant to you, as your letters are pleasing to me. They show that you possess a disposition worthy of your rank, and a preceptor suitable for such a disposition. From your letters I perceive that you so cultivate learning that heavenly truths are not among the things you least care for, and whose careth for those things, shall not be overcome by any cares. Go on therefore, in the way upon which you have entered, and adorn your native land, that the light of virtue which I behold in you may hereafter enlighten all your England," &c.

His tutor (probably Dr. Cox) says in a letter to the archbishop, "Your godson is merry and in health, and of such towardness in learning, godliness, gentleness, and all honest qualities, that both you and I, and all in this realm, ought to think him to be, and take him for, a singular gift sent of God," &c.

The education of Edward VI. inspired the protestants with great hopes of the progress of the truth, but they were not wholly devoid of apprehensions respecting the influence of the papists at court. Bale says, "Many things I conclude concerning prince Edward, whom I doubt not but the Lord hath sent for the singular comfort of England. Not that I timorously define any thing to come concerning him; considering it only in the Lord's power. But I desire of the same Lord to preserve his bringing up from the contagious drinks of those false physicians. And this is to be prayed for of all men." That many such prayers were offered by the protestants there can be no doubt; the frequent references to the youthful monarch by Latimer and other reformers, show the pleasure mixed with anxiety, with which they regarded his advance in life. Latimer, in his sermon on the plough, notices how the papists "whispered the king in his ear," alluding no doubt particularly to the crafty Gardiner, who also laboured earnestly to persuade the protector and the council to leave all matters concerning religion in their present state, during the king's minority.

Happily for England, the intrigues of Gardiner were not successful. The reformation advanced steadily from the commencement of the reign of Edward VI. That it proceeded not to the

full extent which might have been desirable, is accounted for by the peculiar state of parties in the English court at that time; also by the political situation of the country with regard both to foreign and domestic affairs. That much remained imperfect may readily be admitted, but at no previous period of English history, and not often at any subsequent time, was true religion more generally prevalent through all ranks than in the reign of Edward VI. To enter into the details of the progress of the reformation would be impossible in the present brief account, which is rather intended to give some particulars of the private character of king Edward than of the public proceedings of his reign.*

The decision with which the protector and his counsellors proceeded with the work of reformation from the first, is shown by a letter from John ab Ulmis to Bullinger, written at Oxford on Ascension day, 1546. He says, "England is adorned and enlightened by the word of God, and the number of the faithful increases largely every day. The mass, so dear to papists, begins to give way; in many places it is already dismissed and condemned by divine authority, images are extirpated throughout the land, nor does the least spark remain which can afford hopes to the papists, or give them an occasion for confirming their errors respecting idols, or an opportunity of drawing aside the people from our Saviour. The marriage of the clergy is allowed and sanctioned by the royal approbation. Peter Martyr has demonstrated to general satisfaction, from the scriptures, and the writings of orthodox divines, that purgatory is only a cross to which we have been hitherto subjected. The same result has taken place respecting the eucharist, or the holy supper of the Lord—that it is a commemoration of Christ, and a solemn showing forth of his death, not a sacrifice."

As early as 1548, though but eleven years of age, we find king Edward seriously attending to the duties of the kingly office, by studying the state and condition of his realm, with an earnest desire to promote its safety and peace. In acquiring this knowledge, among other persons, he made considerable use of William Thomas already mentioned, whose natural abilities and attainments fitted him to impart information upon these subjects. Thomas planned a series of discourses to illustrate a number of principles or propositions which he stated. Of these he gave a list, desiring the king to point out such as he most wished to have discussed without delay. These "Common-places of State," as they were entitled, are enumerated by Strype. It is hardly necessary to say that they differ most widely from the principles which Machiavel prepared for the instruction of an Italian prince, not long before that period. The following may be mentioned: 10. Whether religion, beside the honour of God,

* Some account of the progress of the reformation during the reign of king Edward will be found in the life of Cranmer, prefixed to the writings of that reformer in the present collection.

be not also the greatest stay of civil order!—23. How much good ministers are to be rewarded and the evil punished!—80. Whether princes ought to be contented with reasonable victories, and so to leave? The discourses of Thomas, it is true, were founded chiefly upon human policy, but there are points in them which indicate a better spirit; as for example, the religion of a prince whose amity is sought, is stated to be a matter for consideration. "A prince in battle," must also "examine whether his cause be lawful and just; for in a just cause shall God assist him." In a discourse concerning his majesty's outward affairs, we find the following paragraph. "Albeit that our quarrel is in God, and God our quarrel, who never faileth them that trust in him; yet forasmuch as wickedness reigneth in the midst of us, like as we should not mistrust the goodness of God, so ought we neither to neglect that policy which may help us to avoid the like captivity, that for wickedness happened to the elect people of Israel." Similar references to divine truths will not be found in political instructions at many periods of our history, and the reader will easily suppose that when such principles were recognised in private official documents, those of a public nature would not be deficient in their mention of Him who has declared, "By me kings reign."

The attendance of Cheke upon his royal pupil was interrupted for a time, the cause of which does not distinctly appear; but the fruits of his former instructions still remained. Among other interesting documents respecting king Edward, still in existence, is a journal, wherein are written down brief remarks concerning such affairs as from time to time came before him. Cheke is said to have advised him to keep a diary, observing, "That a dark and imperfect reflection upon affairs floating in the memory, was like words dispersed and insignificant; whereas a view of them in a book, was like the same words digested and disposed in good order, and so made significant." The king also kept in his own custody copies of all public records, and other matters which came under the consideration of the council.

Cheke returned to his attendance upon the king, early in 1550: he was in some danger of being involved in the protector's disgrace, but escaped the storm, and stood afterwards more secure in the royal favour. He used his increasing interest at court to favour religious and learned men, foreigners as well as English. Ridley, as we shall hereafter see, called him, "one of Christ's special advocates, and one of his principal proctors." Ascham also urged upon him the opportunity which he enjoyed, with Cecil and Cook, of favouring good matters relative either to religion or learning, and told him that they were expected to use these opportunities as they were able. Ascham's letters show that Cheke was not indifferent to these important subjects. The beneficial influence of Cheke also appeared from the kind reception given to Bucer, Fagius, and Martyr, when driven to England by the persecutions which followed the promulgation

of the Interim in Germany. A number of letters and other documents which still exist, show the advantages which resulted to the English reformation from the assistance of these refugees, under whose advice many improvements were introduced into the revised service book.

Cranmer as well as Cheke encouraged the resort of the foreign protestants to England. On the decease of Bucer, application was made to Melancthon to supply his place; the king's death, however, intervened before a final arrangement was effected. Even foreigners who did not visit England were fully aware of the value of this pious king, as appears from many passages in their writings. Bullinger, in particular, addressed him in the preface to a decade of his sermons, in a manner which at once showed his own faithfulness, and his opinion of the Christian principles of the monarch. He urged him, "To hold it as an undoubted truth that true prosperity was to be obtained by him no other ways, than by submitting himself and his whole kingdom to Christ, the highest Prince, and by framing all matters of religion and justice throughout his dominions according to the rule of God's word; not stirring one inch from that rule; propagating the kingdom of Christ, and trampling upon that of antichrist, as he had so happily begun." In another dedication he urges the king to proceed with firmness, and in the fear of God, not imitating the politic courses then adopted in Germany. The foreign protestants were anxious to engage the co-operation of Edward, and offered to waive some minor points of discipline if a general union could be effected. In order to counteract this, the romanists sent emissaries who pretended to be opposed to popery, while they were secretly supported by Gardiner in their attempts to excite discord in England.

The king was solicitous for the welfare and comfort of these learned refugees, who were a good deal inconvenienced by some manners and customs of England. Hearing that Bucer had suffered in health for the want of a stove (or heated room) which he had been accustomed to in Germany, he sent him twenty pounds to defray the expense of constructing one previously to the next winter. Bucer in return wrote a book as a new year's gift for the king. It was entitled, "Concerning the kingdom of Christ." A summary of the contents is given by Burnet. It contained much advice on the subject of reformation, and probably occasioned a general discourse on that subject, which the king wrote about the year 1551. Bucer and his countrymen were also a good deal annoyed by the papists, who still abounded in the universities. The king's esteem for these exiles further appeared by his desire to retain Peter Martyr when the city of Strasburg requested him to return to them. After Bucer's decease, kind attention was shown to the interests of his widow. The persecutions consequent upon the Interim, which had driven Bucer and his associates from their own countries, excited much sympathy among English protestants. There also was ground

for apprehensions of the revival of popery at home. Under these circumstances, to the petition in the liturgy, "Give peace in our time," was added the response, "Because there is none other that fighteth for us but thou, O Lord."

The political events of the reign of Edward VI. need only to be noticed very briefly in this sketch. The intrigues of the papists, combined with the popular feelings, which were excited by various recent changes affecting the state of society in England, led to commotions in several districts during the year 1549, particularly in Norfolk, Cornwall, and Devonshire. These were suppressed with considerable difficulty.* The duke of Somerset, though earnest for the doctrines as well as the outward advantages of the reformation, weakened his influence as lord protector, by various proceedings calculated to render him unpopular. His authority was also assailed by political rivals. One of these, his own brother, the lord admiral, a very unworthy character, endeavoured to supplant the protector with the king, by secretly supplying the latter with money, flattering his youthful vanity, and endeavouring to excite his evil passions. The political intrigues of the admiral at length called for severe measures, and he was condemned and executed as a traitor, in 1549. Before the close of that year, the protector himself was displaced from his office and imprisoned, chiefly by the intrigues of the earl of Warwick, afterwards the duke of Northumberland, who succeeded to the direction of public affairs, and outwardly adopted the measures of reformation pursued by Somerset, though with more worldly views. Somerset was pardoned, and released from confinement in the following year, but again engaging in the intrigues of those turbulent times, he was condemned and executed in January, 1552. The political changes in those days were seldom unattended with bloodshed, and usually were followed by numerous executions.

We resume the personal history of king Edward. The king, now about thirteen years of age, continued his studies. We find him at this time reading Aristotle's *Ethics*; the philosophical works of Cicero he had previously read. Both Greek and Latin were now become familiar to him. Nor was he less occupied in theological studies. The active part taken by Cheke in some of the public disputations with the romanists, is a sufficient proof that his pupil was interested in those subjects. In a letter to Sturmius, dated December, 1550, Ascham, speaking of the king, says, "that his nature equalled his fortune; but his virtue, or to speak as a Christian, the manifold grace of God in him, exceeded both. He did to admiration outrun his age in his desires of the best learning, in his study of the truest religion, in his will, his judgment, and his constancy." The dowager queen of Scots, who visited the English court about the same time, said that she found more wisdom and solid judgment in

* See Cranmer, p. 50. Becon, p. 209.

young king Edward, than she would have looked for in any three princes that were in Europe.

His favourite companion was Barnaby Fitzpatrick, a young gentleman of Ireland, brought up with him from childhood. In 1551, the youthful monarch sent his companion to Paris to attend the French court, that he might acquire knowledge which would be useful in future life. The anxiety Edward felt for his favourite's best interests is shown in a letter to him, dated December 20, 1551. It is as follows: "We have received your letters of the 8th of this present month, whereby we understand how you are well entertained, for which we are right glad, and also how you have been once to go on pilgrimage. For which cause we have thought good to advertise you, that hereafter, if any such chance happen, you shall desire leave to go to Mr. Pickering,* or to Paris for your business. And if that will not serve, declare to some man of estimation with whom you are best acquainted, that, as you are loth to offend the French king, because you have been so favourably used, so with safe conscience you cannot do any such thing, being brought up with me, and bound to obey my laws; also that you had commandment from me to the contrary. Yet if you are vehemently procured, you may go, as waiting on the king, not as intending to the abuse, nor willingly seeing the ceremonies, and so you look not on the mass. But in the mean season, regard the scripture, or some good book, and give no reverence to the mass at all. Furthermore remember, when you may conveniently be absent from the court, to tarry with sir William Pickering, to be instructed by him how to use yourself." After some further directions as to his conduct, the king tells him not to forget his learning, "chiefly reading of the scriptures." Fuller observes upon this and other letters of the king to Fitzpatrick, that familiar epistles communicate truth to posterity, presenting history unto us with a true face of things, though not in so fine a dress as other kinds of writings. Ascham, in one of his letters to Sturmius, speaks of the impression which must have been made in France by the duke of Suffolk and the other noble youths who had been educated with the king, and who had visited that country. He also mentions the abilities and acquirements of the princess Elizabeth in the highest terms.

About this period, a learned Italian, named Cardan, visited England on his return from Scotland to the continent. He had some interviews with the king, and has left the following testimony respecting the youthful monarch. "All the graces were combined in him. He possessed the knowledge of many languages while yet a child. In addition to English, his native tongue, he was well acquainted both with Latin and French, nor was he ignorant of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish, and perhaps of more. Nor was he ignorant of logic, of the principles of natural philosophy, or of music: he played well upon the lute. A

* The English ambassador.

beautiful specimen of mortality; his seriousness manifested royal majesty; his disposition was suitable to his exalted rank. In sum, that child was so educated, possessed such abilities, and caused such expectations, that he appeared a miracle. This is not said as mere rhetorical expressions, nor does it exceed the truth, but in fact falls short of it." Cardan adds, "He was a marvellous boy; he had learned seven languages, as I was told. With his own, French, and Latin, he was thoroughly acquainted." He also relates a conversation he had with Edward, in which the latter showed that he was not to be satisfied with the imperfect statements then made on astronomical subjects.

The king's continued attention to matters of state is described by Fox, who relates that he was as well informed with respect to his affairs beyond sea, as those who were personally concerned in the negotiations. Also, that in the reception of ambassadors he would give answers to every part of their orations, to the great wonder of those that heard him, doing that in his tender years, by himself, which many princes at their mature age are seldom wont to do but by others. He was very anxious for the due administration of justice, arranging such hours and times as he considered would best forward the despatch of poor men's causes, without long delays and attendance. His attention to economy is manifest from many documents; it did not arise from a sordid desire of accumulation, but from a wish to spare his subjects as much as possible, and at the same time to extricate himself from a heavy load of debt which consumed his pecuniary resources.

He took great pleasure in active exercises, particularly riding, leaping, and shooting with the long-bow, as appears from his own journal, as well as the records of others.

The reign of Edward VI. furnishes the rare instance of a prince who could bear to hear truths faithfully told, and who listened to preachers that did not hesitate to speak to him with sincerity and truth. Fox says, "Few sermons or none in his court, especially in the lord protector's time, but he would be at them." Again, "Never was he present at any such discourses but he would take notes of them with his own hand." Latimer's sermons supply several instances of bold, uncompromising fidelity; he preached at court during several lent seasons in succession. In a discourse preached by Lever in 1550, we find equal faithfulness. It appears that there were some about the court who endeavoured to turn the king from his laudable studies and pursuits to the usual light and frivolous pastimes of courts; this indeed is plainly shown by his own journal. Lever boldly adverted to the subject in the following terms:

"It is not unlike, but if your majesty, with your council, speak unto your nobles for provision now to be made for the poor people, ye shall find some, that setting afore your eyes the hardness of the matter, the tenderness of your years, and the wonderful charges that should be requisite, will move and counsel you to

EDWARD VI.

3

quiet yourself, to take your ease, yea, to take your pastime, in hawking, hunting, and gaming." And then turning his speech to such a one, he thus accosted him, "Thou hast no taste nor savour how delicious God is unto a pure conscience in godly exercise of good works. But all that thou regardest and feelest is voluptuous pleasures in worldly vanities; and therefore thou dost not perceive, how that they which be endowed with a special grace of God, may find more pleasure and pastime in godly governance, to keep together and save simple men, than in hawking and hunting, to chase and kill wild beasts. Yea, a godly king shall find more pleasure in casting lots for Jonah, to try out offenders which trouble the ship of this commonwealth, than in casting dice at hazard, to allow and maintain by his example such things as should not be suffered in a commonwealth. Yea, surely a good king shall take far more delight in edifying with comfort, and decking with good order, the congregation of his people, the church and house of God, the heavenly city of Jerusalem, than in building such houses as seem gay and gorgeous, and are indeed but vile earth, stones, timber, and clay. Such like answer ought your majesty and all noblemen to make, if ye find any of your counsellors more carnal than spiritual, more worldly than godly."

Knox also preached with equal faithfulness in 1552, shortly before the removal of the court from Westminster, boldly reprov- ing the ill-conduct of the duke of Northumberland and the mar- quess of Winchester, even to their faces, as he states in his Faith- ful Admonition. Instead of incurring the royal displeasure by this conduct, a living in the city of London was offered him; he declined it from scruples respecting conformity, but he was still retained as one of the six itinerating preachers appointed by the king. Latimer was too aged and infirm to undertake the regular discharge of public duties; but we find him dwelling with archbishop Cranmer, and as a gift of twenty pounds, then a considerable sum, was ordered for him by the king at an early part of his reign, we may be assured that a suitable provision was continued to him.

Strype has given a minute and painful delineation of vices com- mon at that period. It must be remembered they arose from principles implanted in the days of popery. The tares which had been plentifully sown now were apparent. To these evils the reformers continually refer with much sorrow; they doubtless tended to bring down divine displeasure upon the land. The profligate conduct of many among the nobility, even of some who professedly were attached to the reformation, shows most clearly the effects of divine grace, which alone enabled this pious monarch and others to resist the contagion of evil example.

Some good, however, could be said of the English nobility. Ascham, writing to Sturmius, says that the nobles of England never were more attached to learning. He adds, "Our illustrious king excels those of his own age, and even passes belief in understanding, industry, perseverance, and erudition. I do not

learn this from the report of others, but from my own personal knowledge—and to witness it has afforded me much pleasure. I can say that the virtues appear to have taken up their abode in him.” In reference to his listening to good counsels, Cheke, in a letter to the duke of Somerset, says, “Wherefore, as his majesty hath always learned, so I trust he laboureth daily to avoid the ground of all error, that self-pleasing which the Greeks do call *Philautia*; when a man delighteth in his own reason and despiseth other men’s counsel, and thinketh no man’s foresight to be so good as his, nor any man’s judgment compared to his own.”

Considerable anxiety prevailed respecting a suitable matrimonial alliance for the king. A union with Mary, the young queen of Scotland, had originally been designed. After this was relinquished, some progress was made in a treaty with the royal family of France—the French king at that time was in some respects a favourer of the reformation; but the English protestants in general were much against a foreign alliance. Latimer spoke with his accustomed plainness from the pulpit, advising the king “to choose one that is of God, that is, of the household of faith; and such a one as the king can find in his heart to love, and lead his life in pure and chaste espousage with. Let him choose a wife that fears God. Let him not choose a proud wanton; one full only of rich treasures and worldly pomp.” Besides the proposed marriage with a French princess, which at one period was in a considerable degree of forwardness, alliances were at other times proposed with a daughter of the duke of Somerset, and with the lady Jane Grey. John ab Ulmis, writing to Bullinger, in June, 1551, respecting lady Jane, says, “A report becomes common, and is current among the nobility, that the king is to espouse this illustrious young female. If that should come to pass, how happy the union! and how beneficial to the church may we expect it to prove!”

In 1552, his beloved tutor was afflicted with the sweating sickness, a contagious disease which carried off considerable numbers. The king was anxious for Cheke’s recovery. He sought it by earnest prayer. When told by the physicians that they despaired of his tutor’s recovery, he replied, “No, Cheke will not die this time, I begged his life this morning in my prayer, and obtained it.” Nor was this confident expectation disappointed. The recovery of Cheke was regarded by the pious reformers as a national mercy. They knew not the darker hour which approached, both with respect to the tutor and his royal pupil.

In the year 1552, the king was attacked by the measles and the small-pox. From the effects of these maladies he never recovered, though in a letter to Fitzpatrick he speaks of himself as fully restored to health. In April that year, he removed to Greenwich for the change of air, and continued to reside there

the short remainder of his life, with the exception of a progress in the summer. During the ensuing winter he was afflicted with a cough, and symptoms of consumption appeared: but he was not less intent upon the welfare of his kingdom as to matters connected with religion. We find, early in 1553, a catechism set forth by the royal authority, which is generally known as "King Edward's Catechism." This valuable summary of the doctrines of the reformation is generally supposed to have been the work of dean Nowell, who enlarged it after the accession of queen Elizabeth; it will be found in the present collection. The king was earnest to procure uniformity as to doctrine, and one of his latest memorandums connected with the public concerns of religion has distinct reference to this point. With this view he had articles of religion prepared, which are very similar to the thirty-nine articles, set forth in the reign of queen Elizabeth. At that period the principle of full toleration in matters of religion was not understood or recognised even by protestants. But an important step towards religious liberty may be here remarked; although a declaration of assent to these articles was required of all who were public teachers in the church, the royal command to this effect did not direct any compulsory measures to enforce subscription, nor any severe proceedings, unless the articles were openly withstood or gainsaid, in which case the council were to be informed, that such further order might be taken as appeared requisite. Upon this principle the king seems to have proceeded with regard to his sister the princess Mary, as though he went so far as to prevent the performance of the mass at her court, he records in his journal that upon her answering that her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change, nor dissemble her opinion with contrary doings; it was told her that "he constrained not her faith, but willed her not as a king to rule, but as a subject to obey; and that her example might breed too much inconvenience." How different were Mary's proceedings towards her sister Elizabeth when she succeeded to the throne! The alternate obstinacy and compliances of Mary in her correspondence with her father and brother on this subject, appear from her letters yet extant, some of which evince mental reservation worthy of the followers of Loyola; doubtless they were written under the counsel of her spiritual advisers. These discussions with his sister evidently were injurious to the king's health.

The king's illness gave rise to ambitious projects on the part of the bold and unprincipled duke of Northumberland. He grasped at the succession to the crown, and resolved to secure it, if possible, to his own family. His designs were furthered by the king's sincere attachment to the truth, which made him deeply apprehensive of the consequences, if a bigoted papist like his sister Mary should succeed to the throne. He therefore listened to a plan suggested by Northumberland, whereby both the king's

sisters should be passed by as illegitimate, on the ground of the marriages of their mothers having been declared void, and by passing over other branches who had a nearer right to the throne, the succession should be settled upon the lady Jane Grey, who, as Northumberland had arranged, was to marry one of his sons, the lord Guildford Dudley. Her mother, lady Frances Brandon, duchess of Suffolk, was granddaughter of Henry VII.

As the spring of 1553 advanced, reports of the king's death were frequent; the anxiety of the nation at large appears from many passages in the writings of the reformers. Feeling his strength decline, Edward became increasingly anxious to secure a protestant successor. He drew up a paper with his own hand, directing the order of succession to the throne, by which the crown devolved upon the lady Jane Grey. An instrument was then prepared by which the principal counsellors declared their assent to this settlement. The judges hesitated for some time, but, with one exception, were finally induced to consent. Northumberland's conduct was such as to make them apprehensive of personal violence. He urged this measure forward; archbishop Cranmer opposed it, and argued much with the king against such a proceeding, in the presence of two of the nobility. He also desired to have a private conference with Edward upon the subject, but this was not allowed, and the duke of Northumberland told him at the council board, that "it became him not to speak to the king as he had done." Cranmer for some time refused to be a party to this instrument, and urged much in behalf of the lady Mary's right. He was silenced, and told that the judges and king's counsel learned in the law were of opinion the alteration could lawfully be made. Cranmer then absented himself from the council, and still refused to sign till the king personally entreated him not to stand out. At length his affection for his royal master, and the authority of the principal law officers prevailed; he reluctantly added his signature. Only one of the judges, justice Hales, refused his assent; but this did not save him from being an object of persecution and suffering in the ensuing reign. The regular instrument, signed by the king and his counsellors, bears date June 21.

Another public document completed by Edward at this time, excites more pleasing reflections. At the commencement of his last sickness, bishop Ridley preached before him, and said much upon the duty of all persons to be charitable according to their ability, especially those who were of high rank. After this sermon, the king sent for the bishop, and commanded him to sit down, and be covered. He then went over the principal arguments mentioned in the sermon, desiring Ridley, that as he had shown what was his duty, he would now show in what manner he should perform it. Ridley was affected, even to tears, at this pleasing conduct of the king, and asked leave to consult with the mayor and aldermen of London upon the subject. Edward approved of this, and desired that they would consider the best manner of re-

lieving the poor. They did so; and Ridley returned in a few days with a plan, dividing the poor into three parts; the poor by impotency, the poor by casualty, and the thriftless poor; again subdividing them into nine classes. After this, the king ordered the Grey Friars monastery, with the lands belonging to it, to be endowed as a school, (now Christ's Hospital;) St. Bartholomew's for sick and maimed persons; Bridewell and Bethlehem, for idle, dissolute characters, and the insane; provision also was made for the relief of poor housekeepers. He hastened the appropriation of these endowments to the laudable purposes just mentioned; and on signing the charters, upon the 26th of June, 1553, when he was so weak as scarcely to be able to hold the pen, he thanked God for sparing his life until he had executed his design. The reader will recollect that all these noble foundations have continued to the present time, as well as several free schools founded by him.

The above is the account given respecting the origin of these noble foundations, by bishop Ridley himself to Grafton the historian. A letter from bishop Ridley to secretary Cecil, contains some further information respecting one of these establishments. He writes thus on the 29th of May: "Good Mr. Cecil, I must be suitor to you, in our Master Christ's cause: I beseech you be good unto him. The matter is this, alas, he hath been too long abroad, as you do know, without lodging, in the streets of London, both hungry, naked, and cold. Now, thanks be to almighty God, the citizens are willing to refresh him, and to greet him with both meat, drink, clothing, and firing; but alas, sir, they lack lodging for him, for in some one house I dare say they are fain to lodge three families under one roof. Sir, there is a wide, large, empty house of the king's majesty's, called Bridewell, that would wonderfully well serve to lodge Christ in, if he might find such good friends in the court to procure in his cause. Surely I have such a good opinion in the king's majesty, that if Christ had such faithful and trusty friends that would heartily speak for him, he should undoubtedly succeed at the king's majesty's hands. Sir, I have promised my brethren the citizens to move you in this matter, because I do take you for one that feareth God, and would that Christ should be no more abroad in the streets. There is a rumour that one goeth about to buy that house of his majesty to pull it down. If there be any such thing, for God's sake speak you in our Master's name. I have written to M. Gates more at large in this matter, I join you with him and all that love and look for Christ's final benediction at the latter day. If M. Cheke is almost recovered, God be blessed. Were he amongst you I would surely make him in this business one of Christ's special advocates, or rather one of his principal protectors, and surely I would not be sent away. And thus I wish you in Christ, and well to fare."*

* Ridley's anxiety to promote these good works, appears from a sermon of Lever's, preached in 1550. He says that, "a number of poor,

The king now evidently drew near his end. When there appeared no longer to be hopes of life, the physicians were dismissed, and some remedies suggested by a female empiric were tried, but without success. The physicians were recalled in a few days, but the royal sufferer rapidly declined, and on the 6th of July breathed his last. "His manner of death," as the council reported to sir Thomas Hoby, "was such toward God, as assureth us that his soul is in place of eternal rest."

Fox relates, "About three hours before his death, this godly child, his eyes being closed, speaking to himself, and thinking that none heard him, made this prayer which follows:

"*Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen. Howbeit, not my will, but thy will be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to thee. O Lord! thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee, yet for thy chosen's sake send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God bless thy people, and save thine inheritance. O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England. O my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain the true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake.*"

"Then turned he his face, and seeing who was by him, said unto them, 'Are ye so nigh? I thought ye had been further off.' Then Dr. Owen, one of his physicians, who gave this account, to satisfy him, said, 'We heard you speak to yourself, but what you said we know not.' He then (after his fashion) smilingly said, 'I was praying to God.' The last words of his pangs were these: 'I am faint, Lord, have mercy upon me, and take my spirit.' And thus he yielded up the ghost."

The untimely decease of Edward, and the political circumstances of that day, caused reports to be spread of his having fallen a victim to poison. For this there was no real foundation. The opinions which then prevailed are stated in a letter of Terentian, an Italian, who had accompanied Peter Martyr to England, (Helv. Reform. lxxvi.) He says, "On the 6th of July died that holy Josiah, our earthly hope; of consumption as the physicians state, of poison as is said, for the papists spread this report that they may heap every sort of odium upon Northumberland, and, to say the truth, there are considerable grounds for suspicion; but if I may say what I think, I would rather believe the papists themselves to be the authors of such wickedness, for they manifest no appearance of sorrow, and no inquiry is made respecting such a crime."

Strype says, "His funeral was solemnized at Westminster,

feeble, halt, blind, lame, sickly, with idle vagabonds and dissembling caitiffs mixed among them, lay, and crept begging in the miry streets of London and Westminster,"—adding, "but now I trust that a good overseer, a godly bishop I mean, will see that they in these two cities shall have their need relieved and faults corrected, to the good ensample of all other towns and cities."

Aug. 8, 1553. Whereat were expressed, by all sorts of people, such signs of sorrow for his death, by weepings and lamentations, as the like was scarce ever seen or heard upon the like occasion."

Burnet relates, "Day, bishop of Chichester, preached the funeral sermon for king Edward. It was intended by queen Mary that all the burial rites should have been according to the old forms that were before the reformation. But Cranmer opposed this vigorously, and insisted upon it, that as the king himself had been a zealous promoter of the reformation, so the English service was then established by law. Upon this he stoutly hindered any other way of officiating, and himself performed all the offices of the burial; to which he joined the solemnity of a communion. In these, it may be easily imagined, he did every thing with a very lively sorrow; since as he had loved the king beyond expression, so he could not but look on his funeral as the burial of the reformation, and in particular as a step to his own."

Bale relating the above, remarks how much Edward had the welfare of his people at heart, and says that he had often observed him at public prayers when the words, O Lord save thy people, were repeated, joining most fervently with clasped hands and eyes lifted up to heaven.

To enlarge upon the excellences of this our "British Josiah," would not be difficult, but it is unnecessary. Enough has been related to show, that although his rank and situation exposed him to many temptations, he was preserved from evil, and ever anxious for the discharge of his peculiar duties. But the most important feature in his character is, that he was a follower of the truth, "a saint of God," one of whom the world was not worthy.

Many letters and other writings of Edward VI. have been preserved. The greater part of these have been printed by Burnet and Strype. Though interesting as illustrations of his character, they are not desirable for the present collection. The treatise on the papal supremacy is a specimen of his productions; it is supposed to have been written by this prince at the age of twelve years. A sufficient memorial of Edward VI. will never be wanting so long as the protestant faith is professed in England.

The original of his journal is in the British Museum; it has been printed by Burnet, but there are very few observations of the king on the events he notes down. One of these notices refers to the execution of the unhappy Joan Bocher.* Another contains evidence

* For some account of the undeserved sufferings of this friendless and persecuted female, see life of Cranmer, p. 49. The entry respecting her in king Edward's journal does not notice the interference which the archbishop is said to have made on this occasion. It is as follows: "May 2, 1549. Joan Bocher, otherwise called Joan of Kent, was burned for holding that Christ was not incarnate of the virgin Mary; being condemned before, but kept in hope of conversion; and the 30th of April the bishop of London and the bishop of Ely were to persuade her; but she withstood them, and reviled the preacher that preached at her death." Deep

of the deceitful course adopted by bishop Gardiner. "The duke of Somerset, with five others of the council, went to the bishop of Winchester, to whom he made this answer: 'I having deliberately seen the Book of Common Prayer, although I would not have made it so myself, yet I find such things in it as satisfieth my conscience, and therefore I will both execute it myself, and also see others my parishioners to do it.'" The journal contains various notices, which show the interest Edward took in the affairs of the protestants in Germany, and the anxiety caused by the designs of the Romanists respecting the princess Mary; but, though valuable as an historical document, it contains very little relating to the internal progress of the reformation. The principal circumstances relative to the fall and execution of the duke of Somerset are mentioned, and the active endeavours of Northumberland to occupy the young king's attention by a succession of amusements, while the death of his excellent uncle was urged forward, are very apparent. From memorandums written by the king still extant, it is evident that in allowing the proceedings against his uncle to go forward, he considered that he was sacrificing his personal regard and feelings for the due course of justice and the welfare of the kingdom. Hayward describes him as often lamenting the unhappy situation in which the necessity for consenting to his uncle's death placed him.

The extended circulation of the bible must ever be considered as one of the principal glories of king Edward's reign. The free use of the scriptures now was permitted to all; and no less than thirty-four editions of the whole Bible, or of the New Testament, were printed during the six years Edward VI. was upon the throne, besides separate editions of detached parts, and innumerable other writings setting forth the truths of the gospel.

Among the most valuable memorials of his reign, the first book of Homilies may be mentioned. These discourses have been so often printed, and are circulated in so many forms, that it is unnecessary to advert to them further, or to include any portion of them in the present collection. Nowell's Catechism, in its original form, supplies an important summary of the doctrines of the reformation, as set forth at this period, and as such it is given in this work. A selection of prayers from the Primer authorized by king Edward, also shows the principles of truth then taught in our land. The serious reader cannot peruse them without pleasure and profit, and they may without impropriety be considered as productions of the youthful monarch, though not immediately from his pen.

indeed must have been the dreadful prejudices that authorized religious persecution, when king Edward could thus record such an event. The preacher was a dissembling papist, Dr. Scory; the sufferer told him to go and read the scriptures, and we cannot be surprised that she expressed herself in strong terms.

SOME ACCOUNT
OF
QUEEN CATHERINE PARR,

The last Consort of Henry VIII.

CATHERINE PARR, the sixth and surviving queen of king Henry VIII., was born in Westmoreland. She was the daughter of sir Thomas Parr, of Kendal,* and married first to Edward Burgh, secondly to John Neville, lord Latimer. After his decease, she became the wife of Henry, in July 1543.

She was early instructed in literature; a plan frequently adopted with females of rank in the sixteenth century; in England, it was promoted by the example of the monarch in the education of his daughters. Udal writes thus in a dedicatory epistle to queen Catherine herself. "Now, in this gracious and blissful time of knowledge, in which it hath pleased God almighty to reveal and show abroad the light of his most holy gospel, what a number is there of noble women, especially here in this realm of England; yea, and how many in the years of tender virginity, not only as well seen, and as familiarly traded in the Latin and Greek tongues, as in their own mother language; but also in all kinds of literature and arts, made exact, studied, and exercised, and in the holy scripture and theology so ripe, that they are able aptly, wisely, and with much grace, either to indite or to translate into the vulgar tongue, for the public instruction and edifying of the unlearned multitude! Neither is it now a strange thing to hear gentlewomen, instead of most vain communication about the moon shining in the water, to use grave and substantial talk in Latin and Greek, with their husbands, of godly matters. It is now no news in England, for young damsels in noble houses, and in the courts of princes, instead of cards and other instruments of idle trifling, to have continually in their hands, either psalms, homilies, and other devout meditations, or else Paul's epistles, or some book of holy scripture matters; and as familiarly to read or reason thereof, in Greek, Latin, French, or Italian, as in English. It is now a common thing to see young virgins so nursed and trained in the study of letters, that they willingly set all other vain pastimes at nought, for learning's sake. It is now no news

* He left his two daughters £800 each, but in case their brother died, and they became co-heiresses of his estates, then the whole of the £1600 was to be paid to the abbey of Clairvaux, to purchase copes and vestments for performing the Romish ceremonials. Such an arrangement gives some idea of the pomp of those services, when it is remembered that the sum is equal to more than ten times the amount at the present day.

at all to see queens and ladies of most high state and progeny, instead of courtly dalliance, to embrace virtuous exercises of reading and writing, and with most earnest study, both early and late, to apply themselves to the acquiring of knowledge, as well in all other liberal arts and disciplines, as also most especially of God and his most holy word."

Of the number thus described, was Catherine Parr, also lady Bacon and her sisters, the daughters of sir Anthony Cook, the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, lady Jane Grey, and many others. Nor were these acquirements to be found only amongst persons of quality. One instance at least is recorded of their being found in a tradesman's wife. From the monument of Elizabeth Lucar, daughter of one Paul Withipol, and wife of Emanuel Lucar, a merchant tailor of London, given by Stow in his Survey, it appears that she wrote three hands very fairly, that she understood Latin, Spanish, and Italian, writing and speaking them with perfect utterance and readiness; that she sung and played well upon the viol, lute, and virginals; besides this she was not deficient in accomplishments peculiar to her sex, being excellently skilled in all kinds of needlework. Her moral qualities were also most praiseworthy, and above all, to use the simple expressions of her epitaph, "Reading the scriptures to judge light from dark, Directing her faith to Christ the only mark." She died in 1537, aged only twenty-seven. From various records of that day, it appears that the females who thus acquired learning were not on that account negligent as to the domestic duties incumbent upon them as daughters, wives, and heads of families.

An anecdote of Catherine Parr related by Strype, would, however, indicate that in early life she did not very willingly enter into the domestic employments then usually attended to, even by females of rank. Some astrologer having cast her nativity, told her she was born to sit in the highest seat of imperial majesty, having all the eminent stars and planets in her house, which she took such notice of, that when her mother used sometimes to call her to work, she would say, "My hands are ordained to touch crowns and sceptres, not needles and spindles!" Upon the mischievous absurdity of such a prognostication it is unnecessary to remark. Many other females must have been born under the same siderial aspect who *never* rose to a throne.

We must not forget that, as is noticed by Udal, the learning of that period ever had especial reference to scriptural knowledge, and the study of the doctrines of truth. Historians of infidel or latitudinarian principles have treated the literary acquirements of the higher ranks at that day as contemptible, or at best pedantic; but the Christian estimates them more correctly. The writings of queen Catherine Parr alone, are sufficient to manifest the real value of those acquirements, and the subsequent part of this sketch will show the important services she was thereby enabled to render to the reformation. From her early youth she studied the scriptures, although a considerable time

elapsed, as appears from her own writings, before she was freed from the mental bondage of popery.

When elevated to the throne, queen Catherine Parr was placed in a dangerous and arduous station. She did not hesitate openly to manifest her attachment to the doctrines of the gospel, and rendered all the services in her power to the reformers. Udal states that the translation of the paraphrases of Erasmus on the New Testament, a copy of which was ordered to be placed in every parish church in the kingdom, was executed by her means. Udal was then master of Eton school, the queen engaged him in this work, well knowing his ability to superintend and take part in the same. In 1545, previously to the work being printed, he wrote an epistle dedicatory to the queen, in which he mentions, that "at her exceeding great costs and charges, she had hired workmen to labour in the vineyard of Christ's gospel, and procured the whole paraphrase of Erasmus upon all the New Testament to be diligently translated into English, by several men whom she employed upon this work." He further said, that he trusted the king would not allow it to remain buried in silence, but would cause it to be set abroad in print, to the use that she had designed; "that is, to the commodity and benefit of good English people, now a long time sore thirsting and hungering after the sincere and plain knowledge of God's word."

The translators of this paraphrase were for the most part persons of rank and ability; some portion, Strype concludes, was the work of queen Catherine herself, the paraphrase on the gospel by St. John was begun by the princess Mary, but was finished by her chaplain, Dr. Malet, "she being cast into sickness partly by overmuch study in this work;" upon which it has been observed, that probably the translation of some Romish legends or rituals might have been more agreeable to her. It is likely, however, that she undertook this paraphrase desiring to please her father, who at that time was disposed to favour such works. A letter written by the queen to the princess respecting this translation, shows the interest she took therein.

The queen evinced considerable judgment in selecting this work of Erasmus to be put forth by authority. It was written by him in his best days, and very fully comprised the opinions of the best early divines on doctrinal subjects; it also exposed the errors and superstitious abuses of popery, and being the work of Erasmus, carried with it an authority to all, except the most bigoted of the papists, which any production exclusively written by the English Reformers would not have possessed, even had there been time, which there was not, to prepare such a work; while its passing through the hands of men well affected to gospel truth, was an assurance to the protestants that its contents were not at variance with the scriptures—the paraphrase on the Revelation was not the work of Erasmus, but of Leo Jude. Queen Catherine also doubtless had reason to judge that this work was most likely to be acceptable to the king.

The papists were not indifferent to the exertions of queen Catherine Parr in promoting the reformation. She had many around her at court of the same principles as herself, and early in the year 1546, when for a time bishop Gardiner, the duke of Norfolk, the lord chancellor Wriothesley, and other romanists had gained a portion of influence at court, that party made a vigorous effort for her destruction. To this persecution, Ann Askew fell a victim; the narrow escape of the queen is best given in the words of Fox, which includes many interesting historical particulars. He says,

"About the year 1546, after the king returned from Boulogne, he was informed that queen Catherine Parr, at that time his wife, was very much given to the reading and study of the holy scriptures; and that she for that purpose had retained divers well learned and godly persons, to instruct her thoroughly in the same, with whom she used to have private conference touching spiritual matters. Commonly, but especially in Lent, every day in the afternoon, for the space of an hour, one of her chaplains made some collation to her and to her ladies, and gentlewomen of her chamber, or others that were disposed to hear; in which sermons they oftentimes touched such abuses as in the church then were rife. Which things as they were not secretly done, so neither were their preachings unknown unto the king. Whereof at the first, and for a great time, he seemed very well to like. Which made her the more bold, being indeed become very zealous toward the gospel, and the professors thereof, frankly to debate with the king, touching religion, and therein flatly to discover herself; oftentimes wishing, exhorting, and persuading the king, that as he had, to the glory of God and his eternal fame, begun a good and a godly work in banishing that monstrous idol of Rome, so he would thoroughly perfect and finish the same, cleansing his church of England clean from the dregs thereof, wherein as yet remained great superstition.

"And albeit the king grew towards his latter end very stern and opinionate, so that of few he could be content to be taught, but worst of all to be contended withal by argument; notwithstanding, toward her he refrained his accustomed manner, as appeared by great respects, either for the reverence of the cause, whereunto of himself he seemed well inclined, if some others could have ceased from seeking to pervert him, or else for the singular affection which until a very small time before his death, he always bore unto her. For never handmaid sought with more careful diligence to please her mistress, than she did with all painful endeavour apply herself, by all virtuous means, in all things to please his humour.

"Moreover, besides the virtues of the mind, she was endued with very rare gifts of nature, as singular beauty, favour, and comely personage, being things wherein the king was greatly delighted; and so enjoyed for the king's favour, to the great likelihood of the setting at large of the gospel within this realm at

that time, had not the malicious practice of certain enemies professed against the truth, which at that time also were very great, prevented the same, to the utter alienating of the king's mind from religion, and almost to the extreme ruin of the queen and certain others with her, if God had not marvellously succoured her in that distress.

"The king's majesty, as you have heard, misliked to be contended withal in any kind of argument. This humour of his, although not in smaller matters, yet in causes of religion as occasion served, the queen would not stick now and then to oppose in reverent terms and humble talk, entering with him into discourse, with sound reasons of scripture. The which the king was so well accustomed unto in those matters, that at her hands he took all in good part, or at the least never showed countenance of offence thereat; which did not a little appal her adversaries to hear and see. During which time, perceiving her so thoroughly grounded in the king's favour, they durst not for their lives once open their lips unto the king in any respect to touch her, either in her presence, or behind her back: and so long she continued this her accustomed usage, not only of hearing private sermons, as is said, but also of her free conference with the king in matters of religion, without all peril, until at the last, by reason of his sore leg, the anguish whereof began more and more to increase, he waxed sickly, and therewithal froward, and difficult to be pleased.

"In the time of this his sickness, he had left his accustomed manner of coming and visiting of the queen: and therefore she, according as she understood him by such assured intelligence as she had about him, to be disposed to have her company, sometimes being sent for, other sometimes of herself would come to visit him, either after dinner or after supper, as was most fit for her purpose. At which times she would not fail to use all occasions to move him, according to her manner, zealously to proceed in the reformation of the church. The sharpness of the disease had sharpened the king's accustomed patience, so that he began to show some tokens of misliking; and contrary unto his manner, upon a day, breaking off that matter, he took occasion to enter into other talk, which somewhat amazed the queen. To whom, notwithstanding, in her presence, he gave neither evil word nor countenance, but knit up all arguments with gentle words and loving countenance; and after other pleasant talk, she for that time took her leave of his majesty. Who after his manner, bidding her 'Farewell, sweet heart,' for that was his usual term to the queen, licensed her to depart.

"At this visitation, the bishop of Winchester, Gardiner, was present, as also at the queen's taking her leave, and he had very well printed in his memory the king's sudden interrupting of the queen in her tale, and falling into other matter, and thought that if the iron were beaten whilst it was hot, and that the king's humour were holpen, such misliking might follow towards the

queen, as might both overthrow her and all her endeavours; and he only awaited some occasion to renew into the king's memory the former disliked argument. His expectation in that behalf did not fail; for the king at that time showed himself no less prompt and ready to receive any information, than the bishop was maliciously bent to stir up the king's indignation against her. The king, immediately upon her departure from him, used these or like words; 'A good hearing it is when women become such clerks; and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old days to be taught by my wife!'

"The bishop hearing this, seemed to dislike that the queen should so much forget herself, as to take upon her to stand in any argument with his majesty, whom he to his face extolled for his rare virtues, and specially for his learned judgment in matters of religion, above not only princes of that and other ages, but also above doctors professed in divinity; and said that it was an unseemly thing for any of his majesty's subjects to reason and argue with him so malapertly, and grievous to him for his part and other of his majesty's counsellors and servants, to hear the same; and that they all, by proof, knew his wisdom to be such, that it was not needful for any to put him in mind of any such matters. He inferred, moreover, how dangerous and perilous a matter it is, and ever hath been, for a prince to suffer such insolent words at his subjects' hands; who as they take boldness to contrary their sovereign in words, so want they no will, but only power and strength, to overthrow them in deeds.

"Besides this, he said, that the religion by the queen so stiffly maintained, did not only disallow and dissolve the policy and politic government of princes, but also taught the people that all things ought to be in common, so that what colour soever they pretended, their opinions were indeed so odious, and for the prince's estate so perilous, that, saving the reverence they bare unto her for his majesty's sake, they durst be bold to affirm that the greatest subject in this land, speaking those words that she did speak, and defending those arguments that she did defend, had with impartial justice, by law, deserved death.

"Howbeit, for his part he would not, and durst not, without good warrant from his majesty, speak his knowledge in the queen's case, although very apparent reasons made for him, and such as his dutiful affection towards his majesty, and the zeal and preservation of his estate, would scarcely give him leave to conceal, though the uttering thereof might, through her and her faction, be the utter destruction of him, and of such as indeed did chiefly tender the prince's safety, without his majesty would take upon him to be their protector, and as it were their buckler. Which, if he would do, as in respect of his own safety he ought not to refuse, he, with others of his faithful counsellors, could within a short time disclose such treason, cloaked with this cloak of heresy, that his majesty should easily perceive, how perilous a matter it is to cherish a serpent within his own bosom. Howbeit,

he would not for his part willingly deal in the matter, both for reverent respect aforesaid, and also for fear lest the faction was grown already too great there, with the prince's safety to discover the same. And therewithal, with heavy countenance and whispering together with them of that sect there present, he held his peace.

"These and such other kinds of Winchester's flattering phrases, marvellously whetted the king both to anger and displeasure towards the queen, and also to be jealous and mistrustful of his own estate, for the assurance whereof princes use not to be scrupulous to do any thing. Thus then Winchester, with his flattering words seeking to frame the king's disposition after his own pleasure, so far crept into the king at that time, and with doubtful fears he with other his fellows so filled the king's mistrustful mind, that before they departed the place, the king, to see belike what they would do, had given commandment, with warrant, to certain of them for that purpose, to consult together about the drawing of certain articles against the queen, wherein her life might be touched; which the king by their persuasions pretended to be fully resolved not to spare, provided there should be any rigour or colour of law to countenance the matter. With this commission they departed for that time from the king, resolved to put their pernicious practice to as mischievous an execution.

"During the time of deliberation about this matter, they failed not to use all kind of policies, and mischievous practices, as well to suborn accusers, as otherwise to betray her, in seeking to understand what books, by law forbidden, she had in her closet. And the better to bring their purpose to pass, because they would not upon the sudden, but by means deal with her, they thought it best, at the first, to begin with some of those ladies whom they knew to be great with her, and of her blood. The chiefest whereof, as most of estimation, and privy to all her doings, were these: the lady Herbert, afterward countess of Pembroke, and sister to the queen, and chief of her privy chamber; the lady Lane, being of her privy chamber, and also her cousin german; the lady Tyrwhit of her privy chamber, and, for her virtuous disposition, in very great favour and credit with her.

"It was devised that these three above named, should first of all have been accused and brought to answer unto the six articles, and upon their apprehension in the court, their closet and coffers should have been searched, that somewhat might have been found, whereby the queen might be charged; which being found, the queen herself presently should have been taken, and likewise carried by barge by night unto the Tower. This platform thus devised, the king was forthwith made privy unto the device by Winchester and Wriothesley, and his consent thereunto demanded. Who, belike to prove the bishop's malice, how far it would presume, like a wise politic prince, was contented to give his consent, and to allow of every circumstance, knowing notwithstanding in the end what he would do. And thus the

day, the time, and the place of these apprehensions aforesaid were appointed; which device yet after was changed.

"The king at that time lay at Whitehall, and used very seldom, being not well at ease, to stir out of his chamber or privy gallery; and few of his council, but by especial commandment, resorted unto him, these only excepted; who by reason of this practice, used oftener than of ordinary to repair unto him. This purpose was handled so secretly, that it grew now within few days of the time appointed for the execution of the matter, and the poor queen knew not nor suspected any thing at all; and therefore used after her accustomed manner, when she came to visit the king, still to deal with him touching religion, as she did before.

"The king all this while gave her leave to utter her mind at the full without contradiction; not upon any evil mind or misliking, to have her speedy despatch, but rather to try out the uttermost of Winchester's fetches. Thus, after her accustomed conference with the king, when she had taken her leave of him, the time and day of Winchester's final day approaching fast upon, it chanced that the king of himself, upon a certain night after her being with him, and her leave taken of him, in misliking her religion, did break the whole practice unto one of his physicians, either doctor Wendy, or else Owen, but rather Wendy as is supposed; pretending unto him, as though he intended not any longer to be troubled with such a doctress as she was, and also declaring what trouble was in working against her by certain of her enemies, but yet charging him withal, upon peril of his life, not to utter it to any creature living; and thereupon declared unto him the parties above named with all circumstances, and when and what the final resolution of the matter should be.

"The queen all this while compassed about with enemies and persecutors, perceived nothing of all this, nor what was working against her, and what traps were laid for her by Winchester and his fellows; so closely was the matter conceived. But see what the Lord God, who from his eternal throne of wisdom seeth and despatcheth all the inventions of Ahitophel, and comprehendeth how the wily beguile themselves, did for his poor handmaid, in rescuing her from the pit of ruin, whereinto she was ready to fall unawares.

"For as the Lord would, so came it to pass, that the bill of articles drawn against the queen, and subscribed with the king's own hand, falling from the bosom of one of the aforesaid counsellors, was found and taken up of some godly person, and brought immediately unto the queen. Who reading there the articles comprised against her, and perceiving the king's own hand unto the same, for the sudden fear thereof, fell instantly into a great melancholy and agony, bewailing and taking on in such sort, as was lamentable to see, as certain of her ladies and gentlewomen yet alive, who were then present about her, can testify.

"The king hearing what perplexity she was in, almost to the peril and danger of her life, sent his physicians unto her. Who

seeing what extremity she was in, did what they could for her recovery. Then Wendy, who knew the cause better than the other, and perceiving by her words what the matter was, according to that the king before had told him; for the comforting of her heavy mind, began to break with her in secret manner touching the said articles devised against her, which he himself, he said, knew right well to be true; although he stood in danger of his life, if ever he were known to utter the same to any living creature. Nevertheless, partly for the safety of her life, and partly for the discharge of his own conscience, having remorse to consent to the shedding of innocent blood, he could not but give her warning of that mischief that hanged over her head, beseeching her most instantly to use all secrecy in that behalf, and exhorted her somewhat to frame and conform herself unto the king's mind, saying he did not doubt, but if she would so do, and show her humble submission unto him, she should find him gracious and favourable unto her.

"It was not long after this, but the king hearing of the dangerous state wherein she yet still remained, came unto her himself. Unto whom after that she had uttered her grief, fearing lest his majesty, she said, had taken displeasure with her, and had utterly forsaken her; he like a loving husband, with sweet and comfortable words, so refreshed and appeased her careful mind, that she upon the same began somewhat to recover, and so the king after he had tarried there about the space of an hour, departed.

"After this, the queen remembering with herself the words that master Wendy had said unto her, devised how by some good opportunity she might repair to the king's presence. And so first commanding her ladies to convey away their books, which were against the law, the next night following, after supper, she, waited upon only by the lady Herbert, her sister, and the lady Lane, who carried the candle before her, went unto the king's bedchamber, whom she found sitting and talking with certain gentlemen of his chamber. Whom when the king did behold, very courteously he welcomed her, and breaking off the talk, which before her coming he had with the gentlemen aforesaid, began of himself, contrary to his manner before accustomed, to enter into talk of religion, seeming, as it were, desirous to be resolved by the queen of certain doubts which he propounded.

"The queen perceiving to what purpose this talk did tend, not being unprovided in what sort to behave herself towards the king, with such answers resolved his questions as the time and opportunity present did require, mildly and with a reverent countenance answering again after this manner.

"Your majesty, doth right well know, neither I myself am ignorant, what great imperfection and weakness by our first creation, is allotted unto us women, to be ordained and appointed as inferior and subject unto man as our head, from which head all our direction ought to proceed, and that as God made man to

his own shape and likeness, whereby he being endued with most special gifts of perfection, might rather be stirred to the contemplation of heavenly things, and to the earnest endeavour to obey his commandments; even so also made he woman of man, of whom and by whom she is to be governed, commanded, and directed. Whose womanly weakness and natural imperfection, ought to be tolerated, aided, and borne withal, so that by his wisdom such things as are lacking in her, ought to be supplied.

“‘Since therefore God hath appointed such a natural difference between man and woman, and your majesty being so excellent in gifts and ornaments of wisdom, and I, a seely, poor woman, so much inferior in all respects of nature unto you; how then comes it now to pass, that your majesty in such diffuse causes of religion, will seem to require my judgment? Which when I have uttered and said what I can, yet must I, and will I, refer my judgment in this and all other cases to your majesty’s wisdom, as my only anchor, supreme head and governor here in earth next under God, to lean unto.’

“‘Not so, by St. Mary,’ quoth the king; ‘you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, as we take it, and not to be instructed, or directed by us.’

“‘If your majesty take it so,’ quoth the queen, ‘then hath your majesty very much mistaken me, who hath ever been of the opinion to think it very unseemly and preposterous for the woman to take upon her the office of an instructor or teacher to her lord and husband, but rather to learn of her husband, and to be taught by him. And where I have with your majesty’s leave heretofore been bold to hold talk with your majesty, wherein sometimes in opinions there hath seemed some difference, I have not done it so much to maintain opinion, as I did it rather to minister talk, not only to the end your majesty might with less grief pass over this painful time of your infirmity, being attentive to our talk, and hoping that your majesty should reap some ease thereby; but also that I, hearing your majesty’s learned discourse, might receive to myself some profit thereof. Wherein I assure your majesty I have not missed any part of my desire in that behalf, always referring myself in all such matters unto your majesty, as by ordinance of nature it is convenient for me to do.’

“‘And is it even so, sweet heart?’ quoth the king. ‘And tended your arguments to no worse end? Then perfect friends we are now again, as ever at any time heretofore;’ and kissing her, he added this saying, that it did him more good at that time to hear those words of her own mouth, than if he had heard present news of a hundred thousand pounds in money fallen unto him. And with great signs and tokens of marvellous joy and liking, with promises and assurances, never again in any sort more to mistake her, entering into other very pleasant discourses with the queen and the lords, and gentlemen standing by, in the end, being very far in the night, he gave her leave to depart. Whom in her absence, to the standers by, he gave as singular and

as effectuous commendations, as before time to the bishop and the chancellor, who then were neither of them present, he seemed to dislike of her.

"Now then, the king's mind was clean altered, and he detested in his heart, as afterwards he plainly showed, this tragical practice of those cruel Caiaphases; who nothing understanding of the king's well reformed mind, and good disposition toward the queen, were busily occupied about thinking and providing for their next day's labour, which was the day determined to have carried the queen to the Tower.

"The day, and almost the hour appointed being come, the king being disposed in the afternoon to take the air, waited upon with two gentlemen only of his bedchamber, went into the garden, whither the queen also came, being sent for by the king himself, the three ladies above named alone waiting upon her. With whom the king at that time disposed himself to be as pleasant as ever he was in all his life before. When suddenly, in the midst of their mirth, the hour determined being come, in comes the lord chancellor into the garden with forty of the king's guard at his heels, with purpose indeed to have taken the queen, together with the three ladies aforesaid, whom they had before purposed to apprehend alone, even then unto the Tower.* Whom then the king sternly beholding, breaking off his mirth with the queen, stepping a little aside, he called the chancellor unto him. Who upon his knees spake certain words unto the king, but what they were, for that they were softly spoken, and the king a good distance from the queen, it is not well known. but it is most certain that the king's replying unto him was, knave, for his answer; yea, arrant knave, beast, and fool; and with that the king commanded him presently to avaunt out of his presence. Which words, although they were uttered somewhat low, yet were they so vehemently whispered out by the king, that the queen with her ladies did easily overhear them; which had been not a little to her comfort, if she had known at that time the whole cause of his coming so perfectly as after she knew it. Thus departed the lord chancellor out of the king's presence as he came, with all his train, the whole mould of all his device being utterly broken.

"The king, after his departure, immediately returned to the queen. Whom she perceiving to be very much chafed, albeit coming towards her he enforced himself to put on a merry countenance, with as sweet words as she could utter, endeavoured to qualify the king's displeasure, with request unto his majesty in the behalf of the lord chancellor, whom he seemed to be offended withal; saying, for his excuse, that albeit she knew not what just

* Fuller says, "Whither had she been sent, *vestigia nulla retrorsum*, (alluding to Esop's fable of no footsteps being found pointing backwards from the lion's den,) without doubt she had followed the way of his former wives in that place."

cause his majesty had at that time to be offended with him, yet she thought that ignorance, not will, was the cause of his error, and so besought his majesty, if the cause were not very heinous, at her humble suit to take it.

“ ‘Ah! poor soul,’ quoth he, ‘thou little knowest how evil he deserveth this grace at thy hands. Of my word, sweet heart, he hath been towards thee an arrant knave, and so let him go.’ To this the queen in charitable manner replying in few words, ended that talk; having also by God’s only blessing, happily for that time and ever, escaped the dangerous snares of her bloody and cruel enemies for the gospel’s sake.”

This attempt of Gardiner’s, with some other practices of his about this period, in favour of popery, caused the king to order his name to be erased from the list of his executors, and to take some other steps which facilitated the progress of the reformation at the commencement of the reign of Edward VI.

Among other services Catherine Parr at this time rendered to the cause of learning and truth, was the preventing the confiscation of the colleges at Cambridge by her intercession, which were placed at the king’s disposal by a recent act, while many about the court were anxious to obtain their revenues.

There can be no doubt that by the example and efforts of queen Catherine, much outward decorum, at least, was introduced into the court while she presided; and in many instances more than an external profession of religion. Her own constant attention to the observances of religion, appears not only from the foregoing narrative of Fox, but also from the little devotional works compiled by her, especially her prayers and meditations, several editions of which were printed in 1545 and the two following years, in a form particularly well suited to be a convenient manual for constant use. Ballard has remarked, that the dreadful alarm she must have felt at the attempt of Gardiner for her destruction, seems to have awakened all the divine faculties of her soul, and to have made her more earnest in preparation for eternity.

Fuller observes of queen Catherine, that she was “one of great piety, beauty, and discretion. Next to the bible she studied the king’s disposition, observing him to her utmost. And need she had of a nimble soul to attend at all times on his humour, whose fury had now got the addition of frowardness thereunto. She was rather nurse than wife unto him, who was more decayed by sickness and intemperance than old age.”

The history of queen Catherine Parr, after the decease of Henry, is short and melancholy. The provision he made for her, though a mark of his affection and esteem, was but a slender provision for one of her rank.* Thus left an unprotected female in troublous times, it is not surprising that she should listen to the

* Four thousand pounds in addition to her jointure.

addresses of a man of rank and power, earlier than modern ideas of propriety would countenance. She married in the same year Sir Thomas Seymour, lord admiral of England, uncle to king Edward and brother to the protector, the duke of Somerset. It appears that she was the more inclined to this union by the revival of an early affection for that able, but ambitious and unprincipled individual. Ambition, indeed, appears to have been his chief inducement to this alliance, which was disapproved by his brother, though the young king wrote a congratulatory letter to the queen, assuring her that suitable provision should be made for them if at any time need required.

With the lord admiral she lived but a short time, and that very unhappily. He was a scorner of the truth, and though he did not prevent her continuing openly to manifest her regard for the gospel, he did not hesitate to show his own indifference, by continually absenting himself from the public services she instituted for the benefit of their family. Latimer openly spoke of this in one of his sermons before king Edward. (See Latimer, p. 62.)

This pious female was soon released from her trials. She died in September, 1548, soon after giving birth to a daughter; not without strong suspicions that she was poisoned by her husband, who was desirous of marrying the princess Elizabeth. His ambitious and cruel practices, however, soon met with a just reward. To use the words of Latimer, "he died very dangerously, irksomely, horribly." He had been in practice, if not in profession, an open infidel. Some lines, however, written by him a short time before his execution, evince a mind aware of the cause of his situation; he says, "Forgetting God to love a king, hath been my rod. Her daughter, thus left an orphan, died at an early age.

Her writings consist of a small manual of Prayers or Meditations, which is reprinted in the following pages. There is also a compilation, chiefly from scripture, entitled Psalms. These are fifteen in number, and are reflections on various subjects connected with Christian life. But the most valuable of her writings was, "Queen Catherine Parr's Lamentation of a Sinner, bewailing the ignorance of her blind life." This was published after her decease by lord Burleigh, who found it among her papers, and it is reprinted in the present collection. Some letters written by her will be found in Strype and Haynes. She also translated an exposition of the fifty-first Psalm made by Jerome of Ferrara. The part she took in the translation of the Paraphrase of Erasmus has been already noticed.

Such was Catherine Parr, one of those queens whom God has been pleased to constitute nursing mothers to his church—a main instrument in protecting and advancing the English reformation at a most critical period; one who, it cannot be doubted, was a real follower of Christ.

The following consolatory letter, written by Catherine Parr, shows her piety, and her attention to the precepts of the gospel, for it was addressed to the wife of one of her bitter opponents.

Letter of Queen Catherine Parr to Lady Wriothesley, comforting her for the loss of her only son.

Good my lady Wriothesley, understanding it hath pleased God of late to disinherit your son of this world, of intent he should become partner and chosen heir of the everlasting inheritance, for which calling and happy vocation ye may rejoyce, yet when I consider you are a mother by flesh and nature, doubting how you can give place quietly to the same; inasmuch as Christ's mother, endued with all godly virtues, did utter a sorrowful natural passion of her Son's death, whereby we have all obtained everlastingly to live—therefore amongst other discreet and godly consolations given unto you, as well by my lord your husband, as other your wise friends, I have thought with mine own hand to recommend unto you my simple counsel and advice; desiring you not so to utter your natural affection by inordinate sorrow, that God have cause to take you as a murmurer against his appointments and ordinances. For what is excessive sorrow but a plain evidence against you, that your inward mind doth repine against God's doings, and a declaration that you are not contented that God hath put your son by nature, but his by adoption, in possession of the heavenly kingdom? Such as have doubted of the everlasting life to come, do sorrow and bewail the departure hence, but those which are persuaded that to die here is life again, do rather hunger for death, and count it a felicity, than to bewail it as an utter destruction.

How much, madam, are you to be counted godly wise, that will and can prevent, through your godly wisdom, knowledge, and humble submission, that thing which time would at length finish. If you lament your son's death, you do him great wrong, and show yourself to sorrow for the happiest thing that ever came to him, being in the hands of his best Father. If you are sorry for your own commodity, you show yourself to live to yourself. And as of his towardness you could but only hope, his years were so young which could perform nothing, it seemeth that he was now a meet and pleasant sacrifice for Christ.

Wherefore, good my lady Wriothesley, put away all immoderate and unjust heaviness, requiring you with thanksgiving to frame your heart, that the Father in heaven may think you are most glad and best contented to make him a present of his spiritual, and your only natural son; glorifying him more in that it hath pleased his majesty to accept and able him to his kingdom, than that it first pleased him to comfort you with such a gift; who can at his pleasure recompense your loss with such a like jewel, if gladly and quietly you submit, and refer all to his pleasure.

SOME ACCOUNT
OF
LADY JANE GREY.*

LADY JANE GREY was an illustrious personage of the blood royal of England, by both parents—her grandmother on her father's side, (Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset,) being queen consort to Edward IV.; and her grandmother on her mother's, (lady Frances Brandon,) being daughter to Henry VII. queen dowager of France, and mother to Mary queen of Scots. Lady Jane had no brothers, she was the eldest of three daughters, and was born in 1537, at Bradgate, her father's seat in Leicestershire. She very early gave astonishing proofs of her uncommon abilities, insomuch that, upon a comparison with Edward VI., who was nearly of the same age, and thought a kind of miracle, the superiority has been given to her in every respect. Her genius appeared in the works of her needle, and the beautiful character in which she wrote; besides which she played admirably on various instruments of music, and accompanied them with a voice exquisitely sweet in itself, assisted by all the graces that art could bestow. These, however, were only the inferior ornaments of her character; she was far from priding herself on them, while through the rigour of her parents in exacting such great attention to them, they became her grief more than her pleasure.

Her father had himself some taste for letters, and was a great patron of the learned. He had two chaplains, Harding†

* There are several biographical sketches of Lady Jane Grey extant, which have supplied the substance of the present account. The most recent, "Howard's Lady Jane Grey and her times," contains numerous historical particulars relative to her family and contemporaries, which the author has collected with considerable industry. To the present sketch some letters are added, which have not before been accessible to the English reader.

† Harding was a learned divine of Oxford. He professed the protestant religion on the accession of Edward VI., and became chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk. When queen Mary came to the throne, he

and Aylmer,* both men of distinguished learning, whom he employed as tutors to his daughter; and under whose instructions she made such proficiency as surprised them both. Her own language she spoke and wrote with peculiar accuracy; the French, Italian, Latin, and, it is said, Greek, were as natural to her as her own; she not only understood them, but spoke and wrote them with the greatest freedom; she was versed likewise in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, and all this while a mere child. She had also a sedateness of temper, a quickness of apprehension, and a solidity of judgment, which enabled her not only to become the mistress of languages, but of sciences; so that she thought, spoke, and reasoned, upon subjects of the greatest importance, in a manner that surprised all. She was brought up in piety as well as learning. Her early letters show that she lived in the fear of God, and that she followed the protestant faith from principle. As Burnet observes, She read the Scriptures much, and acquired great knowledge in divinity.

With these endowments she had so much mildness, humility, and modesty, that she set no value upon those acquisitions; she was naturally fond of literature, and that fondness was much heightened as well by the severity of her parents in the feminine part of her education, as by the gentleness of her tutor Aylmer in this. When mortified and confounded by the unmerited chiding of the former, she returned with double pleasure to the lessons of the latter, and sought in Demosthenes and Plato, who were her favourite authors, the delight that was denied her in all other scenes of life, in which she mingled but little, and seldom with any satisfaction. It is true, her alliance to the crown, as well as the great favour in which the marquis of Dorset, her father, stood with Henry VIII. and Edward VI. unavoidably brought her sometimes to court, and she received many marks of Edward's attention,

returned to popery, in consequence of which his former pupil addressed a letter to him written in severe terms, but such as he deserved for his apostasy. After the restoration of the protestant faith, Harding retired to the continent, and engaged in a warm and lengthened controversy with bishop Jewell.

* Aylmer was an active preacher of the Reformation; he boldly opposed popery on the accession of queen Mary. He then withdrew to the continent, where he remained till Elizabeth came to the throne. In 1576 he was appointed bishop of London. He is noticed in the life of Becon.

yet she seems to have continued for the most part in the country, at Bradgate.

Here she was with her beloved books in 1550, when the famous Roger Ascham* called on a visit to the family in August. All the rest being engaged in hunting, he went to wait upon Lady Jane in her apartment, and found her reading the "Phædon" of Plato in the original Greek. Astonished at this, after the first salutations, he asked her, why she lost such pastime as there needs must be in the park, at which smiling, she answered, "I wist all their sport in the park is but a shadow to that pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas! good folk, they never felt what true pleasure meant."

This naturally leading him to inquire how a lady of her age had attained to such a depth of pleasure, both in the language and philosophy of Plato, she made the following very remarkable reply: "I will tell you, and I will tell you a truth, which perchance you will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits which ever God gave me is, that he sent me such sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a school-master. For when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry or sad; be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing any thing else, I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea, presently sometimes with pinches, nips, and bobs, and other ways, which I will not name for the honour I bear them, so without measure misordered, that I think myself in hell, till time come that I must go to M. Aylmer, who teaches me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing while I am with him; and when I am called from him, I fall to weeping, because whatsoever I do else but learning, is full of grief, trouble, fear, and wholly mis-

* Ascham was an eminent scholar of the university of Cambridge, and particularly well skilled in Greek. In 1548, he was appointed tutor to the princess (afterwards queen) Elizabeth; afterwards he was Latin secretary to Edward VI. He continued to be a protestant in the reign of Mary, but was allowed to continue unmolested, and indeed patronized on account of his abilities. To his other attainments, he added that of writing a most beautiful hand. He was re-appointed Latin secretary and tutor to queen Elizabeth. Ascham died in 1568. His last words were, "I am suffering much pain, I sink under my disease; but this is my confession, this is my faith, this prayer contains all that I wish for, 'I desire to depart hence, and to be with Christ.'"

liking unto me. And thus my book has been so much my pleasure, and brings daily to me more and more pleasure; in respect of it all other pleasures in very deed are but trifles and troubles unto me." What reader is not affected with Ascham's account of this interview? We may also observe that although lady Jane was treated as a child by her harsh parents, yet learned and pious men, such as Ascham, Bucer, and Bullinger, regarded her as far beyond her years in piety and learning.

At this time Ascham was going to London to attend sir Richard Morrison on an embassy to the emperor Charles V. In a letter written the December following, to the dearest of his friends, having informed him that he had lately had the honour and happiness of being admitted to converse familiarly with this young lady at court, and that she had written a very elegant letter to him, he proceeds to mention this visit at Bradgate, and his surprise thereon, not without some degree of rapture. Thence he takes occasion to observe, that she both spoke and wrote Greek to admiration; and that she had promised to write him a letter in that language, upon condition that he would send her one first from the emperor's court.

This rapture rose much higher while he was penning a letter addressed to her the following month. In the letter speaking of these interviews, he assures her, that among all the agreeable varieties which he had met with in his travels abroad, nothing had occurred to raise his admiration like that incident in the preceding summer, where he found her a young maiden by birth so noble, in the absence of her tutor, and in the sumptuous house of her most noble father, at a time, too, when all the rest of the family both male and female, were amusing themselves with the pleasures of the chase; "I found," continues he, "the divine maid diligently studying the divine Phædon of the divine Plato in the original Greek. Happier, certainly, in this respect, than in being descended, both on the father and mother's side, from kings and queens."*

John ab Ulmis, writing from Bradgate in June 1551, to Bullinger, spoke in very high terms of lady Jane. He says, "From the learned epistle written to you by the daughter of this prince, you will easily perceive the respect and esteem she entertains towards you. Surely there never lived any one more to be respected than this young female if her family

* Ascham, Ep. ad. Sturmium, i. 4, iii. 7.

be considered, more learned if we regard her age, or more excellent if we consider her in both. She is greatly praised by all the nobility, and they talk of her being espoused to the king. If that event should take place, how happy would the union be, and how beneficial to the church! But God will direct concerning these things; he only causes to prosper, he cares for, remembers, foresees, and disposes of all things agreeably to his will."

About this time some changes happened in the family; for her maternal uncles, Henry and Charles Brandon, both dying at Bugden, the bishop of Lincoln's palace, of the sweating sickness, her father was created duke of Suffolk, October 1551. Dudley, earl of Warwick, was also created duke of Northumberland the same day; and in November the duke of Somerset was imprisoned for a conspiracy against him as privy counsellor. From that time lady Jane appears to have been occasionally at court. In the summer of 1552 the king made a great progress through some parts of England, during which lady Jane went to pay her duty to his majesty's sister, the lady Mary, at Newhall in Essex. During this visit, her piety, and zeal against popery, prompted her to reprove the Lady Ann Wharton, for making a courtesy to the host, or consecrated wafer, enclosed in a box, suspended, as was then usual, over the altar. Lady Jane observing her companion courtesy, asked if the princess were coming. Her companion replied No, but she made obeisance to him that made us all. Why, said lady Jane, how can that be he that made us all, for the baker made him? which being carried by some officious person to the ear of the princess, was retained in her heart, so that she never loved lady Jane afterwards; and indeed the events of the following year were not likely to work a reconciliation.

Another anecdote of her is related by Aylmer. He says, that having received from the lady Mary goodly apparel of tinsel cloth of gold and velvet, laid on with parsement lace of gold, when she saw it she said, "What shall I do with it?" Wear it, said a gentlewoman standing by. Nay, answered she, it were a shame to follow my lady Mary against God's word, and leave my lady Elizabeth who followeth God's word.

The dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, who were now, after the fall of Somerset, grown to the height of their wishes in power, upon the decline of the king's health in 1553, began to think how to prevent that reverse of

fortune, which, as things then stood, they foresaw must happen upon his death. To obtain this end, no other remedy was judged sufficient, but a change in the succession of the crown, and transferring it into their own families.

What other steps were taken preparatory to this bold attempt, may be seen in the general histories. Those excellent and amiable qualities which had rendered lady Jane dear to all who had the happiness to know her, joined to her near affinity to the king, subjected her to become the chief tool of an ambition notoriously not her own.

Upon this very account she was married to the lord Guildford Dudley, fourth son to the duke of Northumberland, without being acquainted with the real design of the match, which was celebrated with great pomp in the latter end of May, 1553; at the same time her younger sister, and the sister of her husband, were married to the lords Herbert and Hastings. These marriages were so much to the king's satisfaction that he contributed largely to the expense of them from the royal wardrobe. In the mean time, though the populace were very far from being pleased with the exorbitant greatness of the duke of Northumberland, yet they could not help admiring the beauty and innocence which appeared in lord Guildford and his bride. Lady Jane then removed from her father's house to the residences of the Dudleys—Durham house in London, and Sion house in the country. From her letter to queen Mary, she seems to have spent some days of this short period with her mother.

The pomp and splendour attending these nuptials was the last gleam of joy that shone in the palace of Edward, who grew so weak in a few days after, that Northumberland thought it high time to carry his project into execution. Accordingly, in the beginning of June, he broke the matter to the young monarch; who at length yielded to overlook his sisters, and to set aside his father's will; agreeably to which, a deed of settlement being drawn up in form of law by the judges, was signed by his majesty and all the lords of the council. Judge Hales however to the last refused his assent, and Cranmer was only induced to comply by the express commands of king Edward, and the assurance of the law officers of the crown, that such a proceeding was lawful.

The next step was to concert the most proper method for carrying this settlement into execution, and, till that was done, to keep it as secret as possible. To this end Nor-

thumberland directed letters to the lady Mary in her brother's name, requiring her attendance at Greenwich, where the court then was; but she discerned the real object of this invitation, and two days before the death of her brother, she retired to Norfolk, from whence she could escape by sea if she found it requisite to do so. The king expired July 6, 1553, but the two dukes, Suffolk and Northumberland, found it necessary to conceal his decease, that they might have time to gain the city of London, and to procure the consent of lady Jane, who was so far from being concerned in this business, that, as yet, she was unacquainted with the pains that had been taken to procure her the title of queen.

The Tower and city of London being secured, the council quitted Greenwich and came to London; and July 10, in the forenoon, the two last-mentioned dukes repaired to Sion house, where the lady Jane resided with her husband as part of the Northumberland family. There the duke of Northumberland, with much solemnity, explained to his daughter-in-law the disposition the late king had made of his crown by letters-patent; the clear sense the privy-council had of her right; the consent of the magistrates and citizens of London; and, in conclusion, himself and other nobles fell on their knees, and paid their homage to her as queen of England. Lady Jane, somewhat astonished at their discourse, but not at all moved by their reasons, or in the least elevated by such unexpected honours, returned them an answer to this effect: That the laws of the kingdom and natural right standing for the king's sisters, she would beware of burdening her weak conscience with a yoke which belonged to them; that she understood the infamy of those who had permitted the violation of right to gain a sceptre; that it were to mock God and deride justice to scruple at the stealing of a shilling, and not at the usurpation of a crown.

"Besides," said she, "I am not so young, nor so little read in the guiles of fortune, to suffer myself to be taken by them. If she enrich any, it is but to make them the subject of her spoil; if she raise others, it is but to pleasure herself with their ruins; what she adored but yesterday, is to-day her pastime; and, if I now permit her to adorn and crown me, I must, to-morrow, suffer her to crush and tear me to pieces. Nay, with what crown does she present me! a crown which hath been violently and shamefully

wrested from Catharine of Arragon, made more unfortunate by the punishment of Ann Boleyn, and others that wore it after her; and why then would you have me add my blood to theirs, and be the third victim from whom this fatal crown may be ravished with the head that wears it? But in case it should not prove fatal unto me, and that all its venom were consumed, if fortune should give me warranties of her constancy, should I be well advised to take upon me these thorns which would lacerate, though not kill me outright; to burden myself with a yoke, which would not fail to torment me, though I were assured not to be strangled with it? My liberty is better than the chain you proffer me, with what precious stones soever it be adorned, or of what gold soever framed. I will not exchange my peace for honourable and precious jealousies, for magnificent and glorious fetters; and, if you love me sincerely, and in good earnest, you will rather wish me a secure and quiet fortune, though mean, than an exalted condition exposed to the wind, and followed by some dismal fall." Lady Jane herself described the principal circumstances attending her elevation to the throne in a letter to queen Mary, see p. 28.

However she was at length prevailed upon by the exhortations of her father, the intercession of her mother, the artful persuasions of Northumberland, and, above all, by the earnest desires of her husband, whom she tenderly loved, to yield her assent to what had been done, and what remained to do. And thus, with a heavy heart, she suffered herself to be conveyed by water to the Tower, where she entered with all the state of a queen, attended by the principal nobility, and, what is very extraordinary, her train was supported by the duchess of Suffolk, her mother, in whom, if in any of this line, the right of succession remained. About six in the afternoon, she was proclaimed with all due solemnities in the city; the same day she also assumed the regal title, and proceeded afterwards to exercise many acts of sovereignty: but, passing over the transactions of her short reign of fourteen days, which are the subjects of general history, we may proceed to her behaviour on her fall, which was occasioned rather by the general apprehensions of Northumberland's tyranny than by any affection for Mary.

Queen Mary was no sooner proclaimed, than the duke of Suffolk, who then resided with his daughter in the Tower, went to her apartment, and, in the softest terms he could,

acquainted her with the situation of their affairs, and that, laying aside the state and dignity of a queen, she must again return to that of a private person; to which, with a settled and serene countenance, she made this answer: "I better brook this message than my former advancement to royalty; out of obedience to you and my mother, I have grievously sinned, and offered violence to myself. Now I do willingly, and as obeying the motions of my soul, relinquish the crown, and endeavour to salve those faults committed by others, if at least so great a fault can be salved, by a willing relinquishment and ingenuous acknowledgment of them."*

Burnet observes, She had a mind wonderfully raised above the world; and at the age wherein others are but imbibing the notions of philosophy, she had attained to the practice of the highest precepts of it. She was neither lifted up with the hope of a crown, nor cast down when she saw her palace made, afterwards, her prison; but carried herself with an equal temper of mind, in those great inequalities of fortune which so suddenly exalted and depressed her.

Thus ended her reign, but not her misfortunes. She was separated from her husband by the command of bishop Gardiner. They were placed separately in confinement, being stripped of every penny they possessed. She saw the father of her husband, with all his family, and many of the nobility and gentry, brought prisoners to the Tower, for supporting her claim to the crown; and this grief must have met with some accession from his being soon after brought to the block. Before the end of the month, she had the mortification of seeing her father, the duke of Suffolk, in the same circumstances with herself; but her mother, the duchess, not only remained exempt from all punishment, but had such interest with the queen, as to procure the duke his liberty, on the last day of the month. Lady Jane and her husband, being still in confinement, were, November 3, 1553, carried from the Tower to Guildhall, with Cranmer and others, and arraigned for high

* The suddenness of this change is shown by the following circumstance. Lady Jane had signified her willingness to stand god-mother to the son of a gentleman pensioner named Underhill. She sent lady Throckmorton as her proxy, who left the Tower in the afternoon to attend the christening, her mistress then being regarded as queen. On her return in the evening, she found the ensigns of royalty all removed, and her mistress a prisoner!

treason. They pleaded guilty. Lady Jane manifested the utmost coolness and presence of mind upon this occasion. Neither the pressure of the crowd, the clash of arms of the numerous guard, nor the solemn ceremonies observed in passing sentence, seemed to affect or overcome her. After her return, she had in fact to comfort those whose business it was rather to have comforted her. Judge Morgan, who pronounced sentence of death upon lady Jane, afterwards became raving mad, in which state he died, incessantly calling out that the lady Jane should be taken from his sight.

It is not easy to ascertain what were Mary's intentions towards lady Jane Grey and her husband. She addressed a letter to queen Mary, applying for mercy, and the author by whom this letter is printed, states that the queen resolved to pardon her at that time, but was induced afterwards to order her execution in consequence of the part taken by her father in Wyatt's insurrection. Several little indulgences were granted to them, which tended to alleviate the severity of their confinement, and which would imply a design of mercy towards them; but the conduct of Mary and her counsellors in other cases, also shows that this might be done to promote an object she had much at heart, namely, to induce the prisoners to profess the Romish faith. But lady Jane had counted the cost of following the truth, promises and threats were both disregarded, she evidently expected to suffer; she was, however, kept some months in suspense.

In January, 1554, the proposed marriage of the queen with Philip of Spain, had excited so much disgust in the nation, that sir Thomas Wyatt and others took arms with a view to prevent a union from which they anticipated many calamities to England. This hasty and ill-concerted insurrection was soon suppressed. No religious question was mixed with it, and many of the protestants were most active in opposing it, but the duke of Suffolk endeavoured to promote these proceedings, and the death of his daughter and her husband was resolved on. The news made no great impression upon lady Jane; the bitterness of death was passed; she had expected it, and was so well prepared to meet her fate, that she was very little discomposed.

Bishop Ponet expressly declares, that several of the council who had been most active in setting up lady Jane against queen Mary, were now active in causing her execu-

tion! The day first fixed for her death was Friday, February 9, and she had, in some measure, taken leave of the world by writing a letter to her unhappy father, who she heard was more disturbed with the thoughts of being the author of her death, than with the apprehension of his own. While she was in this frame of mind, Dr. Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, came to her from the queen, who was very desirous she should die professing herself a papist, as her father-in-law had done.* The abbot was the queen's confessor, and a very fit instrument, if any had been fit for the purpose, having, with an acute wit, and a plausible tongue, a great tenderness in his nature.

Lady Jane received him with much civility, and behaved towards him with so much calmness and sweetness of temper, that he could not help being overcome with her distress; so that, either mistaking, or pretending to mistake her meaning, he procured a respite of her execution till the 12th. When he acquainted her with it, and wished to enter upon a more formal conference, she told him, that he had entirely misunderstood her sense of her situation; that, far from desiring her death might be delayed, she expected and wished for it as the period of her miseries, and as her entrance into eternal happiness.†

Feckenham went to this conference with great hope and exultation. He appears to have thought that it would be no difficult matter to triumph over a dejected and heart-broken young female. But he found it quite otherwise. Yet lady Jane was still anxious to decline the proposed dispute; telling him that now she had no time to spare—that controversy might be fit for the living, but not for the dying—and, therefore, the truest sign of his having that compassion for her, of which he made such strong professions, would be to leave her undisturbed in her intercourse with God.

* The duke of Northumberland was beheaded August 22d. He had been confined in a part of the Tower of London, called Beauchamp's tower. Some years since a curious device and inscription was discovered on one of the walls of this room, which there is strong reason to believe had been carved by this unhappy nobleman. The name of his daughter-in-law "*JANE*" had also been cut by him in two places. He appears to have been willing to do any thing to save his life.

† Banks, in a letter written at this time, Ep. Helv. Ecc. Ref. lxxix. states, that lady Jane had desired a brief interval, "that those enticements which invited her to wish for life, might be repressed, and entirely cut down by the sword of the word of God."

With this humble request the confessor's presumptuous hopes forbid compliance; particularly as several individuals had been purposely admitted, before whom he was anxious to display his powers.

The account of this conference states, that Feckenham had with her a long and tedious disputation; but, like the other priests who had preceded him in attempting to bring her back to popery, he found himself in all holy gifts much her inferior. He even acknowledged himself fitter to be her disciple than her teacher; and he besought her to deliver to him some brief account of her faith, which he might hereafter keep, and as a faithful witness publish to the world. To this she is stated to have willingly condescended; telling him to question her in what points of religion soever it pleased him, and promised that she would give answers, such as she would be ever ready to seal with her blood. This catechising argument, for such it was, took place in the Tower publicly, before an assemblage of the noble and learned; during which, lady Jane bore herself with such a modest humility, yet so honourably stout in all things, which either concerned her God, or her religion, that she engaged all the hearts of her auditory, while Feckenham lost much of that good opinion of his learning, which for a long time he had enjoyed. On this, we are told, that finding his own weakness, and his inability to repel her truth with his scholastic fallacies, he lost his temper, and dared to use to her speeches unsuitable for his gravity; an insult, however, which she only answered with smiles and patience. Some notes of this conference were drawn up by lady Jane herself, and will be found in the following pages.

When Feckenham was about to depart, he said, "Madam, I am sorry for you and your obstinacy, and now I am assured you and I shall never meet again." She replied, "It is most true, Sir, we shall never meet again, except God turn your heart; for I stand undoubtedly assured that unless you repent and turn to God, you are in a sad and desperate case; and I pray to God in his mercy to send you his Holy Spirit, for he hath given you of his great gift of utterance, if it please him to open your heart to the truth."

Between the announcement of the order for her execution, and its fulfilment, the lieutenant of the Tower, sir John Gage, evidently impressed with love and respect for

the unhappy sufferers, was anxious to procure some memorial of his illustrious prisoners; and accordingly he presented to them a "vellum book of a small thickish size,* being the devotions of some English protestant of quality, who was cast into prison wrongfully, according to his own opinion. It was illuminated by some foreigner, but hath since been abused: and is now imperfect in two places." Such is the description of the book in the Harleian catalogue, to which is added a note; "I will not affirm that this manual was written by the direction of Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, and protector of England, upon his first commitment to the Tower of London, and that the last five prayers were added after his second commitment, which ended in his execution. But if this were so, it is easy to apprehend how it might come into the hands of that noble, but unfortunate lady, the lady Jane Grey; but that this book was in the lady Jane's hands, or possession, and was also looked into by her husband, appears from three notes, written on the lower margins."

The probability is, that the book had been borrowed by the illustrious sufferers; and other materials not being allowed, was made by them the means of communicating their last wishes and farewells to their friends. The first note is evidently addressed by lord Guildford to his father-in-law. "Your loving and obedient son wisheth unto your grace, long life in this world, with as much joy and comfort as ever I wished to myself; and in the world to come joy everlasting. Your most humble son till his death. G. DUDDELEY."

A few pages further on, is a note from lady Jane, addressed to the duke of Suffolk: "The Lord comfort your grace, and that in his word, wherein all his creatures only are to be comforted. And though it hath pleased God to take away two of your children, yet think not, I most humbly beseech your grace, that you have lost them; but trust that we, by leaving this mortal life, have won an immortal life. And I for my part, as I have honoured your grace in this life, will pray for you in another life. Your grace's most humble daughter, JANE DUDDELEY."

Lady Jane also addressed sir John Gage in the following words: "Forasmuch as you have desired so simple a woman to write in so worthy a book, good master lieuten-

* It is now in the British Museum, Harl. Coll. No. 2342.

ant, therefore I shall, as a friend, desire you, and as a Christian require you, to call upon God to incline your heart to his laws, to quicken you in his way, and not to take the word of truth utterly out of your mouth. Live still to die, that by death you may purchase eternal life; and remember how the end of Methusael, who, as we read in the Scriptures, was the longest liver that ever was of a man, died at the last. For, as the preacher saith, there is a time to be born and a time to die; and the day of death is better than the day of our birth. Yours, as the Lord knoweth, as a friend. JANE DUDDELEY."

On the 11th of February she was, for the most part, occupied in religious exercises and meditations, but in the course of the evening she took up a New Testament in Greek, "in which after she had read awhile, and closing the book, she found at the end of it some leaves of clean paper unwritten; which," says the author quoted, "as it were awakening and exciting her zeal, to some good and charitable office, she took pen and ink, and on these waste leaves wrote a most learned and godly exhortation; which she had no sooner finished, than she closed up the book, and delivered it to one of her attendants, mistress Tylney, or mistress Ellen, desiring her to bear it to her sister, lady Herbert, as the last token of her love and remembrance."

After finishing this exhortation to her sister, she was not permitted to remain in peace, but was again assailed by two bishops and two learned doctors, who held her in deep conference upwards of two hours, striving with all their powers of eloquence and persuasion to induce her to recant, and die in the Romish faith; in this, however, they were, as before, totally unsuccessful; for "her faith being built upon the rock, Christ, was by no worldly persuasion or comfort to be either moved or shaken; so that, after the expense of time, and the loss of much speech, they left her, as they said, a lost and forsaken member; but she, as before, prayed for them, and with a most charitable patience endured their worst censures."

The queen intended that lady Jane and her husband should suffer together on Tower-hill, but the council, fearful of the effect her appearance might have upon the people, ordered that she should suffer within the walls of the Tower. In the morning, the lord Guildford earnestly desired the officers, that he might take his last farewell of her; which, though they willingly gave permission, yet upon

notice, she advised the contrary, assuring him that such a meeting would rather add to his afflictions than increase the quiet wherewith they had prepared their souls for the stroke of death; that he demanded a lenitive, which would put fire into the wound, and that it was to be feared her presence would rather weaken than strengthen him; that he ought to take courage from his reason, and derive constancy from his own heart; that if his soul were not firm and settled, she could not settle it by her eyes, nor confirm it by her words; that he should do well to remit this interview to the other world; that there, indeed, friendships were happy, and unions indissoluble, and that theirs would be eternal, if their souls carried nothing with them of terrestrial, which might hinder them from rejoicing. All she would do was to give him a farewell out of a window, as he passed to the place of his dissolution, which he suffered on the scaffold on Tower-hill with much Christian meekness. His body was then carried back to the Tower in a cart. It is related that lady Jane was then sitting in her chamber, but on hearing the rumbling of the cart she arose and went to the window, though entreated by her attendants not to do so. She beheld his remains, and said, "O Guildford, Guildford, the antepast is not so bitter that you have tasted, and that I shall soon taste, as to make my flesh tremble; it is nothing compared to the feast that you and I shall this day partake of in heaven."

She then sat down and wrote in her tablets three short sentences. The first was in Greek, and may be thus translated; "If his slain body shall give testimony against me before men, his blessed soul shall render an eternal proof of my innocence before God." She here adverted to her not having desired the crown. The second sentence was in Latin; "The justice of men took away his body, but the divine mercy has saved his soul." The third was in English; "If my fault deserved punishment, my youth and my imprudence were worthy of excuse; God and posterity will show me favour."

About an hour after she was led to the scaffold within the Tower. She was attended by Feckenham, but was observed not to give much heed to his discourses, keeping her eyes steadfastly fixed on a book of prayers, which she had in her hand. After some short recollection, she saluted those who were present with a countenance perfectly composed; then taking leave of Feckenham, she said, "God

will abundantly requite you, good sir, for your humanity to me, though your discourses gave me more uneasiness than all the terrors of my approaching death." She exhibited a countenance so gravely settled with all modest and comely resolution, that not the slightest trace of fear or grief could be observed in her words or actions.

When she mounted upon the scaffold, she said to the people standing thereabout, "Good people, I am come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the same. The fact against the queen's highness was unlawful, and the consenting thereunto by me; but touching the procurement and desire thereof by me, or on my behalf, I do wash my hands thereof in innocency before God, and the face of you good Christian people this day;" and therewith she wrung her hands wherein she had her book. Then said she, "I pray you all, good Christian people, to bear me witness that I die a true Christian woman, and that I do look to be saved by no other means, but only by the mercy of God in the blood of his only Son Jesus Christ; and I do confess, that when I did know the word of God, I neglected the same, and loved myself and the world; and therefore this plague and punishment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my sins; and yet I thank God of his goodness, that he has thus given me a time and respite to repent. And now, good people, while I am alive, I pray you assist me with your prayers." Then kneeling down, she turned to Feckenham, saying, Shall I say this psalm? and he said, Yea. Then said she the fifty-first psalm in English, in most devout manner, to the end; and then she stood up and gave her attendant, mistress Ellen, her gloves and handkerchief, and her book to master Brydges (Gage?) of the Tower, and then she untied her gown, and the executioner pressed upon her to help her off with it, but she desiring him to let her alone, turned towards her two gentlewomen, who helped her off therewith, also her neckerchief, giving her a fair handkerchief to knit about her eyes.*

Then the executioner kneeled down and asked her for givenness, whom she forgave most willingly. Then he willed her to stand upon the straw, which doing she saw the block; then she said, I pray you dispatch me quickly. Then she kneeled down, saying, will you take it off before

* Her gloves were sent to Bullinger, as a memorial of his beloved correspondent. See Lit. Helvet. Reform. p. 351.

I lay me down? and the executioner said, No madam. Then tied she the handkerchief about her eyes, and feeling for the block, she said, What shall I do? Where is it? where is it? One of the standers-by guiding her thereunto, she laid her head upon the block, and then stretched forth her body, and said, Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit; and so finished her life, in the year of our Lord God 1554, the 12th day of February.

It was long after called black Monday, as being the commencement of a week in which forty-seven persons were executed, and some of them quartered alive, in the streets of London! This excessive severity excited general indignation, and Knox in his bold and courageous manner observed, "I find that Jezebel, that cursed idolatress, caused the blood of the prophets to be shed, and Naboth to be martyred unjustly, for his own vineyard. But I think she never erected half so many gallows in all Israel as Mary hath done in London alone." Bishop Gardiner had publicly advised the queen to proceed rigorously, in a sermon he preached before her on the preceding Sunday.

Such was the life and death of lady Jane Grey. It affords a pleasing proof that the doctrines of the gospel can support in the time of trial, and the hour of death. These doctrines were set forth in the English reformation. Although not condemned as a heretic, she was a protestant, a follower of Christ, and a martyr to the cause of truth. As such, "the precious remains of lady Jane Grey" claim a place among the writings of the British Reformers. The principal pieces appeared in a printed form within a few months of her decease. They were also inserted by Fox in his Acts and Monuments. The letter to queen Mary is an important document respecting the British Reformers, as the contents plainly show that the proceedings which led to lady Jane's brief pageant of royalty, originated entirely from the political motives of her relatives, and that none of the protestant clergy were active in devising or promoting those measures.



Latimer.

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Bilney went to Latimer's study, and entreated him to hear
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A
BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF
DR. HUGH LATIMER,

Bishop of Worcester, and Martyr, 1555.

DR. HUGH LATIMER was the son of a respectable farmer of Thurcaster in Leicestershire. He was born about the year 1480, and at an early age gave evidence of good abilities, so that his parents sent him to school, and afterwards to the University of Cambridge, where he was distinguished for his diligence in study.

When ordained, he endeavoured to discharge his duties with much zeal; as he afterwards expressed, "I remember how scrupulous I was in my time of blindness and ignorance;" and he once had the intention of becoming a friar, thinking that by living a monastic life he should escape damnation. Fox adds "In this blind zeal he was a very enemy to the professors of Christ's gospel, as his oration against Philip Melancthon and his other works plainly declared." He used publicly to contradict Stafford, the lecturer in divinity at Cambridge, a follower of the truth, and exhorted the students not to believe the doctrines of the gospel taught in his lectures. This zeal had obtained for Latimer the approbation of his superiors, and he was appointed the cross-bearer to the university; whose office it was to carry the cross in the popish processions so frequent in those days.

But the time for his conversion was at hand. Bilney heard Latimer's oration against Melancthon, and pitying his blindness, was anxious that this zealous but ignorant brother should be brought to the true knowledge of Christ. With this view Bilney went to Latimer's study, and entreated him to hear his confession. In this, the former took the opportunity to

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make a particular declaration of his faith, and the scriptural grounds upon which it was founded; "at the hearing whereof," says Fox, "Latimer was, through the good Spirit of God, so touched, that he forsook his former studying of the school doctors, and other such fopperies, and became an earnest student of true divinity, so that, whereas before he was an enemy and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after him."

Latimer thus became an earnest preacher of the faith which he once opposed, and instructed both the students and the common people in the truths of the gospel, as he could find opportunity. The Romish ecclesiastics now persecuted him and he was accused of heretical opinions before Cardinal Wolsey, who examined Latimer, but not finding him an ignorant character, as he had been represented to be, the cardinal gave him a general license to preach, instead of silencing him, as his adversaries had expected.

When King Henry VIII. began to throw off the shackles of the papacy, Latimer, as well as other favourers of the reformation, was called into notice. He resided in London for some time, and preached repeatedly with much acceptance. Whatever were Henry's faults, he never objected to honest plain dealing, and Latimer, never shrunk from reproving what he considered to be wrong. A valuable instance of this is preserved in Latimer's letter to the king, against a proclamation which forbade the use of the Scriptures and religious books in the English language, and which was afterwards recalled. About the year 1531 he was appointed to the living of West Kingston, in the county of Wilts, to which place he immediately went, preferring the discharge of his pastoral duties to remaining at court. In this cure his diligence was so great and his preaching so successful, that the adversaries of the truth again sought to bring him into trouble. The accusations against him were founded upon his disregard of some popish superstitions, especially with respect to purgatory, and are noticed particularly in his letters to M. Morice and Sir E. Baynton. Being cited before the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London in 1532, articles were presented to Latimer, which he was required to subscribe; but, by the interference of the king, he was dismissed after a partial submission and apology for his opinions. He returned to the faithful dis-

charge of his parochial duties, and in the year 1535 was appointed to the bishopric of Worcester.

In this new charge Latimer acted with the same zeal and integrity as formerly, and promoted the reformation to the utmost of his ability. In particular, he laboured to remove the superstitious ceremonies which remained, or at least to point out Christ as the only object of adoration. Thus, in distributing the holy bread, the ministers were to say, "Of Christ's body this is a token—Which on the cross for our sins was broken;—Wherefore of your sins you must be forsakers—If of Christ's death ye will be partakers." A considerable part of the year he spent in visiting the different parts of his diocese preaching twice every Lord's day, and whenever opportunity occurred, on the week days. The evil designs of his adversaries were repeatedly baffled by his honesty and courage. One time in particular he was accused before the king for a sermon which he had preached at court, and his open testimony against the vices and evil deeds of the times was stigmatized as seditious. Henry sternly required Latimer to answer this accusation, and his noble reply to the king has been preserved. After calling upon his accuser to say how he ought to have preached, he turned to the king, and declaring his respect for his majesty, added, "I never thought myself worthy, nor did I ever sue, to be a preacher before your Grace, but I was called to it, and am willing, if you mislike me, to give place to my betters; for I grant there are a great many more worthy than I am: and if it be your Grace's pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them; but if your Grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your Grace to give me leave to discharge my conscience, and give me leave to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt to have preached so at the borders of your realm as I preach before your Grace." Let it be observed how Latimer made this difference in his preaching—not flattering men to their faces, and reproving them when absent, but honestly and faithfully bearing his testimony as a messenger from God unto them. In the same spirit, one New Year's day, when the courtiers were presenting costly articles to the king, according to the custom of those times, Latimer presented an English New Testament, folded down at the text, "Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge." This anecdote sufficiently

proves that Latimer was ill qualified to shine as a courtier. In fact, he studiously avoided meddling with public affairs, but was active in promoting the spiritual interests of the nation; and with that desire he preached the sermon at the commencement of the convocation of 1536. One beneficial result from the debates of that assembly, was the authorized publication of the Bible in the English language.

In the year 1539, Gardiner and other popish ecclesiastics gained considerable influence over the king's mind, and the act of Six Articles was passed, which restored some of the leading points of popery. Upon this Latimer resigned his bishopric, and with much cheerfulness returned to private life; he was, however, committed to the Tower at the instigation of bishop Gardiner, and although the king did not allow his enemies to proceed against him to the full extent which they desired, he was kept a prisoner during the remaining six years of that reign.

On the accession of Edward VI. Latimer was set at liberty. He was pressed to resume his bishopric, but declined again undertaking that charge, on account of his age and infirmities which, however, did not prevent him from diligently pursuing his studies, for which purpose he used to rise at two o'clock in the morning. He also constantly preached the gospel, both at court and in various parts of the country. His chief residence during this period was with Cranmer at Lambeth, where many came to him for advice under sufferings and wrongs of a temporal nature, as well as for spiritual advice. A striking instance of the latter we have in the case of John Bradford, who, in his letters to Father Traves, repeatedly mentions having resorted to Latimer for counsel; and the extent to which his assistance was sought, as to the former, is described by himself in one of his sermons before the king and the court. "I cannot go to my book," says he, "for poor folks who come to me, desiring me that I will speak, that their matters may be heard." The deplorable state of the administration of justice in those times, is often severely animadverted upon in his sermons.

Fox thus describes the labours of Latimer during this reign: "As the diligence of this man of God never ceased, all the time of King Edward, to profit the church, both publicly and privately; so among other doings in him to be noted, this is not lightly to be overpassed, but worthy to be observed, that God

not only gave unto him his Spirit, plenteously and comfortably to preach his word unto his church, but also by the same Spirit he did evidently foreshow and prophesy of all those kinds of plagues which afterwards ensued. And as touching himself, he ever affirmed that the preaching of the gospel would cost him his life; to which he cheerfully prepared himself, and felt certainly persuaded that Winchester (bishop Gardiner) was kept in the Tower for that purpose, as the event too truly proved."

When Queen Mary succeeded to the throne, Latimer was in the neighborhood of Coventry, and the council sent a citation for him to appear before them. The purpose of this summons was evident, and John Careless, a protestant weaver of that city, who afterwards died in prison for the truth, hastened to give Latimer information of the officer's approach. The venerable martyr thus had six hours' notice, during which he might have escaped, and even afterwards he had still further opportunities, for the officer only left the summons, and did not take his person. It is probable that the counsellors of the queen rather wished to drive the aged Latimer from the realm, than to exhibit him to the people as suffering for the truth. As Fox observes, "They well knew his constancy would deface their popery, and confirm the godly in the truth."

But Latimer felt that after the public and decided testimony he had given to the truths of the gospel, it was his duty not to shrink from suffering for them; and his age and infirmities gave him no opportunity of serving his Lord and Master in any other way so likely to be profitable to the souls of others. He was fully aware of the fate prepared for him; and as he passed through Smithfield, on his arrival in London, he said, "that place had long groaned for him," expecting to be committed to the flames where so many had been burned in previous years. With the same constancy and cheerfulness of spirit, when again imprisoned in the Tower, and the winter came on, he told the Lieutenant, that "unless they allowed him fire, he should deceive them; for they purposed to burn him, but he should be starved with cold."

As the number of prisoners increased, Cranmer, Ridley, and Bradford were confined in the same apartment with Latimer. The benefit derived from their conferences he mentioned in his protestation presented to the popish delegates at Oxford, which

will be found in a subsequent part of this volume. In April, 1554, the three bishops were removed to Oxford, where they were appointed to dispute in public respecting the sacrament. A full account of what passed was drawn up by bishop Ridley, and is inserted by Fox in the Acts and Monuments. When the Romanists pressed their scholastic distinctions and arguments from the Fathers upon Latimer, he at once told them that such allegations had no effect upon him, that the Fathers often were deceived, and he saw no reason to depend upon them, excepting when they depended upon scripture. After these disputations, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were condemned, and kept in prison for many months, during which time they occupied themselves in conferences on religious subjects, in fervent prayer, or in writing for the instruction and support of their brethren. Fox states, "M. Latimer, by reason of the feebleness of his age, wrote least of them all in this latter time of his imprisonment; yet in prayer he was fervently occupied, wherein oftentimes he continued so long kneeling, that he was not able to rise without help." The principal subjects of his prayers are related by Fox, and were as follows:

First, That as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so also he would give him grace to stand to his doctrine until his death, that he might give his heart's blood for the same. *Secondly*, That God of his mercy would restore his gospel to England again, and these words, "once again, once again," he did so repeat as though he had seen God before him, and spoke to him face to face. *The third* matter was to pray for the preservation of the Queen's majesty, that now is, (Queen Elizabeth,) whom in his prayers he was wont to name, and entreated that she might be made a comfort to the then comfortless realm of England." These were prayers of faith, and, as such, were not offered in vain.

On the 30th of September, 1555, Ridley and Latimer were brought before the commissioners appointed by the pope to examine and condemn them. Latimer's appearance is thus described: "He held his hat in his hand, having a kerchief on his head, and upon it a night cap or two, and a great cap, such as townsmen use, with two broad flaps to button under the chin, wearing an old threadbare Bristol frieze gown, girded to his body with a penny leathern girdle, at which his testament hung by a string of leather, and his spectacles without case depend-

ing about his neck upon his breast." The popish ecclesiastics exhorted him to recant, which he refused, and met their arguments by reference to the word of God. They accused him of want of learning, on which he emphatically replied, "Lo, you look for learning at my hands, who have gone so long to the school of oblivion, making the bare walls my library, keeping me so long in prison without book, or pen and ink, and now you let me loose to come and answer to articles! You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death; and over-night the one, through friends and favour, is cherished, and hath good counsel given him how to encounter with his enemy; the other, for envy or lack of friends, all the whole night is set in the stocks. In the morning, when they shall meet, the one is in strength and lusty, the other is stark* of his limbs, and almost dead for feebleness. Think you that to run this man through with a spear is a goodly victory?"

This is but too correct a representation of the manner in which these examinations were conducted, and it is unnecessary to enter into further details respecting them. We now proceed to the account of Latimer's last sufferings, as recorded by Fox.

On the morning of October 16th, 1555, Latimer and Ridley were led to the place prepared for their burning, in the front of Baliol College at Oxford. They kneeled down, and prayed separately, and afterwards conversed together. A sermon was then preached, in which their doctrines and their characters were aspersed, but they were not suffered to reply. "Well," said Latimer, "there is nothing hid but it shall be opened." The jailer then took off their upper clothes, to prepare them for the stake, when it was seen that Latimer had put on a shroud as his under-garment; and although he had appeared a withered old man, his body crazed and bent under the weight of years, he now "stood upright, as comely a father as one might any where behold."

All being prepared, a lighted fagot was brought and laid at Ridley's feet. Latimer then turned, and addressed his fellow-sufferer in these memorable and emphatic words: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; **WE SHALL THIS DAY LIGHT SUCH A CANDLE, BY GOD'S GRACE, IN ENGLAND, AS I TRUST SHALL NEVER BE PUT OUT.**" The fire burned fiercely;

* Stiff.

Ridley suffered much with great constancy, but Latimer was soon delivered. He exclaimed aloud, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul." Bending towards the flames, he seemed to embrace them, and bathe his hands therein, and speedily departed. When the fire was burned low, and the spectators crowded round the dying embers, they beheld his heart unconsumed, and a quantity of blood gushed from it, reminding them of his prayer already mentioned. He had indeed shed his heart's blood as a testimony to the truth of the doctrines he had preached.

This awful testimony to the truth was not fruitless. Julius Palmer, a Fellow of Magdalen College, was present; he had been a bigoted papist, but his mind was excited to examine into the doctrines held by those who suffered, that he might ascertain what enabled them to undergo such cruel torments unmoved. He was present at the examinations and the burning of Ridley and Latimer, and their Christian fortitude was made the means of dispelling his prejudices. He shortly after himself suffered for the truth, but had been enabled to count the cost, and before the hour of suffering arrived, he declared, "Indeed it is a hard matter for them to burn that have the mind and soul linked to the body, as a thief's foot is tied in a pair of fetters; but if a man be once able, through the help of God's Spirit, to separate and divide the soul from the body, for him it is no more difficulty to burn, than for me to eat this piece of bread." There also is reason to believe that the sufferings of Latimer and Ridley, and of other martyrs, were made useful to one at least of the Spanish ecclesiastics who were at that time in England.

The distinguishing characteristic of Latimer was sincerity, or faithful zeal for the truth;—in a follower of Christ these qualities are inseparable. They were especially displayed in his sermons, and the attention of his auditors was fixed by the lively and cheerful style in which he delivered the truths of the gospel, and reproved the evil practices of men. When preaching, he frequently introduced anecdotes and detailed statements, in a manner which would appear singular in a modern preacher; but this is to be accounted for by the customs of the times in which he lived, and his anxiety to avail himself of the opportunities for usefulness so peculiarly presented to him. Many of these illustrations seem harsh to modern ears, but they were well suited to make an impression upon minds almost wholly

unacquainted with the Scriptures; and this ignorance was so general in that day, that it sufficiently accounts for his minuteness in detailing the events of sacred history.

To the anecdotes and particulars of the customs and manners of those times, much of the popularity of Latimer's Sermons in later days, may probably be attributed; but the present selection has been made with the view of presenting to the reader his doctrinal sentiments, as a main pillar of the reformation, rather than to exhibit historical details of the times in which he lived, and it is chiefly composed of the sermons which were preserved by his faithful attendant and follower Augustine Bernher. The limits of the present work required selection; it has been made with a desire for the edification of the follower of gospel truth, though it contains much for the instruction and information of the general reader.

The preaching of Latimer has been thus described: "The method and course of his doctrine was, to set the law of Moses before the eyes of the people in all the severities and curses of it, thereby to put them the more in fear of sin, and to beat down their confidence in their own performances, and so to bring them to Christ, convincing them thereby of their need of him, and of flying to him by an evangelical faith. He could not bear that such as were hastening to heaven should be detained by the way by thieves and robbers, as he expressed it; that is, to be cast into the pope's prison of purgatory, to be tormented, and never allowed to depart thence unless money were paid to the robbers. He spoke against the opinion of obtaining pardon of sin, and salvation, by singing masses and wearing monks' cowls. He taught, on the contrary, that Christ alone was the author of salvation, and that he, by the one only oblation of his body, sanctified for ever all those that believe—that to him was given the key of David, and that he opened, and none could shut, and that he shut, and none could open. He preached how God loved the world, and so loved it, that he delivered his only Son to be slain, that all who from thenceforth believed in him should not perish, but have everlasting life; that he was a propitiation for our sins, and therefore upon him alone we must cast all our hopes, and that however men were laden with sins, they should never perish to whom he reckoned not sin, and that none of them should fail that believed in him." These were the spiritual and sound contents of Latimer's sermons, and this is the ac-

count of a learned man, Sir R. Morryson, who lived in those days, and asks, "Did there ever any man flourish, I say not in England only, but in any nation of the world, since the apostles, who preached the gospel more sincerely, purely, and honestly, than Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester?" (*See Strype.*)

The letters and smaller pieces of Latimer have not before been presented to the public in an accessible form: they will be found equally deserving of attention with his sermons; they exhibit the true character of this venerable saint. The whole of his writings show his conformity in principles and opinions with the other reformers, both British and foreign. They may have expressed various doctrines with different degrees of strength, but modern writers exercise ingenuity in vain when they attempt to show that in their sentiments they were opposed to each other.

Latimer preached with much force and eloquence, ample traces of which remain, although in writing they must appear much feebler than when spoken. It is evident that he spoke *from* the heart, and his words, we may conclude, by the divine blessing, in many instances went *to* the heart. Like Paul, he preached the faith which once he destroyed. Concerning zeal, he had persecuted the church, and touching the righteousness which was by the law, he was blameless; but the things which were gain to him he counted loss for Christ.



Hocher:

CONFIDENTIAL

1. *Chlorophyll a* (Chl *a*)

1. *Chlorophyll a* and *Chlorophyll b* contents were determined by spectrophotometry using the method of Lichtenthaler and Whistler (1973).

Sir,
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the above matter.
The same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration.
Very respectfully,
Yours truly,
J. M. Smith

[illegible]

which I shall not be able to write unto you, but you shall hear it of me."



A
BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF
DR. JOHN HOOPER,

Bishop of Gloucester, and Martyr, 1555.

JOHN HOOPER was born in Somersetshire, A. D. 1495, and entered at Merton college, Oxford, in 1514. It is thought that he afterwards became a Cistercian monk, but disliking the monastic life, he returned to Oxford, where, by the study of the scriptures, and the perusal of the writings of some of the continental reformers, he was induced to forsake the doctrines of popery. In a letter written by him to Bullinger, an extract from which has been preserved by Hottinger, he states, that some works of Zuinglius, and Bullinger's commentaries on the epistles of St. Paul, were principally instrumental to his conversion; these he studied day and night.

In the year 1539, when the act of the six articles was enforced, Hooper withdrew to the continent, and at Zurich was kindly received by Bullinger. On the accession of king Edward VI., Hooper, who had married while abroad, returned to England with a desire to assist in the good work then going forward. He had a presentiment of the times which followed; for on taking leave of Bullinger, when that reformer desired him to write to his friends in Switzerland, and not to forget them when raised to wealth and honours, Hooper assured him of his affectionate remembrance, adding, "I will write to you how it goeth with me. But the last news of all I shall not be able to write; for there (said he, taking Master Bullinger by the hand) where I shall take most pains, there shall you hear of my being burned to ashes; and that shall be the last news, which I shall not be able to write unto you, but you shall hear it of me."

He returned to England in 1548, and preached for some time in London, often twice, and never less than once a day. Fox says, "In his sermons, according to his accustomed manner, he corrected sin, and sharply inveighed against the iniquity of the world, and the corrupt abuses of the church. The people in great flocks and companies came daily to hear him, insomuch that oftentimes when he was preaching, the church would be so full that none could enter further than the doors. In his doctrine he was earnest, in tongue eloquent, in the scriptures perfect, in pains indefatigable."

In May, 1550, he was nominated to the bishopric of Gloucester, but was not consecrated till the following year. This delay was occasioned by some differences relative to the habits and oaths then used in the consecration of bishops.* During his residence on the continent, Hooper had adopted stricter views on these subjects than his brethren who remained at home, and he objected to these things as tending to superstition. Into the particulars of these differences it is unnecessary for us to enter; it is sufficient to state, that although Ridley and Cranmer were at variance with Hooper on these points, when the day of trouble came, we find them united as brethren in Christ. In justice to Ridley and Cranmer, it should also be stated, that the laws then in force left them no choice as to the course they should follow. The letter written by Ridley to Hooper when they were both imprisoned for the truth, shows that these things were then forgotten.

The diocese of Worcester was afterwards united to that of Gloucester, and Hooper conducted himself in his charge in the most exemplary manner. Fox says, "He employed his time with such diligence, as to be a spectacle (or pattern) to all bishops. So careful was he in his cure, that he left no pains untaken, nor ways unsought, how to train up the flock of Christ in the true word of salvation, continually labouring in the same. No father in his household, no gardener in his

* Hooper's objection to the oath was because it required him to swear by the saints; to this he objected, and the expression was struck out. With respect to the habits, a compromise was effected. To these oaths and habits he had objected in his sermons on Jonah, before the king; and we find that in the second service-book, set forth in 1551, an alteration for the better in these respects was effected. See a note upon the Sermons on Jonah.

garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard, was more or better occupied than he in his diocese amongst his flock, going about his towns and villages, in teaching and preaching to the people there. Although he bestowed the most part of his care upon the public flock and congregation of Christ, for which, also, he spent his blood ; yet there lacked no provision in him to bring up his own children in learning and good manners ; so that you could not discern whether he deserved more praise for his fatherly usage at home, or for his bishoplike doings abroad. For every where he kept one religion in one uniform doctrine and integrity ; so that if you entered into the bishop's palace you would suppose you had entered some church or temple. In every corner there was some savour of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of holy scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly roystering* or idleness, no pomp at all, no dishonest word, no swearing could there be heard. As for the revenues of his bishoprics, he pursed nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. Twice I was at his house in Worcester, where in his common hall I saw a table spread with good store of meat, and set full of beggars and poor folk ; and I asking the servants what this meant, they told me, that every day their lord and master's custom was to have to dinner a certain number of the poor folk of the city by course, who were served with wholesome meats ; and when they were served, after having been examined by him or his deputies in the Lord's prayer, the articles of their faith, and ten commandments, he himself sat down to dinner, and not before."

On the accession of queen Mary, bishop Hooper was one of the first who were called before the council on account of their religion, being summoned to appear on the 22nd of August, 1553. Bonner and Gardiner were especially violent against him. As popery was not then restored by law, he was detained on a false plea of his being indebted to the queen. He has left the following account of the cruel treatment he experienced in the Fleet prison :—"The first of September, 1553, I was committed unto the Fleet from Richmond, to have the liberty of the prison : and within six days after I paid for my liberty five pounds sterling to the warden's fees ; who, immediately upon the payment thereof, complained unto Stephen Gardiner, bishop

* Turbulent behaviour.

of Winchester, and so was I committed to close prison for one quarter of a year, in the tower-chamber of the Fleet, and used very extremely. Then, by the means of a good gentleman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, yet not suffered to speak to any of my friends; but as soon as dinner and supper was done, to repair to my chamber again. Notwithstanding, whilst I came down thus to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and they complained untruly of me to their great friend, the bishop of Winchester. After one quarter of a year, and somewhat more, Babington, the warden, and his wife, fell out with me for the wicked mass, and thereupon the warden resorted to the bishop of Winchester, and obtained leave to put me into the wards, where I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed but a little pad of straw, and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and stinking, until, by God's means, good people sent me bedding to lie in. Of the one side of which prison is the sink and filth of the house; and on the other side, the town-ditch; so that the stench of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases. During which time I have been sick, and the doors, bars, hasps, and chains, being all closed, and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called, and cried for help. But the warden, when he hath known me many times ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come at me, saying, 'Let him alone, it were a good riddance of him.' And amongst many other times, he did thus the 18th of October, 1553, as many can witness. I paid always like a baron to the said warden, as well in fees, as for my board, which was twenty shillings a week, besides my man's table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my bishopric, and since that I have paid him as the best gentleman doth in his house; yet hath he used me worse, and more vilely than the veriest slave that ever came to the hall commons. The said warden hath also imprisoned my man, William Downton, and stripped him of all his clothes to search for letters, and could find none, but only a little remembrance of good people's names, that gave me their alms to relieve me in prison; and to undo them also the said warden delivered the same bill unto the said Stephen Gardiner,

God's enemy and mine. I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen months, my good living, friends, and comforts taken from me; the queen owing me, by just account, eighty pounds or more. She hath put me in prison, and gives nothing to find me, neither is there suffered any to come to me, whereby I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy, saving God's help, but that I shall be cast away in prison* before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God whose will be done, whether it be by life or death."

Fox has given the particulars of bishop Hooper's examinations before Gardiner and other popish bishops, in January, 1555. He was condemned on three separate grounds:—first, for maintaining the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy; secondly, for defending the scriptural doctrine respecting divorce (Matt. xix.); thirdly for denying the carnal presence of Christ in the sacrament, and saying that the mass was an idol. After his condemnation he was taken by night to Newgate, and degraded by bishop Bonner, and then ordered for execution.

The particulars of the last days of bishop Hooper's life are minutely detailed by Fox. The simple and impressive account must be given in his own words. It is, indeed, one of the most affecting narratives in English history. He says, "On Monday at night, being the 4th of February, 1555, bishop Hooper's keeper gave him an intimation that he should be sent to Gloucester to suffer death, whereof he rejoiced very much, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, and praising God that he saw it good to send him amongst the people over whom he was pastor, there to confirm with his death the truth which he had before taught them; not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to perform the same to his glory; and immediately he sent to his servant's house for his boots, spurs, and cloak, that he might be in readiness to ride when he should be called.

"The next day following, about four o'clock in the morning, before daylight, the keeper with others came to him and searched him, and the bed wherein he lay, to see if he had written any thing, and then he was led by the sheriffs of London and their officers from Newgate to a place appointed, not far from St. Dunstan's church in Fleet-street where six of the

* Perish in prison.

queen's guard were appointed to receive him, and carry him to Gloucester, there to be delivered unto the sheriffs, who with the lord Shandois, master Wikes, and other commissioners, were appointed to see execution done. The guard brought him to the Angel,* where he broke his fast with them, eating his meat at that time more liberally than he had used to do a good while before. About the break of day he went to horse, and leapt cheerfully on horseback without help, having a hood upon his head under his hat that he should not be known, and so took his journey joyfully towards Gloucester, and by the way the guard always learned of him where he was accustomed to bait or lodge, and ever carried him to another inn.

"Upon the Thursday following, he came to a town in his diocese called Cirencester, about eleven o'clock, and there dined at a woman's house who had always hated the truth, and spoken all the evil she could of Master Hooper. This woman, perceiving the cause of his coming, showed him all the friendship she could, and lamented his case with tears, confessing that she before had often reported, that if he were put to the trial, he would not stand to his doctrine.

"After dinner he rode forwards, and came to Gloucester about five o'clock; and a mile without the town much people, were assembled, who cried and lamented his state; so that one of the guard rode hastily into the town, to require aid of the mayor and sheriffs, fearing lest he should have been taken from them. The officers and their retinue repaired to the gate with weapons, and commanded the people to keep their houses, but there was no man that gave any signification of any such rescue and violence. So he was lodged at one Ingram's house in Gloucester, and that night, as he had done all the way, he ate his meat quietly, and slept his first sleep soundly. After his first sleep he continued all that night in prayer until the morning, and then he desired that he might go into the next chamber, for the guard were also in the chamber where he lay, that there being alone he might pray and talk with God: so that the whole day, saving a little at meat, and when he talked at any time with such as the guard allowed to speak with him, he employed in prayer.

"Amongst others that spake with him, Sir Anthony Kingston,

* The inn called the Angel, behind St. Clement's church, Strand.

knight, was one, who seeming in times past his very friend, was then appointed by the queen's letters to be one of the commissioners to see execution done upon him. Master Kingston being brought into the chamber found him at prayer; and as soon as he saw Master Hooper, he burst forth in tears. Hooper at the first knew him not. Then said Master Kingston, 'Why, my lord, do you not know me, an old friend of yours, Anthony Kingston?'

"H. Yes, Master Kingston, I do now know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and do praise God for the same.

"K. But I am sorry to see you in this case; for, as I understand, you are come hither to die. But, alas! consider that life is sweet, and death is bitter. Therefore, seeing life may be had, desire to live; for life hereafter may do good.

"H. Indeed it is true, Master Kingston, I am come hither to end this life, and to suffer death here, because I will not gainsay the truth that I have taught amongst you in this diocese, and elsewhere; and I thank you for your friendly counsel although it be not so friendly as I could have wished it. True it is, Master Kingston, that death is bitter, and life is sweet; but, alas! consider that death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet. Therefore, for the desire and love I have to the one, and the terror and fear of the other, I do not so much regard this death, nor esteem this life, but have settled myself, through the strength of God's Holy Spirit, patiently to pass through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, rather than to deny the truth of his word, desiring you and others, in the mean time, to commend me to God's mercy in your prayers.

"K. Well, my lord, then I perceive there is no remedy, and, therefore, I will take my leave of you; and I thank God that ever I knew you, for God did appoint you to call me, being a lost child; and by your good instructions, whereas before I was both an adulterer and a fornicator, God hath brought me to forsake and detest the same.

"H. If you have had the grace so to do, I do highly praise God for it; and if you have not, I pray God you may have it, and that you may continually live in his fear.

"After these and many other words, the one took leave of the other; Master Kingston with bitter tears, Master Hooper

with tears also trickling down his cheeks. At which departure Master Hooper told him, that all the troubles he had sustained in prison had not caused him to utter so much sorrow.

"The same day in the afternoon, a blind boy, after long intercession made to the guard, obtained license to be brought unto Master Hooper's speech. The same boy not long before had suffered imprisonment at Gloucester for confessing the truth. Master Hooper, after he had examined him of his faith, and the cause of his imprisonment, beheld him steadfastly, and with tears in his eyes, said unto him, 'Ah, poor boy, God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, for what consideration he best knoweth; but he hath given thee another sight much more precious, for he hath endued thy soul with the eye of knowledge and faith. God give thee grace continually to pray unto him, that thou lose not that sight, for then shouldest thou be blind both in body and soul.'*

"After that another came to him, whom he knew to be a very papist and a wicked man, who appeared to be sorry for Master Hooper's trouble, saying, 'Sir, I am sorry to see you thus.'

"'To see me? why art thou sorry?' said he.

"'To see you,' saith the other, 'in this case. For I hear say you are come hither to die, for which I am sorry.'

"'Be sorry for thyself, man,' said Master Hooper, 'and lament thine own wickedness; for I am well, I thank God, and death to me, for Christ's sake is welcome.'

"The same night he was committed by the guard, their commission being then expired, unto the custody of the sheriffs of Gloucester. The name of the one was Jenkins, the other Bond, who with the mayor and aldermen repaired to Master Hooper's lodgings, and at the first meeting saluted him, and took him by the hand. Unto whom Hooper spake on this manner:

"'Master mayor, I give most hearty thanks to you, and to the rest of your brethren, that you have vouchsafed to take me a prisoner and a condemned man by the hand; whereby, to my rejoicing, it is apparent that your old love and friendship

* The martyr's prayer for this poor blind boy was heard. His name was Drowry, and he was enabled to continue steadfast in the truth. In May, 1556, he was burned.

towards me are not altogether extinguished : and I trust also that all the things I have taught you in times past are not utterly forgotten, when I was here, by the good king that is dead, appointed to be your bishop and pastor. For which true and sincere doctrine, because I will not now account it falsehood and heresy, as many other men do, I am sent hither, as I am sure you know, by the queen's commandment, to die, and am come where I taught it, to confirm it with my blood. And now, master sheriffs, I understand by these good men, and my very friends (meaning the guards),—at whose hands I have found as much favour and gentleness by the way hitherward, as a prisoner could reasonably require, for the which I most heartily thank them,—that I am committed to your custody, as unto them that must see me brought to-morrow to the place of execution. My request to you shall be only, that there may be a quick fire, shortly to make an end, and in the mean time I will be as obedient to you, as yourselves would wish. If you think I do amiss in any thing, hold up your finger, and I have done. *For I am not come hither as one enforced or compelled to die ; for it is well known I might have had my life with worldly gain ;* but as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than to consent to the wicked papistical religion of the bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates in England, to God's high displeasure and dishonour ; and I trust, by God's grace, to-morrow to die a faithful servant of God, and a true obedient subject to the queen.'

"These and such like words in effect used Master Hooper to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, whereat many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding, the two sheriffs went aside to consult, and were determined to have lodged him in the common jail of the town called Northgate, if the guard had not made earnest intercession for him ; declaring how quietly, mildly, and patiently he behaved himself in the way, adding thereto, that any child might keep him well enough, and that they themselves would rather take pains to watch with him, than that he should be sent to the common prison. So it was determined at length that he should still remain in Robert Ingram's house ; and the sheriffs and the sergeants and other officers appointed to watch with him that night themselves. His desire was, that he might go that night to bed betimes,

saying, that he had many things to remember: and did so at five of the clock, and slept one sleep soundly, and bestowed the rest of the night in prayer. After he got up in the morning, he desired that no man should be suffered to come into the chamber, that he might be alone till the hour of execution.

"About eight o'clock came sir John Bridges, lord Shandois, with a great band of men, sir Anthony Kingston, sir Edmund Bridges, and other commissioners, appointed to see execution done. At nine o'clock Master Hooper was willed to prepare himself to be in readiness, for the time was at hand. Immediately he was brought down from his chamber by the sheriffs, who were accompanied with bills and other weapons. When he saw the multitude of weapons, he said, 'Master sheriffs, I am no traitor, neither need you have made such a business to bring me to the place where I must suffer; for if you had willed me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and have troubled none of you all.'

"Afterwards, looking upon the multitude of people that were assembled, being by estimation to the number of seven thousand, for it was market-day, and many also came to see his behaviour towards death; he spake unto those that were about him, saying, 'Alas! why are these people assembled and come together? Peradventure, they think to hear something of me now, as they have in times past, but, alas! speech is prohibited me.* Notwithstanding, the cause of my death is well known unto them. When I was appointed to be their pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere doctrine out of the word of God. Because I will not now account the same to be heresy and untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me.

"So he went forward, led between the two sheriffs, as it were a lamb to the slaughter, in a gown of his host's, his hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand to stay himself withal. For the grief of the sciatica, which he had taken in prison, caused him somewhat to halt. All the way being strictly charged not to speak, he could not be perceived once to open his mouth; but beholding the people, who mourned bitterly for him, he

* The Romish prelates had threatened Hooper and his companions, that their tongues should be cut out, unless they promised not to address the people at the stake. The queen's letter directing the manner of his execution expressly ordered that he should not be suffered to speak.—See *Burnet*.

would sometimes lift up his eyes toward heaven, and look very cheerfully upon such as he knew; and he was never known, during the time of his being amongst them, to look with so cheerful and ruddy a countenance as he did at that present.

“When he came to the place appointed where he should die, smiling he beheld the stake and preparation made for him, which was near unto the great elm-tree over against the college of priests, where he was wont to preach. The place round about the houses and the boughs of the trees were crowded with people; and in the chamber over the college-gate stood the priests of the college. Then kneeled he down to prayer, forasmuch as he could not be suffered to speak unto the people, and beckoned six or seven times unto one whom he knew well, to hear the said prayer, to make report thereof in time to come, pouring tears upon his shoulders and in his bosom, who gave attentive ears unto the same; which prayer he made upon the whole creed, wherein he continued the space of half an hour. Now, after he was somewhat entered into his prayer, a box was brought and laid before him upon a stool, with his pardon, or at the least it was feigned to be his pardon, from the queen, if he would turn. At the sight whereof he cried, ‘If you love my soul, away with it.’ The box being taken away, the lord Shandois said, ‘Seeing there is no remedy, despatch him quickly.’ Master Hooper said, ‘Good, my lord, I trust your lordship will give me leave to make an end of my prayers.’

“Then, said the lord Shandois to sir Edmund Bridges’s son, who gave ear to Master Hooper’s prayer at his request: ‘Edmund, take heed that he do nothing else but pray: if he do, tell me, and I shall quickly despatch him.’ While this talk was, there stepped forward one or two uncalled, who heard him speak these words following:—

“‘Lord, I am hell, but thou art heaven: I am a swill, and a sink of sin, but thou art a gracious God and a merciful Redeemer. Have mercy, therefore, upon me, most miserable and wretched offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thine inestimable goodness. Thou art ascended into heaven; receive me to be partaker of thy joys, where thou sittest in equal glory with thy Father. For well thou knowest, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked do

persecute this thy poor servant: not for my sins and transgressions committed against thee, but because I will not allow their wicked doings, to the contaminating of thy blood, and to the denial of the knowledge of thy truth, wherewith it did please thee by thy Holy Spirit to instruct me: the which, with as much diligence as a poor wretch might, being thereto called, I have set forth to thy glory. And well seest thou, my Lord and God, what terrible pains and cruel torments are prepared for thy creature; such, Lord, as without thy strength none is able to bear or patiently to pass. But all things that are impossible with man, are possible with thee. Therefore, strengthen me of thy goodness, that in the fire I break not the rule of patience; or else assuage the terror of the pains, as shall seem most to thy glory.'

"When the mayor had espied these men they were commanded away, and were not suffered to hear any more. Prayer being done, he prepared himself for the stake, and put off his host's gown, and delivered it to the sheriffs, requiring them to see it restored unto the owner, and put off the rest of his clothing, unto his doublet and hose, wherein he would have been burned. But the sheriffs would not permit that, such was their greediness, unto whose pleasures he very obediently submitted himself: and his doublet, hose, and waistcoat were taken off. Then being in his shirt, he took a point from his hose himself, and tied his shirt between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity, delivered him by the guard. So desiring the people to say the Lord's prayer with him, and to pray for him, who performed it with tears during the time of his pains, he went up to the stake.

"Now when he was at the stake, three irons, made to bind him to the stake, were brought; one for his neck, another for his middle, and the third for his legs. But he refusing them, said, 'You have no need thus to trouble yourselves. For I doubt not but God will give me strength sufficient to abide the extremity of the fire without bands; notwithstanding, suspecting the frailty and weakness of the flesh, though I have assured confidence in God's strength, I am content that you do as you shall think good.'

"So the hoop of iron, prepared for his middle, was brought,

which being made somewhat too short, for his belly was swollen with imprisonment, he shrank, and put in his belly with his hand, until it was fastened: and when they offered to have bound his neck and legs with the other two hoops of iron, he utterly refused them, and would have none, saying, 'I am well assured I shall not trouble you.'

"Thus, being ready, he looked upon the people, of whom he might be well seen, for he was both tall, and stood also on a high stool, and beheld round about him: and in every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful people. Then lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, he prayed to himself. By and by he that was appointed to make the fire came to him, and did ask him forgiveness. He asked 'why he should forgive him, saying, that he never knew any offence he had committed against him.'—'O! sir,' said the man, 'I am appointed to make the fire.'—'Therein,' said Master Hooper, 'thou dost nothing offend me; God forgive thee thy sins, and do thine office, I pray thee.' Then the reeds were cast up, and he received two bundles of them in his own hands, embraced them, kissed them, and put under either arm one of them, and showed with his hand how the rest should be placed.

"Commandment was then given that the fire should be set to, and so it was: but because there were as many green fagots as two horses could carry upon their backs,* it kindled not readily, and was a while also before it took the reeds upon the fagots. At length it burned about him but the wind having strength in that place—it was also a lowering and cold morning, it blew the flames from him, so that he was in a manner but touched by the fire.

"Sometime after, a few dry fagots were brought, and a new fire was kindled with fagots, for there were no more reeds, and that burnt his lower parts, but had small power above, because of the wind, saying that it did burn his hair, and scorched his skin a little. In the time of this fire, even as at the first flame, he prayed, saying mildly, and not very loud, but as one without pain, 'Oh Jesus, Son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul.' After the second fire was spent, he wiped his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, he said with a

*There is reason to believe that the use of green fagots was ordered on this and some other occasions, to make the sufferings of the martyrs more severe and terrifying to the people.

loud voice, 'For God's love, good people, let me have more fire.' And all this while his lower parts did burn; but the fagots were so few that the flames did not burn strongly at his upper parts.

"A third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreme than the others: and then the bladders of gunpowder brake, which did him small good, they were so placed, and the wind had such power. In this fire he prayed with somewhat a loud voice; 'Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me: Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me: Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.' And these were the last words he was heard to utter. But when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue swollen, that he could not speak, yet his lips went till they were shrunk to the gums: and he knocked his breast with his hands until one of his arms fell off, and then knocked with the other, until, by renewing of the fire, his strength was gone, and his hand did cleave fast in knocking, to the iron upon his breast. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yielded up his spirit.

"Thus was he three quarters of an hour or more in the fire. Even as a lamb, patiently he bore the extremity thereof, neither moving forwards nor backwards, nor to any side; but having his lower part burnt, and his vitals destroyed, he died as quietly as a child in its bed!

"And now he reigns, as a blessed martyr, in the joys of heaven, prepared for the faithful in Christ, before the foundations of the world: for whose constancy all christians are bound to praise God!"

The works of bishop Hooper are among the most valuable of the writings of the reformers. They also possess a general interest, as they are not so exclusively confined to the Romish controversies, having mostly been written before his imprisonment. He had derived much advantage from his intercourse with the continental reformers, and may be considered as a connecting bond between them and their brethren in England. Fox, Burnet, and Strype bear testimony to the value of his writings in former times: as he thereby being dead yet speaketh; and as his testimony is of Jesus, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, we may trust that they will be as acceptable and beneficial to the follower of Christ, now, as they were in the days of our forefathers.



Engraved by J. Smith

Bradford

SOME ACCOUNT

1400,

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BRADFORD.



SOME ACCOUNT
OF
THE REV. JOHN BRADFORD,

Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Martyr, A. D. 1535.

JOHN BRADFORD was born at Manchester about the year 1510. His parents gave him a good education. He was a hard student from his youth, and his skill in accounts procured him employment under sir John Harrington, treasurer and paymaster of the English forces in France. The abilities he manifested in this situation obtained him considerable esteem, and, as Fox expresses, "he continued certain years in a right honest and good trade of life, after the course of this world, likely to have come forward, if his mind could have so liked, or had been given to the world as many others." His office he resigned, apparently not being willing to connive at some abuses by which the king was defrauded to a considerable amount.

The precise nature of the transaction, and Bradford's share in it are not clearly ascertained. His letters to father Traves show that it was some transaction affecting his employer, and that he used every means in his power to induce sir John Harrington to replace the amount. A letter from father Traves to Bradford, (see p. xiv,) confirms this view, that it was a matter affecting his master more than himself, although Bradford seems to have been concerned in the transaction, and therefore not free from blame. That it was no act for his own advantage further appears from his answer to Gardiner, when the latter asserted that Bradford had defrauded his master. In reply, he called upon any one to prove this, and desired the lord chancellor, as chief justicer of England, to do justice upon them that slandered him.

But whatever were the circumstances, he could not rest satisfied till restitution was made; at one time he thought of making himself a bondman, and he seems to have sacrificed his patrimonial property towards attaining this object, which evidently worked most painfully on his mind. This transaction is generally supposed to be noticed in one of Latimer's searching sermons. The energetic appeals of that powerful preacher might have been the means of exciting a right feeling in Bradford, and it appears that he conferred with Latimer on the subject. It was not finally settled till after he had gone to Cambridge.

Bradford studied the law for a short period, but his heart was set upon a more spiritual calling. Fox says, "The Lord which had elected him unto a better function, and preordained him to preach the gospel of Christ, in that hour of grace, which in his secret council he had appointed, called this his chosen child to the understanding and partaking of the same gospel of life. In which call he was so truly taught, that forthwith his effectual call was perceived by the fruits. For then Bradford did forsake his worldly affairs and forwardness in worldly wealth, and after a just account given to his master of all his doings, he departed from him, and with marvellous favour to further the kingdom of God by the ministry of his holy word, he gave himself wholly to the study of the holy scriptures. The which his purpose to accomplish the better, he departed from the temple at London, where the temporal law is studied, and went to the University of Cambridge, to learn by God's law how to further the building of the Lord's temple. In Cambridge, his diligence in study, his profiting in knowledge, and godly conversation, so pleased all men, that within one whole year after he had been there, the university gave him a degree.

"Immediately after, the master and fellows of Pembroke-hall gave him a fellowship in their college; yea, that man of God, Martin Bucer, so liked him that he had him not only most dear unto him, but also oftentimes exhorted him to bestow his talent in preaching. Unto which Bradford answered always, that he was unable to serve in that office through want of learning. To the which Bucer was wont to reply, 'If thou have not fine manchet bread,* yet give the poor people barley bread, or whatsoever else the Lord hath committed unto thee.' And while Bradford was thus persuaded to enter into the ministry, Dr. Ridley, that worthy bishop of London, and glorious martyr of Christ, according to the order that then was in the church of England, called him to take the degree of a deacon. Which order because it was not without some abuse, to which Bradford would not consent, the bishop yet perceiving that Bradford was willing to enter into the ministry, was content to order him deacon without any abuse, even as he desired. This being done, he obtained for him a license to preach, and gave him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul's.

"In this preaching office, by the space of three years, how faithfully Bradford walked, how diligently he laboured, many parts of England can testify.† Sharply he opened and reprov'd

* The best wheaten bread.

† Bradford was for some time one of the six preachers appointed by king Edward to itinerate through the kingdom. His letters to Cambridge, London, and other places, show the earnestness with which he had laboured as a preacher. During Lent, in the last year of the reign of Edward VI., Bradford preached before him, on the second psalm. In one of these sermons, he warned his hearers that the judgments of God were at hand.

sin, sweetly he preached Christ crucified, pithily he impugned heresies and errors, earnestly he persuaded to godly life."

Sampson, another contemporary, testifies concerning Bradford, "After that God touched his heart with that effectual and holy calling, he sold his chains, rings, brooches, and jewels of gold, which before he used to wear, and bestowed the price of these, his former vanities, in the necessary relief of Christ's poor members, whom he could hear of, or find lying sick or pining in poverty." His earnestness in repentance is also noticed by Sampson, (see p. 240,) who speaks thus of his constant and practical piety, and his constant communion with God in prayer.

"Without an inward exercise of prayer, our Bradford did not pray to his full contentation, as appeared by this; he used in the morning to go to the common prayer in the college where he was, and after that he used to make some prayer with his pupils in his chamber. But not content with this, he then repaired to his own exercise in prayer by himself, as one that had not yet prayed to his own mind; for he was wont to say to his familiars, 'I have prayed with my pupils, but I have not yet prayed with myself.' Let those secure men mark this well, which pray without touch of breast, as the pharisees did, and so that they have said an ordinary prayer, or heard a common course of prayer, they think they have prayed well, and as the term is, they have served God well; though they never feel sting for sin, taste of groaning, or broken heart, nor of the sweet saving health of Christ, thereby to be moved to offer the sacrifice of thanksgiving, nor change or renewing of mind; but as they came secure in sin and senseless, so they do depart without any change or affecting of the heart; which is even the cradle in which Satan rocketh the sinners of this age asleep, who think they do serve God in these cursory prayers, made only of custom; when their heart is as far from God as was the heart of the Pharisee. Let us learn by Bradford's example to pray better, that is, with the heart, and not with the lips alone; as Cyprian saith, 'Because God is the hearer of the heart, and not of the voice;' that is to say, not of the voice alone without the heart, for that is but lip-labour. This conscience of sin, and exercise in prayer had Bradford, clean contrary to that cursed custom of those graceless men, which do joy to make large and long accounts of their lewdness, and glory therein, so feeling their delights with their lives past, as the dog returneth to his vomit; such as the prophet, Isa. xxxix. saith, They declare their sins as Sodom, they hide them not, woe be to their souls! It goeth with them as in the days of Jeremiah it went with those, Jer. iii. God give these men better grace, else let them be assured they shall find woe! woe! to their very souls.

"Another of his exercises was this: he used to make unto himself a journal, in which he used to write all such notable things, as either he did see or hear each day that passed; but whatsoever he did hear or see, he did so pen it, that a man might see in that

book the signs of his smitten heart; for if he did see or hear any good in any man, by that sight he found and noted the want thereof in himself, and added a short prayer, craving mercy and grace to amend; if he did hear or see any plague or misery, he noted it as a thing procured by his own sins, and still added, 'Lord! have mercy upon me.' He used in the same book to note such evil thoughts as did rise in him, as of envying the good of other men, thoughts of unthankfulness, of not considering God in his works, of hardness and insensibleness of heart, when he did see others moved and affected. And thus he made to himself, and of himself, a book of daily practises of repentance.

"Besides this, they which were familiar with him might see, how he, being in their company, used to fall often into a sudden and deep meditation, in which he would sit with fixed countenance and spirit moved, yet speaking nothing a good space; and sometimes in this silent sitting, plenty of tears would trickle down his cheeks; sometimes he would sit in it, and come out of it, with a smiling countenance. Oftentimes have I sat at dinner and supper with him in the house of that godly harbourer of many preachers and servants of the Lord Jesus, master Elsyng, when, either by occasion of talk had, or of some view of God's benefits present, or some inward cogitation and thought of his own, he hath fallen into these deep cogitations, and he would tell me in the end such discourses of them, that I did perceive that sometimes his tears trickled out of his eyes, as well for joy as for sorrow. Neither was he only such a practiser of repentance in himself, but a continual provoker of others thereunto; not only in public preaching, but also in private conference and company. For, in all companies where he did come, he would freely reprove any sin and misbehaviour which appeared in any person, especially swearers, filthy talkers, and popish praters. Such never departed out of his company unreprieved; and this he did with such a divine grace and christian majesty, that ever he stopped the mouths of the gainsayers; for he spake with power, and yet so sweetly, that they might see their evil to be evil, and hurtful unto them, and understand that it was good indeed to the which he laboured to draw them in God."

Bradford's zeal and activity as a preacher of the gospel rendered him very obnoxious to the papists, and his popularity in the city of London, though he was always most faithful in reprov- ing sin, made them the more anxious to silence and remove him. To accomplish this, as Fox well observes, because they had no just cause, they took occasion to do him injury, for such an act as, among Turks and infidels, would have been with thankfulness rewarded, and with great favour accepted as it deserved.

The act was this. Immediately after the accession of queen Mary, Bourne, afterwards bishop of Bath, a papist, preached at Paul's cross, when he spoke so reproachfully of the late king, so justified Bonner, and said so much in favour of popery, that the people were indignant, and a tumult ensued. A dagger was

hurled at the preacher, who shrunk back, and entreated Bradford, who stood near him, to come forward and speak to the people. Bradford addressed them, and sharply reproving their conduct, prevailed upon them to desist. Having obtained a respite, he and Rogers assisted the mayor and sheriffs in conducting the trembling preacher into the grammar school, Bradford following Bourne, and sheltering him with his own person. Many pressed after them, loudly expressing their regrets that such a character should be so protected. One gentleman who had made a direct attack upon Bourne, told Bradford, "Thou savest him that will help to burn thee!" The same Sunday afternoon, Bradford preached at Bow church, and sharply reproved the people for their proceedings.

Such conduct ought to have procured Bradford countenance or favour from the queen, but he was one of the most eminent of the protestant divines, and against them every opportunity was to be taken! Three days after, on August 16, 1553, Bradford was summoned before the council, and committed to the Tower on a charge of seditious conduct, shown while protecting Bourne! The people's having listened to his rebukes, was alleged as a proof that he had excited them to tumult!

Fox thus speaks of Bradford's imprisonment, "He was committed first to the Tower, then unto other prisons, out of the which neither his innocency, godliness, nor charitable dealing could purchase him liberty of body, till by death, which he suffered for Christ's cause, he obtained the heavenly liberty of which neither pope nor papist shall ever deprive him. From the Tower he came to the King's Bench in Southwark; and after his condemnation, he was sent to the Compter, in the Poultry, in London, in the which two places, for the time he did remain prisoner, he preached twice a day continually, unless sickness hindered him; where also the sacrament was often ministered, and through his means, the keepers so well did bear with him, such resort of good folks was daily to his lecture, and to the ministration of the sacrament, that commonly his chamber was well nigh filled. Preaching, reading, and praying was all his whole life. He did not eat above one meal a day, which was but very little when he took it, and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of dinner, he used often to muse with himself, having his hat over his eyes, from whence came commonly plenty of tears dropping on his trencher. Very gentle he was to man and child, and in so good credit with his keepers, that at his desire, in an evening, when prisoner in the King's Bench in Southwark, he had license, upon his promise to return again that night, to go into London without any keeper, to visit one that was sick, lying by the steel-yard. Neither did he fail his promise, but returned unto his prison again, rather being before his hour, than breaking his fidelity; so constant was he in word and in deed.

"Of person he was somewhat tall and slender, spare of body, of a faint sanguine colour, with an auburn beard. He slept

not commonly above four hours in the night ; and in his bed till sleep came his book went not out of his hand. His chief recreation was in no gaming or other pastime, but only in honest company, and comely talk, wherein he would spend a little time after dinner at the board, and so to prayer and his book again. He counted that hour not well spent, wherein he did not some good, either with his pen, study, or in exhorting of others. He was no niggard of his purse, but would liberally participate what he had to his fellow prisoners. And commonly once a week he visited the thieves, pick-purses, and such others that were with him in prison where he lay, on the other side ; unto whom he would give godly exhortation to learn the amendment of their lives by their troubles, and after that so done, distribute among them some portion of money to their comfort.

“ While he was in the King’s Bench, and M. Saunders in the Marshalsea, both prisoners, at the back of those two prisons they met many times, and conferred together when they would, so mercifully did the Lord work for them, even in the midst of their troubles ; and the said Bradford was so trusted with his keeper, and had such liberty, that there was no day but that he might have easily escaped away, if he would, but that the Lord had another work to do for him. In the summer time, while he was in the said King’s Bench, he had liberty of his keeper to ride into Oxfordshire, to a merchant’s house of his acquaintance, and a horse, and all things prepared for him for that journey, and the party in a readiness that should ride with him, but God prevented him by sickness that he went not at all.

“ One of his old friends and acquaintance came unto him whilst he was prisoner, and asked him, if he sued to get him out, what then he would do, or whither he would go ? Unto whom Bradford made answer, as not caring whether he went out or no ; but if he did, he said he would marry, and abide still in England secretly, teaching the people as the time would suffer him, and occupy himself that way. He was had in so great reverence and admiration with all good men, that a multitude which never-knew him but by fame, greatly lamented his death ; yea, and a number also of the papists themselves, wished heartily his life. There were few days in which he was thought not to spend some tears before he went to bed, neither was there ever any prisoner with him, but by his company he greatly profited, as all they will yet witness, and have confessed of him no less, to the glory of God, whose society he frequented : among many, one special thing I thought to note, which is this :

“ Bishop Farrar being prisoner in the King’s Bench, was travailed withal of the papists in the end of Lent, to receive the sacrament at Easter in one kind, who after much persuading, yielded to them, and promised so to do. Then, so it happened by God’s providence, on the easter even, the day before he should have done it, was Bradford brought to the King’s Bench, prisoner ; where the Lord making him his instrument, Bradford only

was the mean that the said bishop Farrar revoked his promise and word, and would never after yield to be spotted with that papistical pitch; so effectually the Lord wrought by this worthy servant of his. Such an instrument was he in God's church, that few or none there were that knew him, but esteemed him as a precious jewel, and God's true messenger."

A few other particulars relative to Bradford's imprisonment may be added. When in the Tower, it was so full of prisoners, that Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford were all thrust into one chamber. They gladly endured the inconvenience on account of the opportunity it afforded of enjoying sweet intercourse together; thus establishing one another. There they read over the New Testament together, with great deliberation, studying to see if there were any passages which savoured the popish doctrine of the corporeal presence. But, as Strype observes, after all, they could find no presence but a spiritual, nor that the mass was any sacrifice for sin. But they found in that book, that the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross was perfect, holy, and good, and that God did require no other, nor that it should ever be done again.

After his removal to the King's Bench, he long enjoyed the liberty related by Fox, but towards the close of the time he was more strictly imprisoned, chiefly at the instance of Dr. Story, and the keeper was threatened with death if he allowed any to speak with Bradford.

His letters show that he had discussions with some of his fellow prisoners in the King's Bench, who adopted Pelagian or free-will doctrines, but though painful, they by no means proceeded to the lengths which the papists at the time misrepresented, and some modern writers have willingly repeated. Many particulars relative to these discussions and other circumstances of his imprisonment are mentioned in his letters, and will be read with interest. This subject is further noticed at page xvi.

During king Edward's reign, many professed to be attached to the doctrines of the reformation, whose lives were not consistent with their profession. It is no new thing for persons to talk of the doctrines of truth, while in their lives they deny them. Most of these turned at once to popery when queen Mary came to the throne, but a few were so obnoxious to the ruling powers, as to be included in the general proscription, and were reckoned with the Reformers, although their conduct while in prison was very different. Such persons, Bradford and others seriously admonished, warning them of their danger, nor should they ever be confounded with the real sufferers for conscience sake.

During this imprisonment, an intention was formed of sending Bradford and others to Cambridge, to be publicly disputed with by the papists; but this design was laid aside.

The prisoners made a declaration, in which they plainly set forth the proceedings which had been urged forward against

the reformation, and offered to maintain publicly the doctrines they had professed. This declaration is printed by Strype, from a manuscript containing several pieces written by Bradford, and it appears to have been the supplication referred to in his letter XLIX. in the following pages. It is as follows.

"To the king and queen's most excellent majesties, with their most honourable high court of parliament.

"We, poor prisoners for Christ's religion, require your honours, in our dear Saviour Christ's name, earnestly now to repent, for that you have consented of late to the unplacing of so many godly laws, before set forth, touching the true religion of Christ, by two most noble kings, being father and brother to the queen's highness, and agreed upon by all your consents; not without your great and many deliberations, free and open disputations, costs, and pains-taking in that behalf, neither without great consultations and conclusions, had by the greatest learned men in the realm, at Windsor, Cambridge, and Oxford, neither without the most willing consent, and allowing the same by the whole realm thoroughly. So that there was not one parish in all England that ever desired again to have the romish superstitious and vain service, which is now by the popish, proud, covetous clergy, placed again, in contempt not only of God, all heaven, and all the lessons of the Holy Ghost in the blessed bible; but also against the honour of the said two noble kings, against your own country, fore-agreements, and against all the godly consciences within this realm of England, and elsewhere. By reason whereof, God's great plagues must needs follow, and great unquietness of conscience, besides all other persecutions and vexations of bodies and goods must ensue. Moreover, we certify your honours, that since your said unplacing of Christ's true religion and true service, and placing in the room thereof antichrist's romish superstition, heresy, and idolatry, all the true preachers have been removed and punished; and that with such open robbery and cruelty, as in Turkey was never used, either to their own countrymen, or to their mortal enemies.

"This therefore, our humble suit, is now to your honourable estates, to desire the same, for all the mercies' sake of our dear and only Saviour Jesus Christ, and for the duty you owe to your native country, and to your own souls, earnestly to consider from what light, to what darkness this realm is now brought, and that in the weightiest, chief, and principal matter of salvation, of all our souls and bodies, everlasting and for evermore. And even so we desire you, at this your assembly, to seek some effectual reformation for the before written most horrible deformation in this church of England. And touching yourselves, we desire you in like manner, that we may be called before your honours; and if we are not able to prove and approve, by the catholic and canonical rules of Christ's true religion, the church homilies and service set forth in the most innocent king Edward's days;

and also to disallow and reprove, by the same authorities, the service now set forth since his departing; then we offer our bodies, either to be immediately burned, or else to suffer whatsoever other painful and shameful death it shall please the king and queen's majesties to appoint. And we think this trial and probation may be now best, either in the plain English tongue by writing, or otherwise by disputation in the same tongue. Our Lord, for his great mercy sake, grant unto you all, the continual assistance of his good and holy Spirit. Amen."

While Bradford was in prison, he did much service to the cause of Christ, especially by his letters. The importance and value of these writings was proved by a complaint made against them in the parliament house. The effect produced by them in Lancashire was described as very considerable.

When the plans of the papists were sufficiently matured, Bradford was one of the first brought forward for judgment. He was examined before Gardiner, Bonner, and others, in January, 1555, and condemned to the stake. His examinations are preserved by Fox, and exhibit the unshrinking fidelity of the martyr to the truth; but the artifices of the papists confined them almost wholly to the subjects of the pope's supremacy, and the sacrament of the altar, so that they have little interest for the general reader. During these examinations, another testimony to the effects of Bradford's writings was given. Secretary Bourne said, "Yea, it was reported this parliament time, by the earl of Derby, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and by exhorting those that have come to him in religion, than ever he did, when he was abroad, by preaching." It is added, "All which divers of the council affirmed." At the close of the first examination, being urged to submit himself and receive mercy, he answered, "Mercy, with God's mercy should be welcome, but otherwise he would none." In the course of these examinations, Bradford's conduct at Paul's cross was adverted to, when he appealed to bishop Bourne who sat among his judges! In these examinations he conducted himself with meekness, yet firmness.

Fuller well says, "All men observed the malice and cruelty of his enemies, how they had first committed him without law, and then, after a year and half imprisonment, made one that took away his life. He denied, indeed, the pope's authority over the church of England, and so had his judges done but the year before."

After receiving sentence of condemnation, Bradford was conducted to the Poultry Compter. His conduct in that prison has been already described. There he remained till the beginning of July, during which time he was harassed by repeated disputations with the romanists. Bonner, bishop of London, the bishop of Chichester, the archbishop of York, two Spanish friars, one of whom was the king's confessor, with Harpsfield, Weston, Harding, Pendleton and others, came to him from day

to day. The substance of their disputations is preserved by Fox. In answer to an observation of the bishop of Chichester, "He is a heretic, and so none of the church, that doth hold any doctrine against the definition of the church," Bradford emphatically said, "O my lord, will ye condemn to the devil any man that believeth truly the twelve articles of the faith, (wherein I take the unity of Christ's church to consist,) although in some points he believe not the definition of that which ye call the church? I doubt not but that he which holdeth firmly the articles of our belief, though in other things he dissent from your definition, yet he shall be saved." "Yea," exclaimed the bishops, "is this your divinity?" The substance of these disputations show that Bradford was well grounded in the argumentative learning then necessary, as well as in scriptural knowledge.

At the latter end of the month of June, the hour of suffering drew near; the particulars are thus related by Fox:—

"The night before Bradford was had to Newgate, which was the Saturday night, he was troubled divers times in his sleep by dreams, how the chain for his burning was brought to the Compter-gate, and how the next day, being Sunday, he should be had to Newgate, and on the Monday after burned in Smithfield, as indeed it came to pass accordingly. Now he, being vexed so often with these dreams, about three of the clock in the morning, waked him that lay with him, and told him his unquiet sleep, and what he was troubled withal. Then, after a little talk, master Bradford rose out of the bed, and gave himself to his old exercise of reading and prayer, as always he had used before; and at dinner, according to his accustomed manner, he did eat his meat, and was very merry, nobody being with him from morning till night, but he that lay with him, with whom he had many times on that day communication, of death, of the kingdom of heaven, and of the ripeness of sin in that time.

"In the afternoon, they two walking together in the keeper's chamber, suddenly the keeper's wife came up, as one half amazed, and seeming much troubled, being almost breathless, said, 'Oh, Mr. Bradford, I come to bring you heavy news.' 'What is that?' said he. 'Marry,' quoth she, 'to-morrow you must be burned, and your chain is now a buying, and soon you must go to Newgate.' With that Bradford put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, 'I thank God for it; I have looked for the same a long time, and therefore it cometh not now to me suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy thereof.' And so thanking her for her gentleness, he departed up into his chamber, and called his friend with him, and when he came thither, went secretly himself alone a long time and prayed. Which done, he came again to him that was in his chamber, and took him divers writings and papers, and showed him his mind in those things, what he would have done; and after they had spent the afternoon till night, in many and sundry such things, at last came to him half a dozen of his friends more,

with whom all the evening he spent the time in prayer and other good exercises, so wonderfully, that it was marvellous to hear and see.

"A little before he went out of the Compter, he made a notable prayer of his farewell, with such plenty of tears, and abundant spirit of prayer, that it ravished the minds of the hearers. Also, when he shifted himself with a clean shirt that was made for his burning, by one M. Walter Marlar's wife, who was a good nurse unto him, and his very good friend, he made such a prayer of the wedding garment, that some of those that were present were in such great admiration, that their eyes were as thoroughly occupied in looking on him, as their ears gave place to hear his prayer. At his departing out of the chamber, he made likewise a prayer, and gave money to every servant and officer of the house, with exhortation to them to fear and serve God, continually labouring to eschew all manner of evil. That done, he turned him to the wall, and prayed vehemently that his words might not be spoken in vain, but that the Lord would work the same in them effectually, for his Christ's sake. Then being beneath in the court, all the prisoners cried out to him, and bade him farewell, as the rest of the house had done before, with weeping tears.

"The time they carried him to Newgate, was about eleven or twelve o'clock in the night, when it was thought none would be stirring abroad: contrary to their expectation in that behalf, there was in Cheapside and other places, between the Compter and Newgate, a great multitude of people that came to see him, who most gently bade him farewell, praying for him with most lamentable and pitiful tears, and he again, as gently, bade them farewell, praying most heartily for them and their welfare. Now whether it were a commandment from the queen and her council, or from Bonner and his adherents, or whether it were devised of the lord mayor, alderman, and sheriffs of London, or no, I cannot tell; but a great noise there was over night about the city, that Bradford should be burnt the next day in Smithfield, by four of the clock in the morning, before it should be greatly known to any. In which rumour many heads had divers minds; some thinking the fear of the people to be the cause thereof. Others thought nay, that it was rather because the papists judged his death would convert many to the truth, and give a great overthrow to their kingdom. So some thought one thing, and some another, that no just conjecture of the cause could be known that ever I heard yet. But this was certain, the people prevented the device suspected; for the next day, at the said hour of four o'clock in the morning, there was in Smithfield such a multitude of men and women, that many, being in admiration thereof, thought it was not possible that they could have warning of his death, being so great a number, in so short time, unless it were by the singular providence of almighty God.

"Well, this took not effect as the people thought; for that

morning it was nine of the clock before Bradford was brought into Smithfield. In going through Newgate thitherward, he spied a friend of his whom he loved, standing on the one side the way, unto whom he reached his hand over the people, and pulled him to him, and delivered to him from his head his velvet nightcap, also his handkerchief, with other things besides. After a little secret talk with him, as they parted, immediately came a brother-in-law of his, called Roger Beswick, who as soon as he had taken the said Bradford by the hand, one of the sheriffs of London, called Woodroffe, came with his staff and brake the said Roger's head, that the blood ran about his shoulders. Which Bradford beholding with grief, bade his brother farewell, willing him to commend him to his mother, and the rest of his friends, and to get him to some surgeon; so they departing, had little or no talk at all together. Then was he led forth to Smithfield with a great company of weaponed men, to conduct him thither, as the like was not seen at any man's burning, for in every corner of Smithfield there were some, besides those which stood about the stake.

"When they came to the stake in Smithfield to be burned, Bradford lying prostrate on the one side of the stake, and a young man, John Leaf,* on the other side, they lay flat on their faces, praying to themselves the space of a minute. Then one of the sheriffs said to Bradford; 'Arise and make an end; for the press of the people is great.'

"At that word they both stood up upon their feet; and then Bradford took a fagot in his hand, and kissed it, and likewise the stake. When he had so done, he desired of the sheriffs that his servant might have his raiment. 'For,' said he, 'I have nothing else to give him; and besides that, he is a poor man.' And the sheriff said, he should have it. Forthwith Bradford put off his raiment, and went to the stake, and holding up his hands and casting his countenance to heaven, he said thus, 'O England, England, repent thee of thy sins, repent thee of thy sins! Beware of idolatry, beware of the false antichrists; take heed they do not deceive you.' And as he was speaking these words, the sheriff bade to tie his hands, if he would not be quiet. 'O master sheriff,' said Bradford, 'I am quiet. God forgive

* John Leaf was apprentice to a tallow-chandler, about twenty years of age, and was burned for refusing to believe the popish doctrine concerning the sacrament. Fox says, "It is reported of the said John Leaf, by one that was in the Compter the same time, and saw the thing, that after his examinations before the bishop, when two bills were sent unto him in the Compter in Bread-street, the one containing a recantation, the other his confessions, to know to which of them he would put his hand to, first hearing the bill of recantation read unto him, because he could not read nor write himself, he refused it. And when the other was read unto him, which he well liked of, instead of a pen he took a pin, and so pricking his hand, sprinkled the blood upon the said bill, willing the reader thereof to show the bishop that he had sealed the same bill with his blood already."

you this, master sheriff.' And one of the officers who made the fire, hearing Bradford so speaking to the sheriff, said, 'If you have no better learning than that, you are but a fool, and were best to hold your peace.' To the which words, Bradford gave no answer; but asked all the world forgiveness, and forgave all the world, and prayed the people to pray for him, and turned his head unto the young man that suffered with him, and said, 'Be of good comfort, brother, for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night,' and so spake no more words that any man did hear, but embracing the reeds, said thus, 'Strait is the way, and narrow is the gate that leadeth to eternal salvation, and few there be that find it.'

"And thus they both ended their mortal lives, like two lambs, without any alteration of their countenance, being void of all fear, hoping to obtain the prize that they had long run at; to the which I beseech almighty God happily to conduct us, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour." Amen.

Such was the end of John Bradford, concerning whom Ridley, whose chaplain he was, bore the following testimony. "He was a man by whom God hath and doth work wonders in setting forth his word." The papists were so sensible of his worth, that they took more pains to bring him over to their doctrines than any other.

His long protracted confinement was rendered a blessing to the church of Christ, and affords a striking instance how God overruleth the wrath of man, causing it to praise him. Had he not been thus secluded from public services, he could hardly have been more useful among the people at large, as appears from the testimony of the papists respecting his letters; and certainly some of the most valuable statements of the doctrines of the British Reformers would have been wanting to succeeding generations. He translated some of the writings of the German Reformers in addition to the pieces included in this volume, which, however, is the most complete collection of his works yet published. In his letters and tracts he, being dead, yet speaketh, and many a weary and heavy laden soul has blessed God for the writings of John Bradford. They often present more of the genuine truths of the gospel in a single page, than is contained in whole volumes of later divines. Fox well observes, "They show how godly he occupied his time when a prisoner; what special zeal he bore to the state of Christ's church; what care he had to perform his office; how earnestly he admonished all men; how tenderly he comforted the heavy hearted, and how fruitfully he confirmed them whom he had taught." They plainly evidence the deep abhorrence of sin felt by the writer, and his sense of the divine mercy which had been imparted to him. In connexion with this, it may be related, that when he saw malefactors carried to execution, he would say, "There goes John Bradford, but for the grace of God!"

BRADFORD.

Nor was his testimony only in writing or in words. As Fuller beautifully says, "He endured the flame as a fresh gale of wind in a hot summer's day, without any reluctance; confirming by his death the truth of that doctrine, which he had so diligently and powerfully preached during his life."

A Letter of Father Traves (as it seems) to John Bradford; concerning a debt of his, and making restitution; which he was not yet able to do.

"Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ. Ye shall understand, that after the receipt of your letters, I declared to M. Latimer the sum that ye writ to me concerning your matter with your master. When I came to that place, that you offered yourself to be a bondman, he misliked it, and said, though by God's word appeareth, that to make restitution, we ought to sell ourselves; 'yet would I not,' said he, 'that he should go so far with his master.* I asked him, what counsel he would give you? He said, 'Better counsel, or more than I have given him, I cannot. Let him tarry, and, committing the whole to God, work by leisure.' More could I not get of him: and I durst not trouble him, because he was studiously occupied in preparing a sermon to be preached, if God will, before the king this next Sunday. He knoweth not certainly whether he shall thereto be called, but as yet judgeth. What his counsel is you have heard.

"You proceed and ask my counsel. Alas! you know that I am but a very block, yea, more dumb than a dumb idol; as little help in me as in the block of Walsingham.† Earnestly I protest that I know not what, nor how, to counsel you: but pray, pray, and commit yourself wholly to God. Wish an increase of that desire that ye have to make restitution. And whether that God will so enrich you, that ye shall be able to pay it, or that he will move your master, so that he will and shall pay it, commit it to God with earnest desire and faithful prayer, that at length, yet when his merciful eye shall see most meet, he will unburden you of your check; and look for his help in peace. I mean no such brutish security as is in me; but with patient suffering, without writhing, wresting, or doubting of his promise, without desperate voices, thoughts, groanings, or woes. For the Lord knoweth when and how to deliver them that trust in him, for their best avail; yea, in spite of all hard hearts, God will at length, man, deliver thee. In the mean time, be neither stock nor stone, but labour for your part towards the ending of it, as

* Or, for his master.

† The image of the virgin Mary, worshipped at Walsingham in Norfolk, which was much resorted to by pilgrims.

opportunity shall serve: whether in moving him again, as I would surely wish to do, or labouring to gather of your own, for the payment thereof. Do it freely, but do all in the name of the Lord, in all things giving thanks to God the Father, through Jesus Christ. And the most mighty God move the heart of your master to enrich you to your unburdening, even when his will shall be.

“Despair not, though all in haste it be not repaid, as though ye were a man forlorn, for that the payment is not made; but rather give thanks to God even heartily, for that he hath opened the fault unto you, and hath given you a conscience in it. For he might have given you up into a lewd* mind, which should, nothing regarding it, have cried Peace! peace! until sudden destruction had come. But God of his mercy hath opened it to you; not that ye should delight in it, as oh! God forgive me, that I do in commemoration of my iniquity much more delight, than sorrow; but that it should be a school, a cross, a vexation, and perturbation of mind unto you. And also, that ye must be void from that desperate solicitude, and with this, that God hath given you an earnest desire to recompense: which is a great comfort, a signifying, that though you are a wretch and a sinner, yet God is with you and in you. Who can then harm you?

“But how shall I do, if I die, say you, this being unpaid? I say, God hath given you a desire to pay it, but not a power. Is God so cruel, think ye, that he will exact of you to do that which is impossible for you to do? Are ye able to pay it? Then pay it. Are ye not able? Have a continual desire, which is to be begged of God, to pay, and, in the name of God, work so long as ye live, as God shall lead you towards the payment of it. And if ye die before the satisfaction, yet I think ye shall go without peril. For I believe the sin is forgiven already, for Christ's sake.

“There remaineth then by the doctor's mind but restitution: and I believe that you have *animum restituendi*,† and earnestly labour and follow, upon God's preparation, toward the restitution; the same hath made a good restitution, if ye die before a full restitution.

“But indeed that substance that ye have at that time gathered together, must go fully towards it. But what talk ye of death? God is able to make you to make restitution, even to-morrow. Pray continually for his help, and ease to unburden, that way which he knoweth to be best for you. And I dare say, that, for Jesus' sake, he will both hear and help you. But pray not, appointing God any time: ‘Sed expecta Dominum, donec misereatur tui,’‡ with full submission even in a patient, faithful mind to his will. Oh! how arrogantly take I upon me to babble. But as I scribble, so do I but partly: follow not me, Bradford, follow

* Ignorant.

† A desire and mind to restore.

‡ But wait upon God till he have compassion upon thee.

not me. For I am a very impenitent beast. I tell you of restitution! Oh! Lord, spare me; give me not up altogether to a lewd impenitent heart, in which I procure heaps of wrath. Lord, help, for Christ's sake, help me. All that I do, I do it in sin and vainglory. Yet shall not the devil hinder me to write. For out of the wild fig-tree some profit may come. But no thanks to the tree, but the Creator.

"Now foolishly further will I go. I would not offer myself into bondage to that earthly master. Ye know not what bondage meaneth. Be it that I speak but carnally, I speak as I am. I would not but think assuredly, that as God hath given me that grace to acknowledge my debt, being free, that the same Lord, of his mercy will, and is able, at ease to work in my freedom the discharge of my debt."

(Something is wanting.)

Note relative to the disputations in the King's Bench prison, see page vii.

The account given by Strype of the disputes in the King's Bench, mentioned at page v, is as follows: "One thing now fell out, (A. D. 1554,) which caused some disturbance among the prisoners. Many of them, that were under restraint for the profession of the gospel, were such as held free will, tending to the derogation of God's grace, and refused the doctrine of absolute predestination and original sin. They were men of strict and holy lives, but very hot in their opinions and disputations, and unquiet. Divers of them were in the King's Bench, where Bradford and many other gospellers were. Many whereof, by their conferences they gained to their own persuasions. Bradford had much discourse with them. The name of their chief man was Harry Hart, who had writ something in defence of his doctrine. Trew and Abingdon were teachers also among them. Kemp, Gibson, and Chamberlain were others. They ran their notions as high as Pelagius did, and valued no learning; and the writings and authorities of the learned they utterly rejected and despised." Strype then notices Bradford's correspondence with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, on this subject.

Trew wrote some particulars of these contentions, and pointed out what he styled various "enormities" in doctrine, which he imputed to Bradford and his friends; he also accuses the followers of "the imagined predestination sect," as he styles them, of playing at bowls, cards, and dice, and of behaving in an unkind manner towards the freewillers. Bradford replied in his short and pithy defence of the doctrine of election, (printed at page 331 of the present volume,) to which was added a second part, answering the prominent "enormities" alleged by Trew. He

wrote in a christian spirit, and his arguments appear to be satisfactory and conclusive.

Trew's statement, and Bradford's defence, have lately been printed from a manuscript in the Bodleian library. The former is stated to be "the most complete document upon the anti-predestinarian side of the question." Prominence is given to the reflections cast by Trew and his party upon their opponents, while the full and satisfactory letters of Bradford on this subject, (see pages 191, 193, 197, 198,) are passed over.

This statement of Trew has been also referred to, as evidence of a laxity of manners among the professors of predestination, and as supporting what is called a natural conclusion, that the Calvinist will be careless about morals.

It is unnecessary here to enter into the doctrinal part of this controversy, or to urge that such conclusions are unfounded, but as the allegations just noticed have induced some to suppose that Bradford and his associates were licentious and careless in their conduct, it is important to refer the reader to the letters already quoted, and to the following extract from the second part of his defence, in which, after replying to Trew, he adds:

"This withal I say, that no man can use more godly discipline towards themselves, and to the correcting and chastening of the old man, than those do, which have truly tasted of the spirit of God's election, for to such the corruption of our nature is felt a more horrible thing than hypocrites are able to think, and therefore they are more rough and severe to others, which are fallen, than the elect are, who have put on them bowels of mercies, and cannot but take other men's faults to heart, as their own, and therefore, so soon as any lovely sign of repentance ensueth, they seek with Paul that charity might prevail, where hypocrites are haughty, and condemn the poor publicans, as did the proud pharisee. Again, indeed, we say, that none is good but such as are predestinate, and also we say, that of those which are now in our sight evil, many may be called hereafter, and as God's dear elect, declare themselves to the world, and the wicked if they would see it.

"As for who are the elect, and who are not, because it is God's privilege to know who are his, God's people are not curious in others, but as in themselves they feel the earnest of the Lord, and have God's Spirit in possession by faith, (I speak of those which are of years of discretion,) so do they judge of others by their works, and not further do they enter with God's office.

"Moreover, where he saith Predestination is not absolute, if he meaneth it is not infallible, or it is not so certain but it may alter, then, when he hath proved it by scripture, a man may something be moved to mark better his words; but till that time, which will never be, I will say, that if God predestinate any to life, they shall never be undone.

"As for his surmised imagination of election in the elect, whereby he taunts their faith, I will speak nothing, but God increase his, and all our faith, and open our eyes to see what true faith is, whereof for my part I acknowledge a great weakness, and much more imagination, than true faith; but yet, be it ever so little, I hope the Lord alloweth it, and will increase it for his name's sake, which I humbly crave at his hands, for the love of our only blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, the Light of the world, who lighten all our darkness to see his true light, and inflame our hearts and wills to approve and love the same unfeignedly. Amen. Then will taunting not tarry, but charitable admonition, and sorrowful sighing to see any professing God with us, entangled with such errors, as nourish such enormities, as here he maketh this most comfortable and profitable doctrine of God's holy election, for the which God's holy name be praised and magnified for ever, through Jesus Christ our blessed Lord and Saviour. Amen."



John Jay & Son

Ridley?

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A
BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF
DR. NICHOLAS RIDLEY,

Bishop of London, and Martyr, 1555.

DR. NICHOLAS RIDLEY was born in the beginning of the sixteenth century, at Willemonstwick, a town in Northumberland, near the borders of Scotland. His father was the third son of an ancient and respectable family who had long resided in that country. After being educated at Newcastle on Tyne, he was removed to Pembroke-hall, in Cambridge, about the year 1518, just at the time when Luther's opposition to the pope's bulls respecting indulgences began to excite general attention. He applied studiously to acquire the learning then most in repute, and, as his biographer states, 'his character at that time, appears to have been that of an ingenious, virtuous, zealous papist.'

After some years passed at Cambridge, Ridley visited France, and studied at the universities of Paris and Louvain. On his return (about 1529), he pursued his theological studies with much earnestness, in particular committing to memory the greater part of the epistles in the original Greek, and his mind appears to have been enlightened by the study of the scriptures. In 1534, he took an active part in the public discussions relative to the pope's supremacy, and, in 1537, archbishop Cranmer appointed him one of his chaplains.

In 1538, Ridley was collated to the vicarage of Herne, in Kent, where the people for many miles round crowded to attend his preaching; and he diligently instructed his charge in the doctrines of the gospel, although on the point of transubstantiation, he was not as yet fully emancipated from popish errors. When the act of the six articles came out, Ridley bore public testi-

mony against it, but being unmarried, and as yet in error as to the Sacrament of the altar, he did not fall within its penalties.

In October, 1540, Ridley was appointed to the mastership of Pembroke-hall, which was then remarked for the learning and scriptural knowledge of its members, and, in the following year, he was nominated one of the prebendaries of Canterbury, where he preached so strongly against the abuses of popery, as to excite some of the bigoted ecclesiastics to accuse him of having offended against the laws then in force, but their malice was disappointed. He particularly contended that prayer should be made in a language which the people could understand.

Ridley passed a great part of the year 1545 at Herne, when he was induced to examine more particularly respecting the Sacrament; the arguments and sufferings of those who opposed the popish errors upon this subject having made a strong impression upon his mind. The effect of this investigation, was to remove the error under which he had laboured, and, communicating his views to Cranmer, they examined the doctrines of the church of Rome as to transubstantiation, and those of the Lutheran church respecting consubstantiation. After a full investigation of the scriptures, and the writings of the Fathers of the primitive church, they were enabled to discern the truths which had been till then obscured and concealed from their view.

On the accession of Edward VI., Ridley was appointed one of the preachers at court, and forwarded the Reformation to the utmost of his power. In 1547, he was made bishop of Rochester, and, in 1549, we find him bearing a prominent part in a public disputation, with the Romanists at Cambridge, on the subject of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the particulars of which are fully stated in Fox's Acts and Monuments.

In April, 1550, Ridley was appointed to the see of London; this important office he discharged with much faithfulness, and in a very exemplary manner. He behaved with much kindness to Bonner, who was removed from that bishopric on account of his obstinate attachment to popery, and was particularly careful that he should suffer as little pecuniary loss as possible from his removal. When at Fulham, he always, at dinner and supper, sent for Bonner's mother and sister, who resided near, and

constantly placed the former at his right hand, alleviating her misfortunes to the utmost of his power.*

Fox thus speaks of Ridley's discharge of his episcopal duties. "He so laboured and occupied himself in preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that a good child never was more loved by his dear parents, than he was by his flock and diocese. Every Sunday and holy day, he preached in some place or other, unless hindered by weighty business. To these sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome juice of the fruitful doctrine, which he not only preached, but showed the same by his life as a shining light, in such pure order, that even his very adversaries could not reprove him in any one jot thereof." His ordinary course of life at that time, is thus described by the same writer. "He, using all ways to mortify himself, was given to much prayer and contemplation. For early every morning, so soon as his apparel was upon him, he prayed on his knees half an hour, which being done, immediately he went to his study, if there came no other business to interrupt him, where he continued till ten o'clock, and then came to common prayer daily used in his house. The prayers being done, he went to dinner,† where he talked little, and then it was sober, discreet, and wise, and sometimes merry, as the cause required. The dinner being over, which was not very long, he used to sit an hour or thereabouts talking, or playing at chess. That done, he returned to his study, and continued there until five o'clock, unless suitors or business abroad prevented. He then came to common prayer, which being finished, he went to supper. After supper he recreated himself an hour, and then returned to his study, continuing there till eleven o'clock, which was his common hour to go to bed, then saying his prayers upon his knees as in the morning when he rose. When at Fulham, he read a lecture to his family every day at the common prayer, beginning at the Acts, and so going through all the epistles, giving a New Testament to every man that could read, and hiring them

* When Bonner was restored, he acted in a very different manner, not only treating Ridley's relations with much harshness and severity, but even depriving them of property to which they were legally entitled, and endeavouring to procure the death of Ridley's brother-in-law.

† At that period, it was usual for the nobility and gentry to dine at eleven o'clock.

with money to learn by heart certain principal chapters, but especially Acts xiii. He often read to his household the 101st psalm, being very careful over his family, that they might be an example of all virtue and honesty to others. To be short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing but godliness and virtue reigned in his house, he feeding them with the food of our Saviour Jesus Christ."

Much of Ridley's time, during the reign of Edward VI., was occupied in discharging the public duties of his office, which were neither few nor small, and during the prevalence of a pestilential distemper in London, called the sweating sickness,* he continued to reside among his flock. In his pastoral duties, he was ably assisted by Bradford and Grindal, two of his chaplains.

In the beginning of 1553, the king's health was evidently in a declining state, when, by Ridley's means, the noble foundation of Christ's Hospital, and those of St. Bartholomew, Bridewell, and Bethlehem were established.

The particulars of the last days of Edward VI., and the brief reign of Lady Jane Grey, need not be given in this place. Ridley does not appear to have taken a prominent part in those events, if we except a sermon preached by him at Paul's Cross, by order of the council, on one of the two Sundays between the death of king Edward, and the entrance of queen Mary into London. On that occasion, he strongly urged the evils which must ensue from Mary's attachment to popery, if she obtained the crown. This was not forgotten by his enemies, and as soon as Mary's authority was established, Ridley was committed to the tower, and Bonner was again established as bishop of London—of the wide difference between his conduct and that of Ridley, both in private life and public affairs, the reader doubtless is fully aware.

Ridley continued in the tower several months. During the greater part of the time he had Cranmer and Latimer for his fellow-prisoners;—the result of their conferences will be found in the following pages. In April, 1554, these venerable Fathers of the English church were sent to Oxford, to dispute publicly

* The 15th of April, 1551, the infectious sweating sickness began at Shrewsbury. What number died cannot be well accounted, but certain it is, that in London in a few days 960 gave up the ghost.—*Stowe's Annals.*

with a number of the Romish doctors on the subject of the mass and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The particulars of this disputation were recorded by Jewel, and are given at length in Fox's Acts and Monuments :—the manner in which it was conducted is noticed in a subsequent page of this work. we may, however, observe that Ridley's knowledge of the Greek language, and his being versed in the writings of the Fathers, enabled him to correct many attempts to pervert the meaning of the ancient writers.* After these disputations were concluded, the three bishops were condemned as heretics, when Ridley replied, " Although I be not of your company, yet, I doubt not, but that my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner than we should have come by the course of nature."

They were not put to death at that time, but were closely confined at Oxford during the next eighteen months. Though kept from scenes of active usefulness, they were not idle. Latimer, weak and enfeebled through age, could do little but read his Testament; and that, as he afterwards declared, he read over diligently seven times during his confinement. Cranmer reviewed, and added to, his writings on the Sacrament. Ridley was strictly watched, deprived of most of his books, and denied the use of pen, ink, and paper; but he snatched every opportunity; and when his scanty supplies of materials for writing failed him, he cut the lead from his prison-windows, and wrote in the margins of the few books he possessed.

In the letters given in the following pages, the reader will find many interesting notices of this irksome period of Ridley's confinement. It was particularly severe with regard to him; while in the tower he had been more favourably treated than many others, but when the papists found he could not be wrought upon by all their blandishments they changed their measures, and acted towards him with much severity.

At length, in October, 1555, Ridley and his companions were called before commissioners appointed to examine and condemn them. After some discussions, which chiefly related to

* Latimer was not well skilled in Greek, having been far advanced in life before that language was much taught. Of this the Romanists took advantage, and when arguing with him, actually falsified a quotation from the New Testament!

the usurped authority of the popes, Ridley was condemned, and also his fellow-prisoners. His life was spared a fortnight longer, during which he wrote some farewell letters and admonitions. On the 15th of October, he was degraded by the Romish commissioners, and the next morning he was led forth to the place where he and Latimer were to be burned. Ridley arrived there first, and as soon as his fellow-sufferer came, Ridley kissed him, saying, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it." The latter was his experience. Dr. Smith preached a sermon, in which he asserted many falsities respecting the martyrs and their doctrines, to which Ridley wished to reply, but was not permitted: "Well," said he, "so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ and his known truth."

They were then fastened to the stake. Ridley lifted up his hands towards heaven and prayed. "O heavenly Father, I give thee most hearty thanks that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God, have mercy upon the realm of England, and deliver her from all her enemies." Ridley then addressed himself to lord Williams, who was appointed to superintend the execution, and besought him to plead with the queen in behalf of his poor relatives, and others who were unlawfully deprived by Bonner of the leases they had agreed for with Ridley while he possessed the see of London.

The fire was lighted—when Ridley saw it flaming up towards him, he cried out with a loud voice, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit. O Lord, receive my spirit." Latimer soon died, apparently with little or no pain; but on Ridley's side the fire was kept down, owing to the bad management of those that had built up the fagots, so that it only burned beneath. When Ridley felt this, he intreated them, for Christ's sake, to let the fire come to him. His brother-in-law, desiring to relieve his pain, but misunderstanding his wishes, heaped on more fagots, which kept the fire down still longer, and it burned all his lower parts without touching the upper. He repeated his desire to have the fire suffered to come unto him, and after his legs were consumed, the spectators saw one side of his body, shirt and all, untouched with the flame. But his confident

expectation was granted; for although the torment was indeed dreadful, "he was strengthened to abide it." He frequently exclaimed, "O Lord, have mercy upon me," and requested that they would let the fire come to him. At last he was understood; one of the bystanders pulled off the upper fagots—the flame arose, and when the tortured martyr saw the fire, he leaned towards it. After the flame reached the gunpowder affixed to him and it had exploded, he stirred no more; but his legs being wholly consumed, the upper part of his body turned over the chain, and fell at Latimer's feet.—These horrifying details are given from Fox, not needlessly to wound the reader's feelings, but for the striking picture they present of the constancy of this faithful martyr of Christ.

Let us briefly contrast the last hours of Ridley with those of his cruel persecutor, bishop Gardiner, which occurred immediately afterwards. On the day of Ridley and Latimer's martyrdom, he waited with impatience for the account of their burning, having arranged that messengers should be despatched to inform him as soon as the pile was set on fire. He delayed sitting down to his dinner till he received the desired intelligence. About four o'clock an express arrived with the welcome news, and Gardiner sat down to dinner. He "was not disappointed of his lust, but while the meat was yet in his mouth the heavy wrath of God came upon him." While at table he felt the first attacks of a mortal disease, the effect of vices in which he had long indulged; and though, for some days afterwards, he was able to go out and attend the parliament, his illness rapidly increased, until, as was stated by one of his contemporaries, he became so offensive, "that it was scarcely possible to get any one to come near him." The sufferings of his mind were not less painful than those of his body. He frequently exclaimed, "I have sinned like Peter, but I have not wept like him." Dr. Day, the bishop of Chichester, seeing Gardiner's dreadful state, and knowing that the juggleries of popery could not afford any support at such an hour, endeavoured to comfort him with the offers of free justification through the blood of Christ made in the scripture. Gardiner convinced, but not changed, showed the natural enmity of the heart of man against the doctrines of grace, exclaiming, "What, my lord, will you open that gap now? Then farewell all

together. To me, and such other in my case, indeed you may speak it; but open this window to the people, and then fare-well all together." He endured these protracted torments longer than Ridley had suffered, lingering in this state till the 13th of November, during which time it is recorded, that "he spake little but blasphemy and filthiness, and gave up the ghost with curses in his mouth, in terrible and unexpressible torments." What were Ridley's sufferings when compared with these? Surely every reader will exclaim, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his."

The writings of Bishop Ridley are not numerous, some few have been lost, among them a treatise on Predestination, which is much regretted; and it is also to be lamented that some, at least, of his sermons, have not been preserved, for he excelled as a preacher, and devoted much of his studies to preparation for the pulpit. His treatise on the Lord's Supper is the most important of his works; his other pieces, however, are valuable additions to the Writings of the British Reformers. In the present publication, his letters are collected from Fox, Coverdale, and Burnet, and are arranged in the order adopted in Dr. Gloucester Ridley's valuable life of his ancestor; and various references are made to that work, and other sources, which are explanatory of their contents.



Engt by J. Norton

Cranmer

SOME ACCOUNT
OF
THE LIFE OF THOMAS CRANMER,

Archbishop of Canterbury, and Martyr, A. D. 1556.

PART I.

Cranmer during the reign of Henry VIII.

A COMPLETE biographical account of Cranmer must include a large portion of the history of the English reformation. In the present sketch it is only intended to state some particulars which are requisite to convey correct information respecting his personal history, briefly noticing several points which have been misrepresented by the bigoted Romanists and the self-called liberal historians of protestant countries. We cannot be surprised that the character of a real follower of Christ is not fairly appreciated by the world, but every opportunity should be taken, to correct those mis-statements which bear some appearance of truth, while grosser falsehoods may be left, as carrying their own refutation. In general, the English protestant is too indifferent respecting the charges advanced against Cranmer. He would not estimate the character of the apostle of the gentiles by the opinions of the craftsmen of Ephesus or the philosophers of Athens, although they were not expressed in the bitter terms used by the elders of Jerusalem, who called him "a pestilent fellow and a mover of sedition"—why then should he listen to the representations of the character of Cranmer which emanate from those who evidently are actuated by a similar spirit to that of the opponents of the apostle? The words of our Lord, "Because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you;" are applicable to every follower of Christ.

But, however unqualified the world and its votaries may be to estimate the character of a christian, the accusations against Cranmer render it necessary to show that he may rightly be designated as such. Nor is this difficult. There are numerous

testimonies extant in the writings of his contemporaries, and in the public and private documents of that day, which explain his conduct; the originals still exist, and lately have been published in various forms. To these it is the duty of the English protestant to refer; they are not difficult of access although too frequently neglected.*

THOMAS CRANMER was the son of a gentleman of respectability, of Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire, where he was born July 2d, 1489. He received the first rudiments of his education under a harsh preceptor, an ecclesiastic, from whom "he learned little, and had to suffer much." His father permitted him to practise field sports and exercises, in the pursuit of which he manifested much courage and address. After his father's death, he was sent, at the early age of fourteen, to Jesus' college in Cambridge. There he lost his time till he was twenty-two years of age, in the sophistry, logic, and scholastic philosophy of that day. Afterwards he studied Erasmus, and good Latin authors for four or five years, till the writings of Luther began to engage public attention. He then, as Strype relates, "considered what great controversy there was in matters of religion; not in trifles, but in the chiefest articles of our salvation, and bent himself to try out the truth therein. And forasmuch as he perceived he could not rightly judge in such weighty matters without the knowledge of the holy scriptures, before he was influenced with any man's opinions or errors, he applied his whole study for three years therein. After this he gave his mind to good writers both new and old; not rashly running over them; for he was a slow reader, but a diligent marker of whatsoever he read, seldom reading without pen in hand. And whatsoever made either for the one part or the other, of things in controversy, he wrote it out if it were short,

* Copies of most of the papers and documents referred to in this sketch, will be found in the histories of Herbert, Strype, Fox, and Burnet. Some of the strongest testimonies in behalf of Cranmer are in the pages of lord Herbert, who certainly cannot be accused of partiality towards the doctrines of the reformer. The history of the reformation by the Rev. H. Soames, lately published, contains many important statements respecting Cranmer—they are the more valuable as they are particularly calculated to expose the sophistries newly revived by modern Romanists. These works have left little to be desired as to authenticated details respecting the occurrences of the reformation, but an account of those times, written upon the plan of Milner's history of the church of Christ, is greatly needed.

In the following pages the sources are indicated from whence information upon points of importance has been derived. To have given minute references would only have embarrassed the reader without any corresponding advantage.—If fuller particulars be desired relative to any subject connected with the history of the English reformation, the reader may refer to the historians already mentioned, with confidence that he will find in their pages the information he desires. Much valuable information also is contained in the history of England, by Sharon Turner.

or at least noted the author and the place that he might write it out at leisure, which was a great help to him in debating matters ever after."*

This was Cranmer's course of study until 1523, when he took his degree of doctor of divinity, about the thirty-fourth year of his age. He thus accumulated stores of learning which proved of material service to him, for he never was at a loss when Henry VIII. consulted him on subjects of doubt and difficulty; in a few hours he could communicate information upon any of the abstruse or complicated questions in which that monarch frequently employed himself.

Cranmer had previously married the daughter of a gentleman, by which union he lost his fellowship, but he continued to pursue his studies, and was appointed lecturer at Buckingham (afterwards Magdalen) college. His wife resided with a relative who kept the Dolphin inn, whither Cranmer frequently resorted to visit her. Upon this circumstance the papists grounded an assertion that he was originally a hostler, accustomed to frequent low company, and devoid of learning! His wife died in child-birth within a year after their marriage, upon which the master and fellows of Jesus' college unanimously re-chose him a member of their society.

About that time cardinal Wolsey induced some of the most eminent scholars of Cambridge to remove to his new foundation at Oxford. Cranmer was nominated for one, but he declined the offer, although advantageous in point of emolument. Soon after, he was appointed examiner in divinity, "in which place he did much good; for he used to question the candidates out of the scriptures, and by no means would let them pass, if he found they were unskilful therein, or unacquainted with the history of the bible. The friars, whose study lay only in school authors, especially were so; whom therefore he sometimes turned back as insufficient, advising them to study the scriptures for some years longer, before they came for their degrees; it being a shame for a professor in divinity to be unskilled in the book, wherein the knowledge of God and the grounds of divinity lay. Whereby he made himself from the beginning hated by the friars, yet some of the more ingenuous afterwards rendered him great and public thanks for refusing them; whereby, being put upon the study of God's word, they attained to more sound knowledge in religion."

* Strype's Memorials of archbishop Cranmer, contain the best account of that prelate; they were compiled, as he states, "by a careful and long search, not only into printed books of history, but the best archives, and many most precious and inestimable manuscripts that have fallen into my hands." These are enumerated by Strype in his preface, and are referred to in the course of his work. Most of the personal particulars were drawn from a manuscript account, compiled by Morice, the secretary of Cranmer, for the use of archbishop Parker, which still remains in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

These particulars of Cranmer's early life throw considerable light upon his character. We see him early trained to habits of submission and self-control, sufficiently instructed in the subtleties of scholastic divinity to discern its utter worthlessness, while the writings of Erasmus removed blind reverence for papal authority, and those of Luther pointed out the doctrines of the gospel. His scriptural studies made him wise unto salvation, and showed him the necessity of trying the opinions of men by the standard of divine truth, while his acquaintance with the early fathers enabled him to meet, and to overcome the papists with their own weapons. Nor can one who pursued this even course of life for twenty-five years, declining advantageous offers of preferment, be considered as a worldly-minded or ambitious character. His marriage also showed him to be very different from the ecclesiastics of that period. The worst that the Romanists have alleged against Cranmer on this head is, that he preferred a married to a single life—of the lives of Gardiner, Bonner, and other "unchaste votaries" of the Romish church, who were his contemporaries, it is unnecessary to speak.

Such was Cranmer at the age of thirty-nine, when he was called to enter upon more public duties. Here we must briefly relate some particulars respecting the divorce of Henry VIII., which materially assisted the progress of the reformation in this country, as it was the main cause of the pope's authority being cast off.

In 1501, Henry VII. married his eldest son, prince Arthur, then a youth of sixteen, to Catherine, princess of Spain. The prince died a few months after his marriage. The king, being unwilling to return the large dowry of the princess, determined to affiance her to his younger son, prince Henry, then a child of twelve years of age. As this marriage with a brother's widow was contrary to the Levitical law, and the practice of christian nations, the papal sanction was considered needful. It was applied for against the earnest remonstrance of archbishop Warham, but pope Julius II. readily consented to oblige the two powerful monarchs of Spain and England; a bull was granted by which the prince and princess were absolved from ecclesiastical censures if they should marry, provided they submitted to some penance which might be enjoyed by their confessors; thus the pope admitted that such a union was contrary to the scriptures, and assumed a power to dispense with the laws of God. The age of Henry, however, prevented the immediate completion of this contract, and his father, upon more mature reflection, began to apprehend that many disadvantages might arise from such a connexion. He therefore caused his son, two years afterwards, to make a regular protest against the marriage, and when on his death-bed, he strongly urged the prince not to complete his union with Catherine.

Other counsels prevailed, and Henry's own inclination coinciding he married the Spanish princess, a few weeks after he came to the throne.

For a time Henry lived happily with Catherine, but all their children died young, excepting the princess Mary. As the queen advanced in life she fell into an ill state of health, and an heir to the throne was no longer to be expected. This was a severe disappointment to the king. His education had led him to the study of casuistical divinity, and he was struck with the similarity of his own case to the denunciation of holy writ, (Levit. xx. 21,) that such marriages should be childless. Further examination of the writings of the school divines increased his uneasiness. He found that his favourite author, Thomas Aquinas, very strongly censured such marriages, and also held that the popes had no power to dispense with the laws of God. It does not appear precisely when Henry first began to entertain scruples upon this subject, but there is evidence to show that so early as 1524, these doubts had begun to influence his conduct, and he no longer considered Catherine to be his lawful wife. The difficulties in which he was placed also became more apparent in the following year, when the emperor Charles had engaged to marry the princess Mary, but the treaty was broken off upon the council of Castile expressing doubts as to her legitimacy; many learned men hesitating as to the authority of the pope to sanction such a union. Negotiations respecting the marriage of the princess into the royal family of France, also failed from the same cause.

At this period cardinal Wolsey was the prime minister of England, and possessed extraordinary influence over the mind of Henry. The emperor Charles, who was nephew to Catherine, had sorely displeased the cardinal, by disappointing his repeated attempts to obtain the papacy, after having promised to aid his wishes therein. Wolsey, anxious to revenge himself upon the emperor, and also offended with Catherine for having rebuked his luxurious and licentious course of life, determined to rid himself of a virtuous monitor, and to mortify the pride of the imperial family, by promoting a divorce from the Spanish princess, and a marriage with Renee, sister to the French queen. With this view Wolsey directed Longland, bishop of Lincoln, who was the king's confessor, to strengthen Henry's scruples. Longland denied that he had first infused them, but it was generally believed that they had been encouraged by him, and the whole subject began to engage the public attention.*

While Henry's mind was thus exercised, his desire to put an

* Wolsey avowed himself to have been the originator of the king's scruples. *Sharon Turner*, ii. 146. By his legantine power he published a papal bull against unlawful marriages in 1524.

end to his marriage received an increased impulse from another circumstance; the appearance at court of Anne Boleyn, daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn, viscount Rochford, a nobleman of considerable wealth and influence, who was connected with some of the principal families of the land. He had been much employed in affairs of state. His daughter was taken to France by the sister of the king, on her marriage with the French monarch in 1514. Anne was then seven years of age; she remained in that country, as an attendant upon queen Claudia and the duchess of Alençon, who was a favourer of the reformation. On Anne's return she appeared at the English court in the spring of 1527. Being in the prime of youth, exceedingly beautiful, and far more accomplished than the ladies of that period generally were, she attracted much attention. The eldest son of the earl of Northumberland in particular, declared himself anxious to obtain her for his wife; the offer of such a union speaks highly in her favour. But the king had also become her admirer, though he was not disposed at that time to avow his own sentiments; her marriage with lord Percy was forbidden, and she was withdrawn from court for a time, which she attributed to the displeasure of the cardinal. Previously, however, to the intentions of Henry towards Anne Boleyn being declared, he had taken decided steps to procure a divorce.

A recent instance of facility in a similar case, that of Lewis XII., made it probable that no difficulty would be offered on the part of the pope; especially as it could be proved that the bull of dispensation for the marriage was obtained under false pretences; a circumstance always considered sufficient to justify the revocation of a papal decree, without compromising the infallibility of the papacy. As a preliminary step, the bishops were directed to give their opinions upon the subject; they did so; with the single exception of Fisher, bishop of Rochester, all declared against the validity of the king's marriage, and Dr. Knight, one of the king's secretaries, was despatched to Rome to conduct the negotiations.

This was in 1527; at that period the pope was completely in the emperor's power. Rome had been taken and sacked by the imperial troops; the pope was then a prisoner, fearful that the emperor would accuse him of simony, and cause him to be deposed, to which he was also liable from having forged documents to conceal the illegitimacy of his own birth!

With much difficulty, Knight contrived to communicate with the pope, who professed his willingness to forward the views of the English monarch, but stated that the emperor had forbidden him to do so. After seven months' imprisonment, the pope effected an arrangement with the emperor, and succeeded in escaping to Orvieto. Dr. Knight followed him thither, and was received by Clement with many professions of a desire to oblige Henry, but he resorted to numerous expedients to

avoid giving a decision upon the subject. Among other suggestions, he proposed to sir Gregory Cassalis, an agent of Henry, that if his master's conscience were satisfied, he should immediately marry another wife, and then refer the whole case absolutely to him for decision. The English monarch, of course, would not take this step, which must have thrown him wholly into the power of the pope; to say nothing of other objections.

The various articles and expedients practised by Clement need not to be detailed here; they are related by the best historians of those times, who refer to the original papers which passed during these negotiations, in which Gardiner, afterwards bishop of Winchester, was most active, as one of the king's agents, in forwarding the divorce. At length, in 1528, the pope consented to grant a commission to two cardinals, Wolsey and Campegio, to examine and try the cause in England.

The pope, however, protracted the affair as much as possible; his main object was to gain time, for any change of circumstances would tend to relieve him from his dilemma; and it was not until the 31st of May, 1529, that the legates opened their court. Even then the proceedings went on slowly. Campegio, as the servile instrument of the pope, sought to delay any decision. Wolsey dared not openly to oppose his master's will, or hinder a measure from going forward which he had himself so earnestly promoted; yet having by this time ascertained where the king's choice would be placed, he was anxious to prevent a union which in all probability would cause his own downfall. His secret correspondence with the pope was detected by the English ambassador at Rome, and communicated to Henry, who, as may be supposed, was much exasperated at Wolsey's treachery. The king was also displeased with Campegio, who had shown him a decretal bull annulling the marriage, already signed by the pope, but refused to part with it from his possession, or to let any one else see it. While the proceedings of the legantine court went slowly forward, the pope succeeded in arranging his disputes with the emperor on favorable terms, and agreed to the emperor's desire that no divorce should take place. Further pretexts for delay now were requisite; in July, when nothing remained but for the legates to pronounce their decision, Campegio unexpectedly adjourned the court until the month of October, alleging that the vacation in the courts of law at Rome had commenced; and on the 4th of August an injunction was received, forbidding any further proceedings, as the pope would himself decide the cause at Rome, where the king and queen were cited to appear.

This conduct might have been endured in a less enlightened age, but the authority of the pope had been publicly questioned, and Henry possessed a spirit not inclined to submit to such domination. He expressly declared that he would not degrade himself or his kingdom, by yielding obedience to such a

mandate. Campegio shortly after returned to Italy, and Wolsey soon became sensible that his disgrace was at hand. The baggage of the Italian cardinal was searched at Calais, in the hope of obtaining possession of the pope's bull annulling the marriage, but it had been committed to the flames.

The foundation of the papal power in England evidently was shaken, and many ecclesiastics who were still attached to the doctrines of the Romish church, united in resenting the conduct of the pontiff. From the foregoing particulars it will appear that the selfish, unprincipled conduct of Clement, gave the main impulse to the renunciation of papal authority in England: and the first decided shock to that power in this country, was a consequence of the claim to dispense with the divine ordinances which had been assumed by the popes. Cranmer, Anne Boleyn, and others, who were attached to the reformed doctrine, were instruments in diffusing the light of the gospel and assisting in the progress of the reformation, but the fabric of Romish domination was undermined by its own artificers.

The embarrassment of the pope at this time was extreme; he would gladly have availed himself of any expedient which could have been listened to both by the emperor and the English monarch. The object of the former was that his aunt should not be degraded from her rank; he would have agreed to allow Henry to contract a second marriage upon the plan sometimes adopted in Germany, of allowing a second and inferior wife. Clement was willing to sanction this, and Cassalis, the English agent, in a letter dated Rome, September 18, 1530, says, "Some days ago, the pope, in private, offered to me this proposal—as a thing of which he made much account; that your majesty might have a dispensation to have two wives." But Henry's uneasiness proceeded from scruples against the pope's sanction to an illegal proceeding, and was not likely to be silenced by a mere repetition of the same medicine.

We now resume the account of Cranmer.—In the summer of 1529, the plague raged at Cambridge, and most of the members of the university retired to other places. Cranmer was at Waltham Abbey, residing in the family of a Mr. Cressy, whose sons were under his care. The king had made a short progress into the country, to divert his thoughts under the uneasiness he then suffered. Having dismissed the cardinals, he returned towards London. On his journey he stayed a night at Waltham; the royal suite were as usual lodged in the houses of the neighbouring gentry. Dr. Stephens, (Gardiner,) the king's secretary, and Dr. Fox, the royal almoner, were entertained at Mr. Cressy's. Stephens and Fox were among the most active agents in forwarding the divorce; they rejoiced at thus unexpectedly meeting with Cranmer, whom they knew to be eminently skilled in the civil and canon law, and in the writings of ancient divines. The conversation, of course,

turned upon the subject then so much discussed, and they requested him to state his opinion. Cranmer told them that he had not considered the question so fully as they had done, but that without any reference to the self-constituted authority of the popes and their courts, he thought it a matter of conscience, whether the marriage were contrary to the word of God or not. Of this he considered divines to be the best judges, and their opinions upon the subject could be ascertained without much delay or expense, while their reasonings would communicate information whereby the king's mind probably would be relieved.

Fox and his companion were pleased with the suggestion; they took an early opportunity to communicate it to the king—the crafty Gardiner would have given it as their own idea, but Fox honestly stated that Dr. Cranmer was the author. Henry immediately expressed his satisfaction, and directed that a messenger should be sent for Cranmer. He had then proceeded to Cambridge, and unwillingly returned towards London. On his arrival he complained to Gardiner and Fox, that they had mentioned his name, urging them to get him excused from appearing personally before the king. They tried to do so, but Henry required Cranmer to attend, and commanded him, as his subject, to endeavor to forward the plan he had suggested, according to law, and with impartiality. Henry also stated solemnly, that he had long been troubled in conscience respecting his marriage with Catherine, declaring that if he could consider it a lawful connexion, he would not seek to be released. There is indeed good ground for believing that his scruples were real, and not mere pretences as the Romanists have asserted. Cranmer, still desirous to avoid personally engaging in this affair, then recommended the king to direct some of the ablest divines to examine the question. Henry assented, but required Cranmer to write upon the subject, and calling sir Thomas Boleyn, the earl of Wiltshire, committed Cranmer to the care of that nobleman, directing that he should have any books he might require, and a quiet opportunity to enter on his researches. Thus we see that the king first introduced Cranmer to the Boleyns, whereas the Romanists have represented him as a creature of that family, introduced by them to Henry, to promote ambitious views of their own.

Cranmer took his stand on scripture ground, and founded his conclusions on the principle that the bishop of Rome had no authority to dispense with the word of God. This principle evidently went much farther than the mere question of the king's marriage; its adoption must lead to a general reformation of the church, both as to doctrine and practice. We may observe that it did so both in England and in Germany, although different circumstances in each country led to that desirable result. Whether the opposition rose from the sale of pardons, or the sanctioning

of an incestuous marriage, the papal authority, in reality, was the point in question; that being controverted, the word of God was again referred to as the supreme authority. This principle suggested to Cranmer the plan he recommended the king to pursue.

Cranmer having declared his readiness to proceed to the continent, and to defend his opinions even at Rome, was directed to proceed thither, as one of an embassy, with the earl of Wiltshire.

The opinions of several of the Italian universities in favour of the divorce, were obtained, but at Rome no permission for public discussion upon the subject was given. Cranmer resided for some time at Rome and in Italy; he there witnessed many things which satisfied him as to the real character of the popedom. His mind, like that of Luther was prepared by his study of the scriptures to be deeply impressed with the antichristian spirit of the pontiff and his court, and their decided opposition to the precepts of that book which the pope claimed an exclusive power to interpret. Clement, desirous to conciliate Cranmer, conferred upon him the title of grand penitentiary of England, which appears to have been merely a nominal office; his acceptance of it only shows that he did not then seek a quarrel with the see of Rome. Cranmer next proceeded to Germany, where he conferred with Agrippa, one of the principal persons of the imperial court, whom he convinced by the arguments he brought forward. No one was found willing to pursue the discussion, especially as the emperor was so displeased by the conduct of Agrippa, as to withdraw his favour and place him in confinement.

Cranmer then visited other parts of Germany to ascertain the opinions of the protestants, and to offer assistance from the English monarch to the princes, who had lately been compelled by the emperor's conduct, to form the league of Smalcald in their own defence. It is remarkable that the protestant universities were less inclined to favour the divorce than the Romanists, which shows that the opinions collected by the king's agents were obtained in a fairer manner than papists have asserted.*

We find Cranmer in 1532 at Nuremberg, where Osiander was the chief protestant minister. That reformer had given considerable attention to questions of a similar nature, and was inclined to promote the divorce. His interviews with Cranmer however had a more important result; his advice and exhortations tended much to advance his visitor in spiritual knowledge, and to show him the necessity of a thorough reformation in

* The emperor gave considerable benefices to some who wrote against the divorce, while the accounts of Henry's agent show that no more than a few crowns, which may be considered as official fees, were paid by him to any one.

the church. While at Nuremburg, Cranmer married the niece of Osiander, and thus again gave practical evidence of his renouncing that authority which has forbidden ecclesiastics to marry. The friendly intercourse between Cranmer and the German protestants was an important means of forwarding the English reformation. But his connexion with the Lutherans tended to fix upon his mind more firmly the idea of the corporeal presence in the sacrament, although he did not adopt their views. He, for some years, continued to believe the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation.

During Cranmer's absence from England, Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, had died. That prelate was deeply attached to the erroneous doctrines of the Romish faith, except with regard to the papal supremacy, against which he bore open testimony, while he cruelly persecuted the Lollards and other faithful followers of Christ. Henry was aware of the critical situation of his affairs, and determined to appoint a successor to Warham, who, *upon principle*, would oppose the Romish usurpations. He therefore passed by Gardiner and the servile ecclesiastics who then were among the loudest in advocating his measures, and chose Cranmer to fill the vacant see. For this purpose he was summoned home, but, having an intimation of the king's design, he delayed his journey on purpose to avoid the appointment, as we shall find he declared when before the Romish commissioners in the reign of queen Mary.

It was in fact six months before Cranmer was consecrated; a delay unusual in the appointment of archbishops, which certainly does not indicate an ambitious or grasping spirit in Cranmer. When his reluctance in other respects had been overcome, Cranmer stated to the king that he neither could nor would receive the archbishopric from the pope, whom he considered to have no authority within the realm. The king then directed several civilians of eminence to state their opinions. They laid before him a mass of evidence, confirming the views of Cranmer, and advised that he should be appointed to the office by the king, suggesting, that, previously to his consecration, he should solemnly declare his determination not to act in any manner inconsistent with a minister of Christ, or a subject of England.

The pope was not pleased to hear of Cranmer's promotion, but he felt that it was not safe to irritate the English monarch by opposition to his will in this instance, and the usual bulls were forwarded from Rome. On the 30th of March, 1533, Cranmer appeared in the chapter-house of Westminster, and there openly, publicly, and expressly, made a protestation, as a precaution that his oath should not be misinterpreted. This protest was witnessed by five civilians and ecclesiastics of eminence; it is printed by Strype. Upon Cranmer's conduct in this affair the Romanists have dwelt with much asperity, but if

the reader will examine the oath which he took, they will find that the decided declarations of fealty to the pope usually inserted in episcopal oaths were *not* contained therein—the strongest expression being, that he would aid and defend the papacy so far as might be consistent with his duty as a christian minister. In fact, there was nothing in Cranmer's subsequent conduct inconsistent with his oath of consecration; nor was his protest needful, excepting that perhaps the prejudices of the times might have induced many to continue to suppose that the English church was necessarily dependent upon the church of Rome, had not the new primate thus openly declared the manner in which alone he would be considered as standing in any relation with the pontiff. The oath and the protest are quite consistent with each other, and requisite in connexion with his subsequent oath for the temporalities; while the transaction is a proof of his candour and integrity, instead of being open to the imputations of the Romanists. Agreeing with this, we have his solemn declaration when about to suffer at the stake—that he had *never* dissembled until he signed the formula of recantation.*

The convocation was then engaged in debate upon the subject of the king's marriage, and shortly after declared that a papal dispensation could not be accounted of sufficient power to get aside the divine law—this was a powerful blow at the claims of the papacy.

The full manner in which the question had been examined during the preceding years, satisfied the minds both of Henry and his subjects in general, that the papal assumption of power to dispense with the law of God, was utterly unfounded; therefore his marriage with Catherine was wholly void. Henry now determined to proceed with decision. He married Anne Boleyn in the latter end of January, 1533. Dr. Lee, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry officiated—the ceremony took place privately in the palace at Whitehall, and Cranmer's own declaration is extant, that he did not know of the union till a fortnight afterwards.†

The purity of the previous conduct of the new queen was soon evidenced, and it became important for the nation as well as for Henry, that his protracted suit for a divorce should be concluded.‡ Cranmer applied to the king upon the subject, as

* It may be remarked, that if Cranmer acted inconsistently with his oath, Warham did so to an infinitely greater extent, yet his conduct is passed over by the Romish historians without censure, though in this respect more liable thereto.

† In a letter to Hawkins, ambassador at the emperor's court. (See Ellis's *Letters illustrative of English history*, vol. ii.) Cranmer adds, what is very applicable to modern as well as ancient accounts of him, "And many other things be also reported of me, which be mere lies and tales."

‡ Some letters of Henry to Anne Boleyn written while the treaty

appears from a letter written by him, still in the state paper office. The whole proceedings were conducted with regularity, the evidence was fully examined, and on the 23d of May the king's marriage with Catherine was pronounced null and void. Let it not be forgotten that Gardiner was an active agent in this affair, and that both Bonner and Gardiner wrote most strongly advocating that measure. Their subsequent behaviour fully proved that they acted as courtiers, while Cranmer desired to oppose the usurpations of the papacy.

The pope was exasperated at this proceeding in contempt of his authority; he declared the divorce to be null and void, and threatened Cranmer with excommunication, upon which the new primate prepared an appeal to a general council. At this time he visited his diocese, where he was active in detecting the imposture of Elizabeth Barton, the nun of Kent, who at the instigation of the papists pretended to have communications with Mary Magdalene and angels, and to receive divine revelations. It was a clumsy attempt to check the progress of the reformation.

The differences between Henry and the pope had now proceeded to such an extent, that without absolute submission an open rupture appeared inevitable—an opportunity for conciliation, however, was presented. The pope said, that if Henry would send a proxy to his court, and thus acknowledge his authority, he would give sentence in favour of the divorce. The bishop of Paris was despatched to England by the king of France with this intelligence, upon which it was resolved that the negotiations with Rome should be renewed, but that the opposition to the papal authority should not be relinquished until a favourable result was certain. The bishop proceeded to Rome, where he impressed upon the minds of the pope and cardinals that England might still be kept within the pale of the church. It was agreed to allow some delay, but if, by a certain day, Henry should not signify his consent to a plan devised for settling the affair, the pope would consider his offer as rejected, and resort to extreme proceedings. Henry accepted the offer; an answer was despatched to Rome, stating his readiness again to submit his cause to the pope, but it was winter, and the stipulated time expired before the messenger could arrive. The bishop of Paris represented the weather as the probable cause of the delay, and urged for a respite of six days, but in vain. The measures against Henry were not only resumed, but hurried forward. *At the instigation of the cardinals of the

for the divorce was in progress, are preserved in the Vatican. They were purloined from her cabinet by the papal agents, doubtless in the hope that they would furnish evidence of improper conduct. But they contain strong proofs of the correctness of her life, and convey a favourable impression of both parties. They are printed in the Harleian Miscellany, and in Turner's history of Henry VIII.

imperial faction, proceedings which usually occupied three days, were despatched in one. The king's marriage with Catherine was declared to be valid, and he was required under pain of ecclesiastical censures to receive her again as his wife. On the following day the messenger arrived, but it was now too late! Clement refused to reconsider his decision. An English ambassador was proceeding to Rome to complete the negotiations, but on learning what had occurred, he returned home. It is impossible to read these particulars, without observing on what a slender thread human events depend, and that the breach with Rome, which so materially forwarded the English reformation, was effected by one of those remarkable interpositions of divine providence which the christian reader will frequently notice in history.

The parliament assembled at the commencement of 1533, when decisive measures were taken for emancipating the nation from the Romish yoke. The pope's supremacy was openly called in question; the earliest result was the taking away some of the most oppressive and secret proceedings in cases of heresy, and allowing the accused a trial in open court. The payment of certain taxes to the pope was discontinued, and by various other measures the papal power was entirely set aside in England. Thus the nation was delivered from Romish bondage by a prince who certainly did not show himself opposed to the doctrinal errors of popery; who, as Thuanus has observed, would in all probability have continued a willing subject of the papacy, had a more just and prudent pontiff borne the sway. In these parliamentary debates the chief burden lay upon Cranmer. The collections from the fathers which he had made in former years now were most useful; as Strype expresses it, "He proved so evidently and stoutly, both by the word of God, and consent of the primitive church, that this usurped power of the pope is a mere tyranny, and directly against the law of God, that the issue was the abolishing of that foreign papal power, and the expulsion of it out of this realm, by the full consent of parliament."

Other good effects of this renunciation of the papal authority were soon perceived. Cranmer now felt himself at liberty to have the scriptures translated into the English language, and he procured a resolution of the convocation in December 1534, applying to the king to decree that such a work should be undertaken.

An oath assenting to the succession of the crown devolving upon the royal children by the present marriage, was now imposed by authority of parliament. Some expressions used therein implied a renunciation of the papal authority, to which sir Thomas More, bishop Fisher, and other Romanists refused their assent, though they consented to the alteration in the succession. Cranmer wrote to Cromwell, recommending that

these eminent persons might be allowed to take the oath in the form they were willing to admit, but his advice was not followed, and they were beheaded as traitors. Throughout England, only five individuals persisted in refusing to renounce the pope's authority.

In the same year we find Cranmer preaching at Canterbury; his sermons were not confined to disproving the supremacy of the pope, he showed that "our sins are remitted only by the death of our Saviour Christ." One of the regulations now directed to be followed was, that "the true, mere, and sincere word of God should be preached in the churches." The lying Romish legends with which it had been customary to amuse the people, need not here be noticed.

Cranmer also visited some of the dioceses of the most violent of the Romish bishops, who strenuously opposed his proceedings; they sent several bigoted divines, Hubberdin and others, to visit different parts of the kingdom, to counteract as much as possible the labours of Latimer and other gospel preachers employed by the influence of Cranmer and his supporters, who also took especial care that able ministers should be selected to preach at Paul's cross.

In 1534, Cranmer delivered his testimony in the house of lords respecting general councils, then a subject much agitated. Strype relates, that "He much doubted in himself respecting general councils, and thought that only the word of God was the rule of faith which ought to take place in all controversies of religion. The scriptures were called canonical, as being the only rule of the faith of christians; and these, by the appointments of ancient councils, alone were to be read in the churches. The holy fathers Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, in many things differed from one another, but they always appealed to the scriptures as the common and certain standard. He also cited some remarkable passages out of Augustine, to show what difference he put between the scriptures and all other writings, even of the best and holiest fathers."

This principle of appeal to the scriptures as the only authority by which matters of faith and religion are to be ascertained, was most important. It was early adopted by Cranmer and his associates, and formed, as we have seen, the ground for renouncing the papal authority, and for the subsequent measures of reformation. The errors which still remained were not supported by the authority of the church or tradition, but rather by passages of scripture, misunderstood and improperly applied. This was the case even with regard to the errors respecting the sacrament, and it has been well remarked, that "however tyranny, bigotry, ignorance, or the fear of sedition might hinder or arrest its progress, yet religious knowledge must increase, and error yield to the truth of God's holy word, in proportion as the scriptures become more known and understood."

Cranmer now urged forward the translation of the bible. Tindal's translations being considered objectionable, he caused an old English version of the testament to be divided into portions, sending one to each of the most learned amongst the bishops, for them to revise. The Acts were sent to Stokesley, bishop of London, who refused to take any part in a measure which he said would bring simple people into error. Cranmer expressing his surprise at Stokesley's frowardness, a bystander said he could explain the reason. "It is a portion of the new testament, and my lord of London being persuaded that Christ hath bequeathed him nothing in his testament, thought it mere madness to bestow labour and pain where no gain was to be gotten. And besides this, it is the Acts of the apostles; which were simple, poor fellows, and therefore, my lord of London disdaineth to have to do with any of them!" Cranmer at that time was unable to carry his design into execution in the manner he had intended, but he encouraged others, and Coverdale's bible appeared in 1535.

The progress thus made in opposition to the papacy, with a desire to set a good example, induced Cranmer to send for his wife from Germany. As yet, however, he did not consider it expedient to bring her forward to public notice, nor did he allow his domestic engagements to interfere with his public duties. Fox thus describes Cranmer's manner of life after his advancement to the primacy, during this and the following reign.

To avoid giving cause that the word of God should be slandered and evil spoken of, "this worthy man evermore gave himself to continual study, not breaking that order which he in the university commonly used—that is, by five o'clock in the morning at his book, and so consuming the time in study and prayer until nine. If the prince's affairs did not call him away, he then applied himself until dinner-time to hear suitors, and to despatch such matters as appertained to his especial cure and charge, committing his temporal affairs, both of his household and other foreign business, unto his officers. So that such things never were impediments either to his study, or to his pastoral charge, which principally consisted in reformation of corrupt religion, and in setting forth of true and sincere doctrine. For the most part always being in commission, he associated himself with learned men for searching out one matter or another, for the commodity and profit of the church of England. By means whereof, and his private study, he was never idle; besides that, he accounted it no idle point to bestow one hour or twain of the day in reading over such works and books as daily came from beyond the seas.

"After dinner, if any suitors were in attendance, he would very diligently hear them, and despatch them in such sort as every man commended his lenity and gentleness, although the case required that sometimes divers of them were committed

by him to prison. And if he had no suitors after dinner, for an hour or thereabout, he would play at the chess, or behold such as could play. That done, then again to his ordinary study, at which commonly, he for the most part stood, and seldom sat; and there continuing until five of the clock, bestowed that hour in hearing the common prayer, and walking or using some honest pastime until supper-time. At supper, if he had no appetite, as many times he would not sup, yet would he sit down at the table, having his ordinary provision of his mess furnished with expedient company, he wearing on his hands his gloves, because he would, as it were, thereby wean himself from eating of meat, but yet keeping the company with such fruitful talk as did repast and much delight the hearers; so that by this means hospitality was well furnished, and the alms chest well maintained for the relief of the poor. After supper he would consume one hour at the least, in walking, or some other honest pastime, and then again until nine of the clock, at one kind of study or other. So that no hour of the day was spent in vain, but the same was so bestowed, as tended to the glory of God, the service of the prince, or the commodity of the church; which his well bestowing of his time procured to him most happily a good report of all men, to be in respect to other men's conversation, faultless, as it became the minister of God."

The following account of Cranmer's preaching in the reign of Henry VIII. is given by an eminent contemporary, sir Richard Morison, "He used to preach often, and was a minister of the heavenly doctrine. The subjects of his sermons for the most part were, from whence salvation was to be fetched, and on whom the confidence of man ought to lean. He insisted much upon the doctrines of faith and works, and taught what the fruits of faith were, and what place was to be given to works. He instructed men in the duties they owed their neighbours, and that every one was our neighbour whom we might profit. He declared what it was fit men should think of themselves when they had done all; and lastly, what promises Christ had made, and who they were to whom he would make them good. And these his holy doctrines he strengthened with plenty of quotations out of the holy scriptures, not out of the schoolmen's decrees or later councils; and he recommended them with great integrity of life. Thus he brought in the true preaching of the gospel, altogether different from the ordinary way of preaching in those days; which was to treat concerning the saints, and to tell legendary tales of them, and to report miracles wrought for the confirmation of transubstantiation and other popish corruptions. And such a heat and conviction accompanied the archbishop's sermons, that the people departed from them with minds possessed with a great hatred of vice, and burning with a desire of virtue."

CRANMER.

Cranmer and his friends were at this period opposed by the Romanists, headed by the duke of Norfolk and bishop Gardiner. The struggles of these contending parties, and their alternate success agitated the kingdom during the remainder of Henry's reign;—had Cranmer been a wavering, uncertain character, it is evident that he could not, humanly speaking, have maintained his ground. Some letters preserved among the Cotton manuscripts in the British Museum, show how the royal counsellors were then divided, and upon the watch against each other. The intrigues of the different parties were exceedingly complicated, and it is impossible for us at this distant period clearly to understand how some persons whose sentiments were similar, at times personally opposed each other, while a degree of harmony existed between others whose general enmity is most evident. Much of this, perhaps, may be attributed to the authority exercised by Henry, who threw off the political power of the papacy, but retained its doctrinal errors.

At the commencement of 1535, Henry again evinced a desire to be reconciled to the see of Rome, but the imperious temper of Paul III., then the reigning pope rendered the negotiation abortive. Cranmer ably vindicated the independence of general councils, and urged the necessity of suppressing the corruptions of the popedom; "a thundering bull," as it is denominated by father Paul, was fulminated, not only against the king, but against the whole nation of England, placing the kingdom under an interdict, and ordering similar proceedings to those which had compelled king John to place his crown at the legate's feet. But those days were passed; and few modern Romanists would justify the pope's command to the people of England to rebel against their sovereign—in this and other respects, they have tacitly relinquished the infallibility of the Roman see.

These denunciations of the pontiff, and the attachment to the papal authority manifested by many, both of the clergy and laity, rendered stronger measures requisite for the national security. The dissolution of the monasteries was thereby hastened. The attachment of the monastic orders to the see of Rome, has always been very great—they ever have been "the soldiery of the pope;" their power and numbers rendered them important opponents to the progress of the reformation in England, especially from their ready access to persons of every rank, and the influence they exercised more or less in every family. It was manifest that while they existed, the papal authority never could be wholly destroyed. Their suppression therefore became a subject for the consideration of the council; Cromwell was appointed to act as vicegerent, and a visitation of all the monastic establishments throughout the land was ordered. This was speedily carried into effect, when the veil of pretended holiness which had thinly concealed the

vices of these establishments was removed. It was incontestably proved, that far the greater part of the monasteries were seats of the grossest debaucheries and most horrid vices; that deceptions and frauds abounded within their walls; that discord, violence, and oppression were the least flagrant of their crimes.

The voice of the nation called for the termination of these enormities, while the wealth of the establishments rendered the king and the courtiers more eager for their destruction. The smaller monasteries were suppressed without delay. Cranmer saw that such a measure was absolutely necessary, both from the abominations that prevailed within their walls, and the support they afforded to the papal usurpations; he endeavoured, however, to have their revenues applied to laudable and useful purposes, but in this he could only partially succeed. While noticing the subject, it should not be forgotten that cardinal Wolsey had set a recent example for such spoliation. Pope Clement authorized him, in 1525, to suppress forty monastic establishments, to endow his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich; in other cases similar permission had also been given. Thus the pope gave an example which proved most destructive to his interests in England. Here again we see the hand of God causing the selfish purposes of man to promote his glory. The state of Spain and Italy at this day, show us what, in all human probability, would now have been the situation of our land, had those strong holds of vice and superstition been suffered to remain. If some choice specimens of the arts were destroyed, surely no one who feels the importance of true religion can for a moment weigh them in the balance against the advantages of these measures. The school divinity which had so long been a powerful means of darkening the minds of men, was at the same time suppressed in the universities, and the quadrangles were strewed with the leaves of Duns and other scholastic divines, whose pages were now condemned to the fate they so justly deserved.

In 1535 was published a new edition of the Primer* in English, to which Cranmer seems to have rendered considerable assistance. This work was designed to enable the common people to understand their prayers and the principal parts of the public worship, and to do away many of the superstitions by which they were deceived. It contained about thirty distinct tracts, the contents of which for the most part gave much displeasure to the papists, and several of them were prohibited as soon as they succeeded in displacing Cromwell. The worship of the virgin, or putting "sure trust and hope in her," was especially shown to be contrary to the word of God. In "A devout and fruitful remembrance of Christ's passion," the error of the common ideas respecting the mass was pointed out. In a

* The primer was a selection of prayers and devotional pieces.

dialogue on the ten commandments, the second is plainly distinguished from the first—this tract was afterwards prohibited. A preface to the translation of the *Dirige*, or office said for the souls of the departed, explains the true intent of the service. The compiler states, that among other works of darkness and deep ignorance, wherein they had blindly wandered, following a sort of blind guides, many days and years, he accounts “the mumbling and pewling forth” of certain psalms and lessons for the souls of the deceased, to be one, and declares that the repeating of them is of no use or efficacy for those that are departed. Strype says, “This book did excellent service, no question, in this ignorant age, and was one among the many good services the lord Cromwell did for religion.”

In January, 1536, queen Catherine died, when a reconciliation between Henry and the emperor took place. The former, however, no longer desired to be reconciled to the see of Rome, but entered into further negotiations with the German protestants. But the hopes of those who were most anxious for the progress of the reformation, were checked by the fate of Anne Boleyn. She appears to have partly lost the king's affections, when he found himself disappointed of a son, and an unguarded buoyancy of spirits excited his jealousy, while the beauty of Jane Seymour, one of her attendants, attracted his regard. Anne's sister-in-law, lady Rochford, a woman whose vile character shortly after appeared, accused her of incestuous commerce with her brother; some other individuals of meaner rank about the court were also said to be the queen's paramours. While Henry's mind, already prejudiced, was under the influence of these charges, a tournament took place at Greenwich, in which lord Rochford successfully engaged. Anne, as might be expected from her lively character, took much interest in the sports, and by the misrepresentations of enemies her conduct appeared to Henry to be of a criminal character. He hastily retired to Westminster, leaving orders that the queen should remain in her apartments.* The next day she proceeded towards London, anxious to ascertain the cause of the king's sudden displeasure, when the duke of Norfolk and others of the council came on board her barge, and produced an order for her committal to the Tower. On being informed of the charges brought against her, she declared their falsehood and her own innocence. On entering the prison, her courage failed for a short time. A succession of hysterical fits came on, during which she uttered some incoherent expressions which were misrepresented by her enemies, but when these emotions had subsided, she again protested her innocence; at the same

* Mr. Turner refers to some documents, which indicate that the plans against Anne Boleyn were arranged previously to this scene at Greenwich. ii. 436.

time considering her fate as sealed, she expressed her hopes of another and a better world. Religion indeed was her only support, all the circumstances which surrounded were calculated to depress. Her own uncle's wife, the duchess of Norfolk, was appointed to be her companion, whose enmity was gratified by the office of drawing from Anne admissions which might be distorted into evidence against her. The proceedings need not be minutely detailed. Only one of the basest of those who were accused could be brought, by any means, to make any thing like an acknowledgment of guilt, and that was only a general expression, "that he deserved well to die," nor were any of them confronted with the queen. The queen herself wrote a very powerful letter to the king, in which she averred her innocence. She was tried before the peers of the realm, and by them found guilty of treason, in having said and done what was "to the slander of the issue between the king and her." But the trial was little more than a mockery of justice; only twenty-six of the fifty-three peers of the realm were present; the duke of Norfolk, a bigoted Romanist, and a jealous relative, was the presiding officer of this court, which sat within the Tower; and so little were the charges brought home, that Materin, a foreigner who was in London at the time, has stated, that the magistrates of London and several others who were there, said they saw no evidence against Anne; only it appeared that it was resolved to be rid of her. Others have given similar testimony.

On the sentence being pronounced, Anne Boleyn again made a solemn protestation of her innocence, expressing a steadfast hope of another and a better life, and a belief that God had taught her to know how to die. Upon the fourth day after condemnation, (May 19th, 1536,) she was beheaded, and suffered with constancy and courage which has seldom been equalled. Her last words were, "To Christ I commend my soul." There is now no necessity to enter into a defence of this much-injured queen. It has been well observed, that every attempt to blast the character of Anne Boleyn has only tended to confirm the general belief of her integrity. Henry himself offered perhaps the strongest testimony in her favour, when, on the third day after her execution, he married Jane Seymour. The important part in the reformation taken by Anne Boleyn, is sufficiently pointed out by the bigoted Romanist cardinal Pole, who, writing to the king soon after, styles queen Anne the king's "domestic evil," "the cause of all his errors," "and that from her descended all disorders;" a protestant will not desire more favourable testimony.

Cranmer's conduct in this, as in almost every important act of his life, has been misrepresented. He was neither intimidated, nor ductile to Henry's purposes. He seems to have been the only person who offered any opposition to the king's

proceedings. Henry appears to have expected this, and that he might avoid Cranmer's personal remonstrances, immediately upon the queen's committal to the Tower, the primate was ordered to confine himself to Lambeth. But he wrote to the king, and though he did not venture to assert Anne's innocence of charges which he was told could be proved, he expressly said, he thought "that she could not be culpable." When a fuller statement of the accusations against the queen had been communicated to him, he still professed himself unconvinced, though he considered her deserving of punishment if guilty. After the queen's condemnation, a suit to annul her marriage with Henry was brought before the archbishop for judgment. This it was his duty, as metropolitan, to determine. The queen confessed certain lawful impediments to her marriage, probably some previous engagement or promise to another suitor. Whatever they might be, it was Cranmer's duty to pronounce sentence according to the evidence before him, and the admission of the party herself of course was conclusive. He declared the marriage void, but that he showed "zeal" to arrive at this decision, as the Romanists have asserted, is an unfounded allegation.

That the queen herself should acquiesce in this decree, or even promote it, is not surprising;—maternal affection would render her anxious not to excite the king's displeasure farther, lest it should fall upon her child; and she could not be unwilling to die by a less painful end than burning, which was the sentence pronounced upon her;—other reasons also might be alleged.

The important part taken by Anne Boleyn in promoting the reformation, required this notice of the proceedings against her; no protestant need to wish that any obscurity should be thrown over them. It may be observed, that the hasty marriage of Henry to another protestant prevented the pope from attempting to reconcile the kingdom with the see of Rome.

The fall of the queen encouraged the Romanists more boldly to oppose the attacks then making upon their superstitions; but while the convocation was engaged in discussing their complaints, the king sent a message, enjoining that all things should be abolished which could not be supported by scripture. Cranmer spoke strongly to the same effect, while bishop Fox, who had lately returned from Germany, told the clergy what was passing in other countries, and that it was impossible for them any longer to keep men ignorant of the word of God. After several debates, a series of doctrinal articles were sanctioned by the clergy, which were set forth in the following year, (1537,) with considerable enlargements and additions, by royal authority. This work was entitled "The Institution of a Christian Man," but was more commonly known by the title of the bishops' book. Although not free from the errors of popery, particularly on the subject of the sacrament, yet there is far more of gospel truth in these articles, than had been

publicly set forth by authority in England for many centuries. The great doctrine of justification by faith is clearly inculcated; upon that point Cranmer succeeded in introducing a statement drawn up by himself, which will be found in the present volume. On other points also there is a decided departure from the church of Rome, and the principle that matters should in all respects be conformed as much as possible to the primitive church, is maintained. Much of the work is derived from the confession of Augsburg, and other writings of the Lutheran divines.* The mixed contents of this work show how severe the contest was between the different parties.

The work was imperfect, owing to the influence of Gardiner, and the darkness of the king's views on many subjects, which interfered with and limited Cranmer's statements of the truth, nor was his own mind yet fully emancipated from error upon several points. As Strype observes, "We find many popish errors here, mixed with evangelical truths; which must either be attributed to the defectiveness of our prelates' knowledge as yet in true religion, or as being the principles and opinions of the king, or both. Let not any be offended herewith, but let him rather take notice what a great deal of gospel doctrine here came to light, and not only so, but was owned and propounded by authority, to be believed and practised. The sun of truth was now but rising, and breaking through the thick mists of that idolatry, superstition, and ignorance, which had so long prevailed, and was not yet advanced to its meridian brightness."

The error respecting the Lord's supper being retained by the king and all the leading ecclesiastics, led to some painful results about this period. Several most excellent followers of Christ, who had adopted the clearer and more decided views of the Swiss reformers, were prosecuted for heresy, and the histories of that day contain in particular, the account of the noble stand made by the martyr Lambert against Henry and his ecclesiastics. Gardiner and his party urged forward these prosecutions, while Cranmer and Cromwell rather witnessed than encouraged the course which Henry chose to adopt. In fact, the arguments and writings of these reformers, especially those of Frith, appear first to have shaken the Romish views of the sacrament held by Cranmer. The archbishop's officers wished Frith to make his escape while in their custody, but he refused, considering it his duty publicly to declare his opinions.

The minds of the leaders were not sufficiently enlightened to discern the errors of Romanism respecting the sacrament; nor did they clearly perceive that the principles of christianity forbid the infliction of punishment upon others, because they differ in matters of faith. But the particulars recorded of the part taken in these tragedies by the principal reformers, owing to the official situations they held, and from Lambert

* See Dr. Lawrence's *Bampton Lectures*.

having appealed to the king, show evidently that they were actuated by a different spirit from that of Gardiner and his colleagues. No protestant will defend or excuse the conduct of Cranmer, but it is evident that he acted from the conviction of his own mind, though erroneous, and not from any disposition for sanguinary intolerance, or time-serving submission to the views of others. The remarks of Melancthon on the case of Servetus, twenty years afterwards, show how little even the mildest characters of that day understood, in this respect, the principles by which their actions ought to have been governed.

In August, 1537, another work was finished, the completion of which filled Cranmer with the most lively joy. It was the printing of a new and revised translation of the holy bible in English, under his own patronage. Coverdale had completed a version, the printing of which was finished in October, 1535. This edition was allowed by royal authority. In 1536, Cromwell published injunctions to the clergy, in which he commanded that the whole bible, in Latin and in English, should be provided for every church, and laid in the choir, where all persons should be encouraged to look and read therein. Gardiner and the papists strongly opposed that translation; they told the king that there were many faults in the book, on which account it ought to be suppressed. Henry asked whether it maintained any heresies. Gardiner did not venture to assert this, upon which the king emphatically replied, "Then, in God's name, let it be issued among our people." On another occasion the king and Gardiner having argued in defence of tradition, as equal in authority to the writings of the evangelists, Cranmer replied in a satisfactory manner, and Henry bade Gardiner be silent, adding, "My lord of Canterbury is too old a scholar for such truants as we are."

As soon as Cranmer received some copies of the new edition, he exclaimed, "Glory to God," and immediately forwarded one to Cromwell, requesting him to obtain permission from the king, that it might be bought and read within the realm.

Upon learning that the authorization had been granted, he wrote that it afforded him more joy than the gift of a thousand pounds. In another letter to Cromwell, fifteen days after, he again refers to the royal authority having been procured, and says, "For the which act, not only the king's majesty, but also you, shall have a perpetual laud and memory of all them that are now, or hereafter shall be, God's faithful people, and the favourers of his word. And this deed you shall hear of at the great day, when all things shall be opened and made manifest. For our Saviour Christ saith in the gospel, that whosoever shrinketh from him and his word, and is abashed to profess and set it forth before men in this world, he will refuse him at that day; and contrary, whosoever constantly doth profess him and his word, and studieth to set that forward in this

world, Christ will declare the same at the last day, before his Father, and all his angels, and take upon him the defence of those men." By the royal authority, commandment was shortly after made, that every curate should possess an English bible, that he might learn to know God and to instruct his parishioners, and that every abbey should have six.

The people rejoiced to hear the word of God in their own tongue. The copies set up in St. Paul's and other churches, were constantly surrounded by persons eagerly listening to those who read aloud the word of life. We, who are familiarly acquainted with the contents of the bible from an early age, can form no adequate idea of the sensation caused amongst the people at large, by the completion of this great work; especially when in the year 1539, a revised edition, called Cranmer's great bible, was published; for the former edition, consisting only of fifteen hundred copies, could but imperfectly supply the demand. The size of the volume and its price, prevented the generality of the people from being acquainted with its contents, excepting by means of the public readers already mentioned;* but these readings led to conversations among those who were thus assembled, and the knowledge of divine truth was more generally diffused. It became a general and a popular concern, in which all ranks and ages felt themselves personally interested. In the preface to the bible, Cranmer gave many excellent suggestions to all who perused the work. Fox and Strype have recorded several interesting narratives, connected with these proceedings and the bitter opposition of ignorant and bigoted Romanists. From a letter of Grafton, the printer, it is evident that the only patrons he looked for among the prelates were Cranmer, Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer, bishop of Worcester.

The great eagerness with which the English bible was received by the people, is referred to by Robert Wisdom, a prisoner in the Lollards' tower during this reign. Being accused of having said, that he trusted "to see the day when maids will sing the scripture at their wheels, and ploughmen at their plough," he replies, "I thank God, through my Lord Jesus Christ, *I have seen that day*, and I know husbandmen and men of occupation at this day, as well seen or better, in the scriptures, than a great many priests; yea, than some that were heads, and are called rabbi and master doctor at every word. The name of God be blessed for it!"

Nor should we forget that this great work has come down to us, sealed with the testimony unto death of three who were

* The price of the English bible, of the largest volume, (and as yet scarcely any small ones had been printed,) was fixed, in 1540, to be ten shillings unbound, and not above twelve shillings well bound and clasped, but this was equal to five pounds at the present day. A bible now may be purchased for three or four shillings, about equal to fourpence at that period.

main instruments in setting forth the first edition of the English scriptures. Tindal the first translator, Rogers the editor of the first edition, and Cranmer the great patron and supporter of the work—all these laid down their lives in this cause!

The dissolution of the larger monasteries now took place. For the particulars connected with these proceedings, the reader must be referred to the histories of that period, where he will find numerous facts relative to those establishments, which cannot be controverted by all the artful excuses of the Romish historians. These measures were warmly opposed by the papists, who availed themselves of the influence they still exercised over the ignorant and superstitious minds of the great mass of the people. They excited rebellions in Lincolnshire and other parts of England, which were suppressed with difficulty. The emperor and the pope rejoiced to hear of the commotions, and the latter employed cardinal Pole, a member of the royal family of England, who was now at open enmity with Henry, to encourage the insurrections. Pole was sent to the Netherlands as legate, that he might be near at hand to the English rebels. He was supplied with a papal manifesto, in which the pope (Paul III.) strongly approved the rebellion, and exhorted the people to attend to the recommendations of Pole; he also had letters to the kings of Scotland and France, and the regent of the Low Countries, admonishing them to further his proceedings. But before the cardinal could arrive at his post, the insurgents were suppressed, and their leaders executed—the Romish historian Saunders styles them martyrs! After residing some months in the Netherlands, Pole found he could hope for little success from the limited correspondence he was enabled to hold with the malcontents; and being discountenanced by the potentates of France and the Low Countries, whose political interests at that time rendered peace with England desirable, he returned to Italy. The important measure of the dissolution of the larger monasteries proceeded rapidly, and the deceptions which had been practised within their walls were publicly exposed. Many minute particulars have been related respecting them by Fuller and others, which do not rest upon the uncertain authority of one or two writers, as modern Romanists would represent, but are described by several contemporary authors, who refer to facts then generally known, and to public documents, some of which still remain, while it is certain that many others were destroyed during queen Mary's reign, by commissioners appointed for that purpose, whose instructions have been preserved! Nor was the provision made for the monks and nuns so insufficient for their support, as often has been represented. The pensions allowed to those not notoriously of infamous character, were enough to maintain single persons in comfort at that day. In some instances the allowances thus given amounted to more

than half of the full revenues of the establishments. This should be noticed, as it shows the reason why so many of the monks, although papists in their hearts, obtained preferment in the church, from patrons who were anxious to resume the pensions they had to pay out of the revenues of which they had become possessed. Private cupidity thus materially impeded the exertions of Cranmer and his associates; for while these Romish ecclesiastics outwardly conformed to the profession required, they could not be prevented from exercising most injurious influence in private.

Cranmer well knew the necessity for suppressing the monastic establishments; in the homily on good works, he describes their evils in strong terms, but he laboured earnestly for the right application of the revenues. He maintained that only the lands originally granted by the kings of England should revert to the present monarch, and urged that the remainder should be employed to endow additional bishoprics and schools, and various laudable and christian institutions. These designs were thwarted by the profuseness of Henry, the avaricious cupidity of the courtiers, and the importance of forming a party sufficiently powerful, whose interests might bind them to oppose the restoration of the strong holds of popery. That the revenues might have been employed more to the glory of God and the benefit of mankind cannot be doubted, so far as we can discern, but we may believe that all was overruled for good. The possession of these large incomes by lay proprietors benefited the land, while the dispersion among so many rendered their resumption in the reign of Mary impracticable, and popery, though it again ruled for a time, fell without a contest when deprived of the royal support. The most violent fulminations of papal wrath were denounced against all concerned in the suppression, and the part taken by Cranmer rendered him still more obnoxious at Rome. Meanwhile his persevering efforts, and those of his friends, for a more worthy use of these treasures, made the king displeased with the promoters of the new learning, especially as they openly advocated their views in the parliament. Gardiner and his party did not suffer so favourable an opportunity to pass unregarded, and the situation of political affairs increased their influence with the king, which they strengthened by writing and preaching against the papal supremacy.

The act of six articles accordingly was brought forward by the popish party under the royal sanction, and promoted by the king's personal influence. It was preceded by a recommendation from Henry, that a committee should be appointed to devise articles of religion which might be generally adopted. The leaders of each party were selected for this purpose, but their conferences ended as such attempts always have done. The duke of Norfolk then introduced proceedings which led to

the enactment of the act just mentioned, which was emphatically termed "the whip with six strings." By this law six of the principal errors of popery were again established upon pain of death. 1. The doctrine of transubstantiation; 2. The Romish communion in one kind; 3. Priests were forbidden to marry;* 4. Monastic vows were declared binding; 5. Private masses were sanctioned; 6. Confession was enjoined.

Cranmer argued boldly against the act; he spoke repeatedly and at great length, against the measure; and when the king desired him to absent himself from the debates, he firmly but respectfully declined to comply, urging that he felt it was God's cause. Henry resolved to force the measure through; he came down in person to the house, where he declared himself in favour of the bill, which was urged forward with unusual rapidity, being introduced in the house of lords on the 7th of June and passed on the 10th. Cranmer, of course, was unable personally to contend with his sovereign; yet he not only opposed the passing of the act, but also protested against it. In his answer to the Devonshire rebels some years after, Cranmer expressly states, that this law would not have passed had not the king come down in person to the parliament house. The arguments of Cranmer were so weighty that the king desired to have a copy of them; whatever were the faults of Henry, he was too well aware of the value of his faithful and sincere counsellor, to allow him to be injured for the decided and bold part he had taken in this affair.†

The archbishop, being greatly depressed at this measure, Henry sent the duke of Norfolk and Cromwell, with others of the nobility, to dine with him at Lambeth, when they publicly delivered a message, that it was the king's pleasure he should be comforted, and not discouraged by what had passed; at the same time declaring that Cranmer had showed himself "greatly learned, and also discreet and wise." Cranmer acknowledged the king's kindness, and solemnly added, "I hope in God that hereafter my allegations and authorities shall take place, to the glory of God and the commodity of the realm,"—yet the Romish historians have not hesitated to state that he not only complied with the enactments of the law, by sending his wife back to Germany, but that he also wrote to the king apologizing for and excusing his opposition to the act! It is true that he did send his wife again to her relations, to avoid the penalty of death denounced by the act, while many of the Romish ecclesiastics openly manifested their disregard both of the human

* At first the act was framed so as only to restrain priests from *lawful* connections. With much difficulty, Cromwell succeeded against the Romanists in making the prohibition generally applicable to *all* cases.

† Strype states reasons for believing that one point much urged by Cranmer in these debates was, that the penalty of death ought not to be imposed for mere matters of opinion.

and the divine law, as well as of their own vows of chastity ; but he never subscribed, or declared, an assent to the law of six articles, nor was subscription required from any of the clergy.

Cranmer's writing sent to the king, was of a very different description from an excuse for his conduct.—It was his opinions *against* the six articles. In obedience to the king he caused his secretary to write them out. The secretary having done so went to deliver the book to his master, but found he had left Lambeth and was gone to Croydon. His own chamber also was locked, and he had to proceed to London. In this dilemma he resolved to take the book with him, having been commanded to be very careful of it ; for merely writing such a document was death by the law recently enacted. The secretary then took boat for Paul's wharf with some of the king's guard. When they arrived at Bankside they found the king in his barge, with many attendants, seeing a bear baited at the water's edge. The guard who were with the secretary dared not pass the king, accordingly the wherry was rowed near to the bank, when the bear breaking loose, such confusion ensued, that the book was loosed from under the secretary's girdle, and fell into the river. He called to a bearward to secure it ; the man did so, but before the secretary could get to him he had shown it to a priest, who perceiving the book was written against the six articles, told the bearward that whoever claimed it would be hanged. This fellow was a rank papist ; finding that the book belonged to the archbishop, he refused to give it up, and told the secretary he hoped that both he and his master would be hanged for it. He continued in this mood, refusing to listen to the advice of a relative, who at the desire of the secretary, invited him to supper, and offered him a sum of money if he would return the book, telling him that he would get neither thanks nor reward if he persisted. This was the result, for what had happened was told to Cromwell, who found the man the next morning at the court, looking for some of the Romish party to whom he might give the book. Cromwell at once took it from him, threatened him for meddling with papers belonging to a privy counsellor, and sent him away.

A general attempt was made to enforce the act of six articles, and in fourteen days five hundred persons, in London alone, were dragged from their families and committed to prison for offences against this law ! The prisons being too small to contain them, some of the companies' halls were used as places of confinement. Audley, then lord chancellor, went to the king, and represented the necessity of stopping such prosecutions. Cromwell, Cranmer, and some others, supported his application ; orders were given to liberate the prisoners. Bonner, however, and his associates, were permitted to harrass and put to death some individuals, while a deep impression was made upon the spirits of the protestants both at home and abroad by

these measures. The German princes also interposed, and Melancthon wrote a faithful epistle to Henry. The act of six articles however promoted the reformation in a manner its authors never intended. Many excellent men were compelled to take refuge on the continent for a time, from whence they returned much advanced in christian knowledge by their communications with the German and Swiss reformers.

During the dinner at Lambeth already mentioned, Cromwell made an observation to the archbishop upon the remarkable manner in which the king took in good part from him, that opposition to his royal will which he would not endure from others, and contrasted the primate's conduct with that of Wolsey. This led to an observation from the duke of Norfolk; a personal altercation ensued between Cromwell and the duke, which the latter never forgave. Cromwell, who had lately been created earl of Essex, now stood on the brink of ruin. He had many enemies in consequence of his sudden rise, and was unpopular among the people on several public accounts. The king heard numerous complaints of his minister, and listened to them the more readily from being displeased with Cromwell, who, after the death of Jane Seymour, had promoted the marriage with Anne of Cleves, with whom he was much disgusted. Henry was also enamoured of the niece of the duke of Norfolk, who strongly urged proceedings against Cromwell. By the influence of the Romish party, Cromwell was accused of heresy and other charges, which however rather show the malice of his enemies than any great delinquency on his part, and, as Fuller states from sir Edward Coke, his adversaries deemed it safer to proceed by a bill of attainder than to allow the usual form of trial. At this juncture only one among Cromwell's numerous friends and dependents appeared in his behalf—that one was Cranmer. He has been represented as attaching himself to Cromwell while his fortunes prevailed, and then joining his enemies; but he stood forward and pleaded for his associate, though in opposition to the royal will and the united influence of those in power.

Cromwell, however, was not guiltless in a legal point of view: he had not only favoured the reformers to an extent then unlawful, but he had in some instances spoken of limiting the power of the king, and had accepted bribes, which was too commonly practised at that day. The laws against treason also then comprehended much which would now merely be called errors in judgment. It was not, therefore difficult to find such grounds to justify the proceedings against Cromwell, that Cranmer could not refuse to acquiesce in the sentence pronounced against him. Cromwell, however, may be considered as suffering in the cause of the reformation, if not for its doctrines, and although the Romanists have falsely represented him as recanting previous to his death, his prayer when on the scaffold

sufficiently manifests that he died in the profession of the real "catholic" faith, not that of the church of Rome. He was beheaded July 28th, 1540. Strype, in his Memorials, fully shows how indefatigable Cromwell was in promoting the reformation.

Cranmer now stood almost alone. Bishop Fox was dead, Cromwell was condemned and executed, Latimer and Shaxton were deprived of their bishoprics and imprisoned under the act of six articles. When thus exposed, the enemies of the truth did not allow him to remain long unmolested. Even while Cromwell was a prisoner, they caused Cranmer to be included in a commission which was directed to inquire concerning the articles of religion, and to explain some of the chief doctrines. They had prepared a document according to their own views, but Cranmer refused his assent, although his remaining friends urged him to comply, representing the danger of opposition to the king's will. He replied that "there was but one truth in the articles to be concluded upon, which though they hid for a time, the king would at length perceive, and he knew the king's nature so well, that he would never afterwards credit or trust them." Cranmer further warned them to beware, and faithfully to discharge their consciences. He went to the king and prevailed so far as to have much that was objectionable put aside. The result was a statement of doctrine mainly derived from the Augsburg confession, though in some points warped to meet the views of the Romanists, and an abatement of the penalties of the act of six articles. The recent events, however, induced Cranmer to retire as much as possible from public life, and to confine himself to the duties of his station. The archbishop was now in the furnace of affliction, and he was supported from on high. His energies rose with the difficulties in which he was placed—he bore open testimony to the truth and prevailed.

Among other occupations in the year 1540, we find Cranmer busily engaged in reforming the ecclesiastical foundation at Canterbury, and establishing a grammar-school there. Some of the commissioners would have restricted this to gentlemen's children, but Cranmer differed from them, saying, that "poor men's children are many times endued with more singular gifts of nature, which also are the gifts of God, as with eloquence, memory, apt pronounciation, sobriety and such like; and also commonly more apt to apply to their study, than is the gentleman's son delicately educated."* The others again urged that disorders in the state were likely to ensue from bringing up children above the vocation of their parents. To this Cranmer replied in strong terms, that "utterly to exclude the poor man's son from the benefit of learning, is as much as to say that Almighty God should not be at liberty to bestow his great gifts of mercy, but as we and other men shall appoint them to be

* An author of that day recommends gentlemen, "who know not how to write," to notch sticks to assist their memory.

employed, according to our fancy, and not according to his most godly will and pleasure, who giveth his gifts of learning and perfections in all sciences, to all kinds and states of persons indifferently." He added other observations of equal force, concluding thus, "If the gentleman's son be apt of learning, let him be admitted; if not, let the poor man's child that is apt enter in his room." Cranmer was actively employed at this period in causing various superstitious relics to be removed from the churches under his care. We also find him concerned in the passing of a law which was intended to check the luxurious life of some among the clergy.

In the autumn of 1541, Cranmer was again placed in a situation of political difficulty, by being informed of the dissolute course of life which had been pursued by the queen, Catharine Howard. After consulting with the lord chancellor, the earl of Hertford, Cranmer, as usual, pursued the straight-forward course, and putting the documents which had been communicated to him into the king's hands, left the event. Had her guilt not been fully established Cranmer must have fallen; he knew this, but he used no undue means to influence the result. The particulars are fully related by Herbert.—The Romanists have represented it as "a plot woven by the industry of the protestants," but the queen's misconduct was proved by incontestable evidence. The documents which still remain prove her culpable, and show that no conspiracy against her existed. She admitted her guilt upon the scaffold, where she was executed with lady Rochford, who had been the confidante of her profligacy. It was not forgotten that the latter had been the principal cause of the deaths of Anne Boleyn and her own husband. In the same year, Cranmer was engaged in correcting disorders which prevailed in All Souls' college, Oxford.

In the convocation which met A. D. 1542, the Romanists again brought forward their accusations against the English version of the scriptures, and by their influence it was resolved that the bible should not be used in the churches until it had been revised, for which purpose committees were appointed. Their design evidently was, not to produce an improved version, but to adopt any means which might impede the progress of scriptural knowledge. To perplex matters still further, Gardiner brought forward a long list of Latin and Greek words, which he pretended could not be correctly rendered into English. He therefore desired that they should be left untranslated which of course would have rendered the bibles almost useless to unlearned men. Cranmer defeated these designs by obtaining the king's sanction for the committal of this revision to the universities, instead of the Romish prelates. He also urged additional measures for the revision of the service-books, and for depriving the images of saints of their ornaments and other marks of respect which were still common. The

invocation of saints in the litany, had been ordered to be discontinued in 1538. Nor did Cranmer rest until he had obtained the king's authority for a selection of prayers and offices of devotion in the English language. This, however, was not printed till the year 1546. It is known by the name of king Henry VIII.'s Primer, and contains much that is excellent, though some addresses to the virgin, and other traces of popish superstitions remain. A letter written by Cranmer, in 1544, to the king, shows his anxious desire to introduce what may be considered as the commencement of congregational singing. Thomas Sternhold, one of the first translators of the psalms into English metre, was groom of the robes to Henry VIII., and of the bed-chamber to Edward VI.

In 1543, the contest as to reading the scriptures was again renewed. Directions were given for compiling another formula of faith. Tindal's version of the bible was prohibited, while subsequent versions were allowed, but only under strict limitations. None were to read the bible aloud, without license from the king or the ordinary. Noblemen and gentlemen might cause the bible to be read to their families and servants; and householders might read it to themselves privately. But all women, except the families of the nobility and gentry, and all artificers, labourers, or servants, with all persons of the lower classes, were strictly PROHIBITED from perusing the word of God! Nor was a free use of the English scriptures again permitted during that reign.*

The free use of the scriptures being thus prohibited, another exposition of faith was set forth, under the title of "A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man." It is very similar in contents to the former publication, entitled "The Bishops' Book," but although in many respects it set forth the Lutheran doctrines, more of the Romish leaven was infused, doubtless by the interference of Gardiner, at whose instance it was called "The King's Book." This will clearly appear to the reader upon his comparing the statements respecting the doctrine of justification in the two "books." Gardiner was so satisfied with this compilation as to write, "the king's majesty hath, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, componed all matters of religion." Cranmer, on the other hand, wrote annotations upon the "necessary doctrine," refuting some of the errors contained therein, and stating the doctrines of truth.

* That this prohibition was generally enforced, appears from a writing upon a spare leaf of a copy of the treatise on inventions, by Polydore Vergil, which was penned by a shepherd to whom it had belonged. "When I kepe M. Letymer's shype, I bout thys boke, when the testament was obbergated that shepherdys might not rede it. I pray God amend that blyndness. Wryt by Robert Wyllyams, keppeing shepe upon Seynbury hill, 1546." Shepherds now may read the bible.

The copy is still extant, and some of his remarks are printed in this work.*

In 1543, we find Cranmer much troubled by disputes which prevailed among the clergy at Canterbury. He sent for them to Croydon, where he reasoned, instructed, and exhorted them as the occasion required. To allay the discord which had arisen, he appointed six preachers to officiate in the cathedral, three of each party, telling them it was the king's pleasure.

The dissatisfaction of the Romish clergy against Cranmer, now began to assume a darker form. It was commonly reported that "Gardiner had bent his bow to shoot at some of the head deer," and at his instigation or encouragement, several of the clergy of Canterbury engaged in machinations against the archbishop. Meanwhile proceedings were commenced at Windsor which caused three honest men to be burned for heresy; it was intended to implicate persons of rank, and even to include the new queen, Catharine Parr, who was a zealous supporter of the reformation. The plan was disappointed by a servant of the queen, through whose activity an emissary of Gardiner was way-laid, and some papers taken from him: these being shown to the king, he pardoned all against whom proceedings had been commenced. This ruthless zeal of Gardiner so disgusted Henry that he never liked him afterwards, nor placed the same degree of confidence in him as formerly.

The history of the plot against Cranmer is minutely given by Strype, but it is too long for more than a brief summary to be given in this place. When the articles and depositions against the archbishop had been prepared, they were presented to the king, who at once saw the real object of the accusers. He ordered his barge one evening to Lambeth, and desired Cranmer to come on board. He then told him that he now knew who was the greatest heretic in Kent, giving him the papers at the same time. Cranmer was much surprised and grieved at their contents; he entreated Henry to appoint a commission to examine the accusations. Henry replied, he would do so, and nominated the archbishop for one. Cranmer entreated this might not be, as it would appear unfair to appoint a man to be judge in his own cause, but Henry insisted on his nomination, adding he was sure that Cranmer would speak "the truth of himself if he had offended." The primate left the investigation to two of his officers named Cocks and Hussey, who being secret favourers of popery, the delinquents had nearly escaped; but the archbishop's friends showed the king it was necessary that more strict examiners should be appointed. Dr. Leigh and Dr. Rowland Taylor were then sent, who caused the papers of the suspected

* The manuscript copy exists in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. A part was printed by Strype; the whole is given in L. Richmond's *Fathers of the English church*.

parties to be seized; letters from Gardiner were found, and the whole plot was discovered in a few hours. Among others, Dr. Thornton and Dr. Barber were implicated. The former had been appointed suffragan of Dover by Cranmer, and frequently ate at his table; the latter was a civilian whom the archbishop salaried and retained in his family, as a constant adviser in matters relating to the ecclesiastical law!

When the letters of these two men were forwarded to Cranmer, he was much shocked at the discovery of their treachery. Taking them apart in his palace of Bekesbourne, he told them that some persons in whom he placed much confidence, had disclosed his secrets and had even accused him of heresy. He then asked their advice how such delinquents should be dealt with. These two perfidious men loudly censured such villainy, affirming that the traitors deserved death; one of them added, that if an executioner were wanting, he would perform the office himself! At these words the archbishop lifted up his eyes to heaven, and said, "O Lord, most merciful God, in whom may a man now trust! It is truly said, Cursed is he that confideth in man, and putteth his trust in an arm of flesh. There never was a man handled as I am, but thou O Lord, hast evermore defended me, and lent me one great friend and master (meaning the king) without whose protection I were not able to stand one day; I praise thy name therefore." He then turned towards them, demanding, "Know ye these letters, my masters?" They immediately fell down upon their knees, imploring forgiveness, and confessing how they had been tempted to join these machinations. "Well," said Cranmer, "God make you both good men, I never deserved this at your hands; but ask God forgiveness, against whom you have highly offended. If such men as you are not to be trusted, how should I live? I perceive now that there is no fidelity or truth among men; I am brought to this point now, that I fear my left hand will accuse my right hand. I need not much marvel thereat, for our Saviour Christ truly prophesied of such a world to come in the latter days. I beseech him of his great mercy to finish that time shortly." He forgave them, and never again alluded to their treachery, but he dismissed them from his service. Such was the conduct of Cranmer when his own personal safety was aimed at. His forgiveness of injuries was so notorious that it became a by-word, "Do my lord of Canterbury an ill turn, and you make him your friend for ever." Some who have treated his memory hardly, as they could not deny this distinguishing trait in his character, have endeavoured to represent his forgiveness of injuries to be no virtue, saying that resentment is effaced by present interest in such minds as they would have us believe Cranmer's to have been. But the case of Thornton and Barber effectually dissipates this false representation. Cranmer's interest in their case evidently was, not to let such persons escape with impunity;

still less to interpose and prevent their experiencing that just punishment which the king wished to inflict upon all who had joined in the conspiracy. If we fully examine the particulars of this history, we shall see that Cranmer was actuated by the gospel principles, which command us to forgive our enemies—with those who consider it a proof of weakness so to do, the follower of Christ need not argue.

The confessions of some of these men were printed by Strype. He found a paper apparently written by Cranmer about this period, "On the consolation possessed by christians against the fear of death;" and adds, "compiled, I guess, as well for his own use, being not inapprehensive of his ticklish station and danger from so many implacable enemies which he had, as also to be inserted in the king's book."

The papists were never weary of their attempts against Cranmer. They persuaded a bigoted Romanist, sir John Gostwick, member for Bedfordshire, to charge the archbishop of heresy in the parliament-house, on account of some sermons preached in Kent. Henry was not a monarch who would suffer such proceedings. Inquiring how this Bedfordshire knight should be so well informed of what passed in Kent, he called him "varlet," and threatened to treat him severely if he did not acknowledge his fault to Cranmer, and implore pardon; adding, "If they do so now, what will they do with him when I am gone?" Gostwick followed the royal advice without delay.

Another remarkable instance of Henry's interference for Cranmer is recorded. The papists in the privy council besought the king to give them leave to examine the charges against Cranmer, and to commit him to the Tower if they found occasion; assuring the king if that were done many would come forward against him with just accusations who were now afraid to do so. Henry discerned their purpose, but consented that Cranmer should be called before the council on the day following, and gave them leave to commit him to the Tower if they saw sufficient cause.

At midnight the king sent for the archbishop to tell him what had passed. He thanked his majesty for the previous notice, and expressed his willingness to be committed to the Tower, if he might afterwards be fairly heard. Henry stood amazed at his simplicity, and told him that when once in prison, three or four false knaves would easily be found to witness against him. Henry then directed Cranmer to request the council to confront his accusers with him, and if they refused to do this, he was to produce a ring, which the king then gave him, by which they would know that the affair was revoked from them for the royal determination.

The following morning, Cranmer was summoned to attend the council at eight o'clock, but was kept waiting in the anti-room among the attendants nearly an hour. Dr. Butts the

king's physician, informed Henry of this new promotion of the archbishop to be a serving-man. "It is well enough," replied Henry, "I shall talk with them by-and-by." At length Cranmer was admitted. The counsellors told him that a complaint was made, that he, and others by his permission, had infected the realm with heresy, and therefore it was the king's pleasure that he should be committed to the Tower for trial. Cranmer reasoned with them, and urged that his accusers might be brought forward, but finding this was refused, he produced his majesty's ring. At the sight of it, they rose and went to the king, fearful of the consequences of their conduct. Henry gave them that reception which he was accustomed to give to those with whom he was seriously displeased; saying, he perceived well how the world went among them, and commanded them to lay aside their malice towards the primate. This was the last attempt against Cranmer while Henry lived. The king possessed much discernment; referring to a change in Cranmer's armorial bearings, from three cranes to three pelicans, he told him to be ready like the pelican, to shed his blood for his spiritual children who were brought up in the faith of Christ, adding, "You are likely to be tasted at length, if you stand to your tackling."

There is another anecdote connected with these plots against Cranmer. Sir Thomas Seymour spoke against him to the king, accusing him of niggardly conduct, and a design to amass wealth for his children by adopting a penurious and improper style of living. Henry took no notice of this complaint till some days after, when he sent sir Thomas to Lambeth with a message, at the archbishop's dinner hour. Seymour now found how widely different the case in reality was from what he had stated, and saw that ample provision was made for the household and for visitors, as well as a liberal supply for the poor, while all was conducted with propriety. On his return Henry sternly inquired, "Dined you not with my lord?" Seymour perceived the king's meaning, and, kneeling down, entreated pardon for having made a false report. The king rebuked him severely, saying, that he saw through their devices, and knew that their desire was to be allowed to participate in the bishop's lands, as they had done in the estates of the monasteries; but in this they should be disappointed, and as for Cranmer, he well knew that the archbishop injured himself by his liberality and hospitality. Besides keeping a proper order in his household, suited to his station, Cranmer always had several strangers staying with him; being desirous by his intercourse with them to promote their spiritual welfare, and also to forward the great work of the reformation. Thus the attention he manifested towards the earl of Cassilis, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Solway, in 1542, was the means of effecting a

change in his views, and that nobleman afterwards became a promoter of the reformation in his own country.

A more pleasing evidence of Cranmer's influence with the king, was the gradual adoption of several prayers in English for the public daily services. This was a most important step towards a more spiritual form of worship, in which the people might feel themselves interested. Gardiner and the papists, of course, endeavoured to counteract this measure. Another important work which Cranmer earnestly laboured to effect, was a reformation of the canon law; but at that time he could only accomplish some preliminary arrangements. He succeeded, however, in abolishing the creeping to the cross, with other superstitious observances. He, by this time, had begun to introduce a more regular system of preaching than formerly had been customary. Henry also directed him to prepare a formulary whereby the mass might be changed into a communion. It was evident that the reformers were again exercising a beneficial influence.

Henry's death now approached. Upon discovering a new instance of the treachery of Gardiner towards the queen,* he ordered him to be excluded from the council, and even from the royal presence, and having had his last testament drawn up afresh, he ordered Gardiner's name not to be again included in the list of his executors. In other respects the will remained unaltered, the king's ill state of health probably having prevented him from giving that complete revision which would have excluded some directions that partook of popish superstition. The Romish party now rapidly lost ground in the king's favour. Their leader, the duke of Norfolk, in his turn, was charged with high treason, and though his offences do not appear to have deserved to be so called, yet he fell within the letter of the law. He was attainted and condemned; but the decease of Henry, on the day appointed for his execution, saved Norfolk from experiencing the fate of Cromwell, to whose death he had been so instrumental.

The following particulars relative to the death of Henry VIII. are from Fox. "After long languishing, infirmity growing more and more upon him, his physicians at length perceiving that he would away, and yet not daring to discourage him with death, for fear of the act past before in parliament, that none should speak any thing of the king's death, (the act being made only for soothsayers and talkers of prophecies,) moved them that were about the king to put him in remembrance of his mortal state and fatal infirmity. Which when the rest were in dread to do, M. Denny, boldly coming to the king, told him what case he was in, to man's judgment not like to live, and therefore exhorted him to prepare himself to death, calling

* See the Life of Catherine Parr.

himself to remembrance of his former life, and to call upon God in Christ betimes for grace and mercy, as becomes every good christian man to do.

"Although the king was loth to hear any mention of death, yet perceiving the same to rise upon the judgment of his physicians and feeling his own weakness, he disposed himself more quietly to hearken to the words of exhortation, and to consider his past life. Which though he much accused,* yet, said he, the mercy of Christ is able to pardon me all my sins, though they were greater than they are. M. Denny, being glad to hear him thus speak, required to know his pleasure, whether he would have any learned man sent for to confer with, and to open his mind unto. The king answered, that if he had any, he would have Dr. Cranmer, who was then at Croydon. M. Denny asking whether he would have him sent for, 'I will first,' said the king, 'take a little sleep, and then, as I feel myself, I will advise upon the matter.'

"After an hour or two, the king awaking, and finding his feebleness increase, commanded Dr. Cranmer to be sent for; but, before he could come, the king was speechless, and almost senseless. Notwithstanding, he reaching his hand to Dr. Cranmer, held him fast, but could utter no words, and scarcely was able to make any sign. Then the archbishop, exhorting him to put his trust in Christ, and to call upon his mercy, desired him, though he could not speak, yet to give some token with his eyes, or with his hand, that he trusted in the Lord. Then the king, holding him with his hand, did wring the archbishop's hand in his, as hard as he could, and so shortly after departed."

Fox was intimate with Morice, the archbishop's secretary, and there can be no doubt that this account of the last moments of Henry is correct. Without offering any observation thereon, it may be well to say that Fox states several circumstances which tend to show the intention of Henry, if he had survived, to have proceeded with the reformation. Fox adds, "But the secret workings of God's holy providence, which disposes all things according after his own wisdom and purpose, thought it good, rather by taking the king away, to reserve the accomplishment of this reformation of his church, to the peaceable times of his son Edward, and Elizabeth his daughter, whose hands were yet undefiled with any blood, and life unspotted with any violence or cruelty." †

* A French author of that day, named Thevat, a friar, states, that several English persons of rank had told him that the king in his latter days spoke with much compunction of his conduct towards queen Anne Boleyn. This is better authenticated than the tale of Saunders, which represents him as repenting the dissolution of the monasteries.

† Many persons will be surprised to hear that Henry VIII. was a monarch highly popular amongst his subjects, and that his death was very generally lamented; but this appears beyond a doubt from the testimony of contemporary historians. Strype has noticed it, and observes,

PART II.

Cranmer in the Reign of King Edward the Sixth.

HENRY VIII. was succeeded by Edward VI., then a youth in the tenth year of his age. His reign was short, but his virtues and piety are recorded by every historian: even the Romanists scarcely attempt to depreciate his memory. During his reign the reformation proceeded with activity, and although much was left imperfect, yet the foundation was so firmly laid, that through the divine blessing, it withstood the violence of queen Mary, his successor.

When we examine into English history we find that many causes united to oppose the labours of the reformers. During the two preceding reigns, the regal office had been administered with an authority almost unlimited: the sceptre was now in the hands of a child, and consequently the executive power rested with the ministers. Two of the principal, Wriothesly, lord chancellor, and Tonstal, the bishop of Durham, were Romanists, and in political ability they far exceeded the earl of Hertford and Cranmer, the leaders of the protestants.* The earl of Hertford, afterwards duke of Somerset, was appointed protector by general consent; his relation to the young king gave him a claim to that office, while his talents were not sufficient to excite the jealousy of his opponents. He was also expressly limited from acting without the advice and consent of the other executors. The disposition of Cranmer, as we have seen, did not incline him to take a leading part in political affairs; he neither possessed, nor desired to assume that influence by which Romish primates of former days had virtually ruled the nation. Thus the short reign of Edward VI. exhibited a stormy conflict of parties, the leaders of which sought chiefly to promote their own individual interests. These, it is true, inclined them generally to favour the reformation, and Cranmer, with

"This king, notwithstanding his rigorous government, and his round dealing with many, to the taking away of their lives, lived and died highly beloved of his subjects, whatever were the reasons of it; whether it were some of those princely qualities and excellent accomplishments that he was endued with, or the suppressing the ecclesiastical power, which was so oppressive to the people." The more fully we are aware of the extent to which the profligacy and tyranny of the church of Rome had proceeded, the less we are surprised at this. The various executions during Henry's reign having been carried into effect by sentence of law, he appears to have had no impression upon his mind that they were wrong.

* The extent of Romish influence at the commencement of this reign appeared from the magnificent exhibition of popish ceremonial at the funeral of Henry. The conduct of the chancellor, however, soon caused his power and influence to be lessened, and the protestants were enabled to proceed with more activity.

the most pious of his associates, was enabled to do much in promoting the truth. That they did not effect all they might have done is more than probable, but certainly those cannot fairly enter upon this question who do not estimate the peculiar circumstances of those times, and the situation of England, both in its foreign and domestic relations, which were more complicated at that period than in almost any other of its history.*

One of the earliest measures connected with ecclesiastical affairs, after the accession of Edward, was for the bishops to take out new commissions from the king, authorizing them to hold their respective offices. Cranmer set the example, and his conduct in thus departing from the high assumptions of the Romish clergy was one cause of their displeasure against him. It is probable that the archbishop thought this measure would assist to prevent those prelates who were still attached to Romanism from being active in opposing the reformation, but doubtless it also proceeded from the little estimation in which Cranmer held his honours and titles. That he set lightly by them, appears from a letter written by him to Gardiner, in May, 1535, when that busy prelate had represented the archbishop's title, "Primate of all England," as inconsistent with the king's supremacy. An extract may be inserted here as illustrating this trait in the character of Cranmer. After having shown that the titles were not inconsistent, he says, "All this notwithstanding, if the bishops of this realm pass no more of their names, styles, and titles, than I do of mine, the king's highness shall soon order the matter betwixt us all. And if I saw that my style were against the king's authority, whereunto I am specially sworn, I would sue myself unto his grace that I might leave it; and would have done so before this time. For I pray God never be merciful unto me at the general judgment, if I perceive in my heart that I set more by any title, name, or style than I write, than I do by the paring of an apple, further than it shall be to the setting forth of God's word and will. Yet I will not utterly excuse me herein. For God must be judge, who knoweth the bottom of my heart, and so do not I myself. But I speak for so much as I do feel in my heart. For many evil affections lie lurking there, and will not lightly be espied. But yet I would not gladly leave any just thing at the pleasure and suit of the bishop of Winchester, he being none otherwise affectionate unto me than he is.

"Even at the beginning of Christ's profession, Diotrephes desired to bear the pre-eminence in the church, as saith St. John in his last epistle. And since, he hath had more successors

* To say nothing of negotiations with the continental states, the protector in the early part of this reign was involved in a war with Scotland. Scarcely had this been terminated when the papists stirred up insurrections at home, which were followed by the dissensions among the nobility that terminated in the destruction of Somerset.

than all the apostles had, of whom have come all these glorious titles, styles, and pomps into the church. But I would that I, and all my brethren, the bishops, would leave all our styles, and write the style of our offices, calling ourselves the apostles of Jesus Christ; so that we took not upon us the name vainly, but were so even in deed. So that we might order our dioceses in such sort, that neither paper, parchment, lead, or wax, but the very christian conversation of the people, might be the letters and seals of our offices. As the Corinthians were unto Paul, unto whom he said, Ye are our letters, and the signs of our apostleship."

The proceedings of Cranmer at the coronation, and the open manifestation of piety by the protector, showed their determination to promote the progress of divine truth. One who could use in sincerity the prayer which was customarily offered up by Seymour, could not be a Romanist in principles or practice.

In Strype, Burnet, and other historians, will be found a minute account of the progress of the reformation during the short reign of Edward VI. The result may be thus summed up. The worship of images was prohibited; the saints and the virgin were no longer allowed to usurp any of that honour which is due unto God alone.—Transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass were no longer substituted for the true doctrine and regular administration of the Lord's supper.—The free use of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue was permitted to persons of every rank and condition. Human traditions were not referred to, as equal or superior in authority to the word of God.—Public prayers were no longer offered in an unknown language.—The clergy were not prohibited from marriage.—Belief in purgatory, indulgences, and all the gainful traffics of the Romish church were no longer sanctioned. But the results attained in that short reign were not confined to these benefits, considerable as they are. The great doctrine, that salvation is by CHRIST ALONE, was fully set forth to the people as the only ground for their hope and confidence—as the source of good works and holiness of heart and life, and this no longer obscured by the addition of man's devices, but fully and freely preached to all. The writings of the reformers, with the records of their proceedings, show that in no period of our history has the ROCK of salvation been more fully exhibited, or with more simplicity and power, than in those days. Let us remember that during the reign of Henry these blessings had been very imperfectly attained. It is true that the main fabric of popery had been demolished, and much of the rubbish of that system had been removed, but little of the spiritual edifice was built up. All the advantages just enumerated were attained during the six years in which the influence of Cranmer prevailed, although limited and thwarted in many respects. This summary may give some idea of what we owe

to him and to the faithful witnesses who laboured with him in life, and bore testimony with him in death.

Nor is it difficult to adduce undoubted evidence that the progress here described actually was made. The book of homilies, the forty-two articles of religion drawn up by Cranmer and Ridley, the English liturgy and communion book, the catechism of dean Nowell, with Cranmer's short instruction in the christian religion—his treatise against unwritten verities, his defence of the true catholic doctrine of the sacrament—the proposed improvements in the canon law,—the general diffusion of knowledge respecting the errors of popery,—the care taken to select faithful and zealous preachers,—the numerous publications setting forth gospel truth which issued from the press—but above all, the many editions of the English scriptures printed in this reign—all these are evidences which yet survive, and bear testimony to the active proceedings of the reformers of that period.

Cranmer's personal concern in the various labours just described is generally admitted, and is a sufficient answer to the allegations which represent him as an ambitious and active partisan in the political proceedings of that day, for one whose mind was so fully occupied by the subjects already mentioned, could not be found directing measures so contrary. What were considered the duties of his official station required his continual presence in the council, and frequent reference to him for advice; but he appears rather to have withdrawn from political power than to have sought it.

One of the earliest proceedings was to cause a general visitation of the kingdom, (which was divided into six districts,) by persons furnished with authority to promote the work of reformation, who were accompanied by preachers of ability to set forth the truth. The articles and injunctions prepared for these visitors are given by Strype in his Memorials. They show both the wisdom and care of the chief promoters of the good work, and also exhibit the state of corruption and superstition in which the bulk of the nation was still involved. Among other important injunctions, the due observance of the Lord's day was required; the bishops were to be careful to ordain none but such as were learned in the scriptures, and to inquire whether the word of God and the faith of Christ were preached purely and sincerely in every cure; also whether the clergy moved the people to hear and read the scriptures in English.

As preaching ever has been one of the most efficient means for diffusing the light of divine truth, Cranmer's attention was early called to the compiling of a book of homilies; an important and necessary work at that time, when a very small proportion of the clergy were able to prepare sermons for their

congregations.* Gardiner's concurrence in this work was requested, but he opposed it as much as possible, and with others of his party declared that no innovation whatever in religious matters could be made during the king's minority.† Cranmer, however, proceeded, and having himself written the homily on salvation, communicated it to Gardiner, who said he would admit the statements it contained, if they "could show him any old writer that wrote how faith excluded charity in the office of justification." This was not difficult to do, but Gardiner was determined not to be satisfied, and continued to wrangle on this subject. At that period he was confined in the Fleet whither he had been sent by the council for his opposition to the proceedings of the government, which he had with much pertinacity endeavoured to counteract. He blamed the archbishop exceedingly "for troubling the people with a needless speculation," as he termed it—namely, "that we be justified by faith, without all works of the law." He said this was unnecessary, "because in baptism we are justified being infants," before we can talk of the justification we strive for; "for all men receive their justification in infancy in baptism, and if they fall after baptism, they must arise again by the sacrament of penance." But it is unnecessary to dwell upon the cavils, the errors, the railing, or the sophistry of Gardiner. The doctrines he advanced were not peculiar to himself; full replies to them will be found in the writings of every reformer, particularly in the volumes written by Cranmer himself immediately with reference to their discussions. Another subject of displeasure to this bigoted Romanist, was the order that a copy of the translation of Erasmus's paraphrase on the new testament should be set up in every church. The proceedings of Gardiner before his imprisonment, and during its continuance, plainly show the difference of the treatment he received, compared with that which he and his associates inflicted upon the followers of the truth in the succeeding reign. The opinion of the foreign reformers respecting the homilies, was, as may be supposed, widely different from that of Gardiner. In an epistle to the church of England, Bucer spoke highly of them; he "commended much the homily of faith," the nature and force of which was so clearly and soberly discussed; and wherein it was so well distinguished from faith which was dead. He much approved

* Warner observes, that the greatest hinderance which Cranmer met with in his design of reformation was the miserable condition of the parochial clergy, and the want of able men to propagate the doctrines of truth throughout the kingdom.

† Some images having been plucked down and destroyed at Portsmouth, Gardiner complained bitterly of such proceedings. He said that "such as were affected with the principle of breaking down images were hogs and worse than hogs, and were ever so considered in England, being called Lollards."

of "the manner of treating concerning the misery and death we are all lapsed unto by the sin of our first parent, and how we are rescued from this perdition only by the grace of God, and by the merit and resurrection of his Son; and how hereby we are justified in the sight of God, and adopted into the number of his children and heirs; and then showing what ought to be the study and work of those that are justified and regenerate. So that, by this full and dexterous restitution of Christ's doctrine, his kingdom was so fully explained to the people that no relics of the old leaven could remain long in any parts of our ceremonies or discipline." He and other foreign divines strongly urged Cranmer to proceed onwards in the work of reformation. Melancthon, in particular, departing from the course he too often pursued, recommended the use of the plainest terms on controverted subjects, such as could not be misunderstood.

The act of the six articles, which prevented all discussion upon subjects connected with religion, was now repealed by the interference of Cranmer. Also the act against Lollards, with every act by which men could be made to suffer for any religious opinion which was not considered as opposed to the christian faith. By the provisions of an act restraining persons from treating the sacrament of the altar with levity or contempt, the laity were restored to communion in both kinds.

The visitation throughout the kingdom was now completed. Many abuses had been corrected, numerous relics of superstition were removed from the churches, and the reading of the English bible was encouraged. Gardiner's opposition to the latter measure was one of the causes of his imprisonment. This proceeding of the council, however, made that busy, meddling prelate to be accounted the champion of his party, and exhibited him as a sufferer for religion. He was liberated after a few months' confinement, when the proceedings which he so warmly opposed had received the sanction of parliament. He returned to Winchester, but his conduct there induced the council to send for him again to London, and to require his residence in the metropolis; shortly after he was again committed to prison.

In the early part of 1548, the communion book was compiled by several prelates and divines who had been appointed for this purpose. The particulars of their discussions are given by Burnet, and are interesting, as they exhibit to us Cranmer's mind freed from those errors upon the subject of the Lord's supper by which it had been so long enthralled. The following account is given by Strype. "Ridley, reading Bertram's book of the body and blood of Christ, was sharpened to examine more accurately the old opinions of the presence of Christ's flesh and blood; and looking into ecclesiastical authors he found it greatly controverted in the ninth century, and learnedly written against, which made him begin to conclude it none of

the ancient doctrines of the church, but more lately brought into it. These his thoughts he communicated to archbishop Cranmer, which was about the year 1546; whereupon they both set to examine it with more than ordinary care, and all the arguments that Cranmer gathered about it he digested into his book. Nor was the good archbishop ashamed to make a public acknowledgment in print of this as well as of his other popish errors, in his answer to Dr. Smith, who, it seems, had charged him with inconstancy." The reply to Smith is as follows:—

"He understood not my book of the catechism, and therefore reporteth untruly of me, that I in that book did set forth the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament. Unto which false report I have answered in my fourth book, the eighth chapter.* But this I confess of myself, that not long before I wrote the said catechism I was in that error of the real presence, as I was many years past in divers other errors, as of transubstantiation, of the sacrifice propitiatory of the priests in the mass, of pilgrimages, purgatory, pardons, and many other superstitions and errors that came from Rome, being brought up from youth in them, and noursled therein for lack of good instruction from my youth, the outrageous floods of papistical errors at that time overflowing the world. For the which, and other mine offences in youth, I do daily pray unto God for mercy and pardon, saying, Good Lord, remember not mine ignorances and offences of my youth.

"But after it had pleased God to show unto me by his holy word a more perfect knowledge of his Son Jesus Christ, from time to time as I grew in knowledge of him, by little and little, I put away my former ignorance. And as God of his mercy gave me light, so through his grace I opened mine eyes to receive it, and did not wilfully repugn unto God and remain in darkness. And I trust in God's mercy and pardon for my former errors, because I erred but of frailness and ignorance. And now I may say of myself as St. Paul said, when I was like a babe or child in the knowledge of Christ, I spake like a child and understood like a child. But now that I am come to man's estate, and growing in Christ through his grace and mercy, I have put away that childishness." (p. 402, 3.)†

This subject now occupied much of the public attention. Peter Martyr having lectured against transubstantiation at Oxford,

* Cranmer here refers to his own work on the sacrament.

† In the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, among the Parker MSS., is "a thin note book" of Cranmer's concerning the sacrament, which Strype conjectures to be "his meditations and conclusions when he set himself accurately to examine the sacramental controversy, and fell off from the opinion of the carnal presence." Strype also considers that Cranmer was the means of bringing Peter Martyr to the clearer views of this subject, which that reformer afterwards stated in his defence of the ancient and apostolical doctrine.

was interrupted by the papists, who conducted themselves in a very disorderly manner. The council then directed that a regular disputation should be held, in which proper order should be observed. This was accordingly done. At Cambridge similar public discussions took place. They were summed up by Ridley, who was then more fully master of that subject than any other English divine. The particulars of these disputations are given by Fox. The substance of Martyr's discourse was published both in Latin and English.

His own diocese received early attention from Cranmer, particularly the city of Canterbury, which had been kept in much darkness by the Romish ecclesiastics who combined so actively against the archbishop during the last reign. He now appointed six preachers to officiate in that city, all of whom were protestants. Their labours were blessed in the conversion of many, as appears by the number of martyrs who in the following reign suffered there the torment of fire for their profession of the gospel. One of these preachers was Becon, a laborious divine, whose writings were very useful in promoting the truth, and are among the most valuable remains of the British reformers, though scarcely known at the present day. The new service-book was brought into public use in the autumn of this year, 1548. It was grounded upon the liturgies of the primitive church, divested of most of the Romish additions, and retaining the phraseology of scripture. Of the language used in this work we may observe, that it was compiled before the pedantic phraseology, which became general some years afterwards, had affected the simplicity of the English tongue, and if we compare the translations of ancient prayers contained therein, with modern renderings, we shall be impressed with the value of the reformers' writings, when considered only in that point of view. Considerable progress now had been made in removing the errors of popery, but the representation contained in a letter of Paget to the protector, written in the following year, as given by Strype, was but too true. "The use of the old religion is forbidden by a law, and the use of the new is not yet printed in the stomachs of eleven out of twelve parts of the realm; what countenance soever men make outwardly to please them in whom they see the power resteth." Many of the clergy who were attached in their hearts to popery, read the English liturgy and the homilies, so as to make them unintelligible to the people.

Cranmer had to contend with many ecclesiastics of this description; but he proceeded with his accustomed mildness and forbearance. An instance of this appears in his conduct towards the vicar of Stepney, who formerly had been abbot of Tower-hill. That unworthy pastor would commonly disturb the protestant lecturers in his church, in the midst of their sermons, if he liked not their doctrine, by causing the bells to be rung or "beginning to sing with the choir before the sermon

was half done; and sometimes by challenging the preacher in the pulpit; for he was a strong, stout, popish prelate." At length Underhill, one of the gentlemen pensioners, a person of good family and well respected, came to reside in the parish. Finding that the vicar persisted in his opposition to the law, he took him to the archbishop at Croydon, and stated the particulars of his conduct. Cranmer dismissed him with a gentle rebuke, bidding him to do so no more. Underhill remonstrated at this lenity, as encouraging the opposers of the truth, adding, "If it ever come to their turn they will show you no such favour." "Well," said Cranmer, "if God so provide, we must abide it." As Strype relates, "his opinion was, that clemency and goodness, as they were more agreeable to the gospel which he laboured to adorn, so they were more likely to obtain the ends he proposed than rigour and austerity."

The ambitious and unprincipled conduct of the lord admiral, Seymour, brother to the protector, led to his attainder in 1549. The unpopularity of the duke of Somerset was increased by his proceedings against so near a relative, and other circumstances. The papists eagerly promoted these discontents among the people, who were further agitated by the opinions diffused among them by some of the fanatics active in the recent popular disturbances in Germany, who had fled to this country. Their opinions were considered dangerous to the christian religion, as well as to the good order of the state, and a commission was issued to Cranmer and thirty-one other persons, to inquire respecting these seditious fanatics, and all who opposed the truth. Several persons were brought before the commissioners, and prevailed upon to recant, but their comprehensive powers caused individuals to be included whose opinions were rather fantastic than dangerous. One of them, named Joan Bocher, had adopted some views respecting the nature of Christ which were inconsistent with the truths of the christian religion, although not upon the points of most vital importance; she accordingly fell under the provisions of the barbarous laws which had been enacted by the papists, and which still continued in force with respect to similar cases. Cranmer, therefore, while sitting as judge, had to pronounce sentence of condemnation against her; the rulers however were unwilling to follow the example of the church of Rome; and both Cranmer and Ridley exerted themselves to induce her to forsake the opinions she had embraced. She was kept in prison for twelve months, but as she refused to retract her opinions, the barbarous laws then in force required her life, and on the 27th of April, 1551, the council resolved that she should be burned. It is stated by Fox that the king being unwilling to direct the execution of this sentence, the council prevailed upon Cranmer to urge him to sign the warrant, which the youthful monarch very unwillingly did, casting the responsibility upon the archbishop; the persecuted female accordingly was committed to the flames.

It is not intended to represent Cranmer as a faultless character, and certainly his part in this affair cannot be defended or excused. We ought however to remember that his conduct rather proceeded from his education, the principles of the times in which he lived, and the official station he filled, than from a sanguinary natural disposition. So deep had men in general drunk of the persecuting spirit of Romanism, that Cranmer in this respect erred with Melancthon and every leading protestant, with the exception of Luther. It should also be remembered that Bocher and Von Parr would have been burned by the Romanists, while their sentence would have been more promptly carried into execution, and their treatment more harsh. The eagerness with which the Romanists urged many slanders against the reformation also tended much to produce this painful tragedy, by rendering the protestants anxious to show that in departing from the Romish faith, they were not actuated by atheistical indifference, as their enemies asserted. It was in this view that they falsely thought it their duty to put to death those whom they considered to be blasphemers of the christian religion, while in no instance did they proceed to extremities against the Romanists. In justice to the unhappy victim of intolerance, Joan Bocher, it should be stated that she was a friend of Anne Askew who suffered for the truth in the preceding reign; she herself had been active in circulating the English scriptures, at the hazard of her life. The opinions for which she suffered were erroneous views respecting the nature of Christ,—her errors were speculative rather than practical, and although her conduct cannot be defended in every respect, yet she ought by no means to be accounted as one of the violent fanatics of Munster.*

In 1549 Bonner was removed from the see of London, and soon after Gardiner from that of Winchester. Much forbearance and lenity were shown towards these men, whose conduct in every respect was the reverse of obedient subjects. The proceedings against Bonner and Gardiner fully show that they suffered, not for their religion, but for political malpractices. Gardiner especially promoted the decision against himself; he

*Styrie remarks that Fox, contrary to his usual plan in matters of importance, has not given his authority for the conversation said to have passed between the monarch and the primate. Nor has Saunders, the earliest and most abusive calumniator of the British reformation, alluded to it, though he has particularly related other circumstances connected with this tragedy. The Rev. H. Soames observes, "Of the part which Cranmer really took in the affair of Joan Bocher we are ignorant, except that he presided judicially at her trial, and that he endeavoured in company with Ridley to shake her opinions in several subsequent interviews. His dislike to the shedding of blood must be inferred from the mildness of his disposition, and is rendered undeniable by known facts." Styrie also remarks, that although king Edward VI. notices her condemnation and execution in his own diary, he makes no mention of this conversation with Cranmer. From the records of the council it appears that Cranmer was not present when her execution was resolved on, which would lead us to conclude that he had no eager desire for her death.

knew that his life was not endangered, and he had no objection to be exhibited as suffering for his principles. Though Bonner offered no resistance to the measures of reformation, he suffered the greatest disorder to prevail in his diocese, and took care not to enforce the observance of any wholesome regulations.*

In 1550, bishop Hooper was appointed to the see of Gloucester. Some serious discussions ensued with Cranmer and Ridley relative to the episcopal habits. Upon the particulars of these differences we need not dwell, but may notice with much pleasure, the brotherly love which these once contending parties manifested towards each other, when fellow-sufferers in the days of Mary. In fairness to Cranmer it should be said, that he was apprehensive of consequences to himself if he did not enforce what the law then demanded.† Had the English reformation been carried further, these unhappy differences would have been prevented.

At this time several parts of England were agitated by insurrections, and much discontent prevailed amongst the lower classes. The causes are principally to be found in the changes which had taken place in the general state of society during the preceding half century, unconnected with religion. These changes in many instances bore very heavily upon the lower ranks, and had supplied subjects for reproof equally to sir Thomas More, Tindal, and Latimer, before the reformation commenced. The monks and bigoted Romanists increased the popular discontent. The Romish priesthood encouraged superstitious feelings, and the first proceeding of the misguided populace was to demand the restoration of the mass, with all its trumpery, attendant superstitions, and persecutions. These insurrections became very formidable, especially in the west of England and in Norfolk; they were suppressed with considerable difficulty and bloodshed. There are many references to them in the writings of the reformers. From the concurrent testimony of contemporary writers it is evident that plunder and revolution were the main objects which the leaders had in view, while the particular circumstances in which the lower classes were then placed forwarded their designs. The parts of England best cultivated were thickly peopled, and the landlords, anxious to keep pace with the luxuries and improvements of the age, sought to make their estates more productive by measures which too often were oppressive. The superfluous labourers were in many cases driven from their natural homes, to make room for increased flocks of sheep, on account of the

* After the death of queen Mary, some letters from the popish bishops were found amongst her papers, which showed their intrigues during her brother's reign.

† Strype says, "Neither was Cranmer any other ways instrumental to Hooper's imprisonment, than by doing that which was expected from him, namely, giving a true account of his unsuccessful dealing with him." The letters of Bucer, Alasco, and Hooper on this subject will be found in Strype's Memorials.

great demand for wool, while the state of manufactures and commerce did not find them employment in the cities. Mr. Soames correctly observes, that "unprincipled plunderers, political incendiaries, and gloomy bigots, eagerly laid hold of the discontents necessarily springing from these causes, and by persuading the miserable peasantry that their distresses arose from the abolition of their accustomed superstitions, inflamed their passions so far as to lead them into open rebellion." As a general remark it may be observed, that in the market towns and places of trade the people mostly favoured the reformation, while in the "upland towns" and more secluded agricultural districts ignorance and superstition still prevailed.*

Cranmer preached a sermon on this occasion, the particulars of which are given by Burnet. It is a faithful, plain, practical discourse, reproving the vices of the times, and exhorting to repentance and change of life. He also wrote a reply to the demands of the rebels in the west of England, who not only required the restoration of popery in its grossest forms of error, but that the act of six articles should be again enacted. One specimen of their demands will suffice to show the influence by which these poor people were misled. "4. We will have the sacrament hang over the high altar, and there to be worshipped as it was wont to be; and they which will not thereto consent, *we will have them die like heretics against the holy catholic faith.*" Cranmer's reply to the rebels fully exposes the errors of popery; it is printed at length by Strype, but is rather fitted for an historical collection than the present. The doctrines of the gospel were plainly stated, as the following extract relative to purgatory will show. "What can be more foolish than to say that pains can wash sins out of the soul? I do not deny but that corrections and punishments in this life are a calling of men to repentance and amendment, and so to be purged by the blood of Christ. But correction without repentance can nothing avail, and they that are dead are past the time of repentance, and so no correction or torments in purgatory can avail them. And what a contumely and injury is this to Christ, to affirm that all have not full and perfect purgation by his blood who die in his faith! Is not all our trust in the blood of Christ, that we be cleansed, purged, and washed thereby? And will you have us now to forsake our faith in Christ, and bring us to the pope's purgatory to be washed therein, thinking that Christ's blood is an imperfect ley or soap that washes not clean? If he shall die without

* The duke of Somerset, writing to sir Philip Hoby, then ambassador at the imperial court, says, "The causes and pretences of their uproars and risings are divers and uncertain: some cry, pluck down enclosures and parks; some for their commons; others pretend religion; a number would rule and direct things as gentlemen have done; and indeed all have conceived a wonderful hate against gentlemen, and take them all as their enemies. The ruffians among them, and soldiers cashiered, which be the chief doers, look for spoil."

mercy that treads Christ's blood under his feet, what is treading of his blood under our feet if this be not? But if, according to the catholic faith which the holy scripture teaches, and the prophets, apostles, and martyrs confirmed with their blood, all the faithful that die in the Lord be pardoned of their offences by Christ, and their sins be clearly spunged and washed away by his blood, shall they after be cast into another strong and grievous prison of purgatory, then to be punished again for that which was pardoned before? Christ himself saith, He that believeth in Him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come to judgment, but shall pass from death unto life. And is God no truer to his promises, but to punish that which he promiseth to pardon?" Surely this is not the language of a supple, timid, interested courtier, such as Cranmer is represented by some, nor would commonplace feelings have caused these statements of gospel truth to be advanced prominently in a state manifesto.

The year 1550 is also rendered memorable by the publication of Cranmer's "Defence of the true and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ." Strype relates that by this work many were brought to embrace the sound doctrine concerning the sacrament. The subject was further discussed by Gardiner, in his book, entitled "A Confutation of Cranmer," and in the reply of the latter to the sophistical cavillations of his opponent. When the Romanists came again to power they would not allow the protestants to resort to the press, or publicly and freely to discuss respecting truth and error. "Turn or burn" was the conclusive argument they employed.

In 1552, the articles of religion were set forth by authority. The different reformed churches on the continent had for some time possessed formularies which could be referred to as authentic statements of their doctrines. The importance of such declarations, in controversies with the Romanists, was deeply felt. From the commencement of this reign, Cranmer had desired that a general assembly of delegates from the protestant countries should assemble in England, by whom a statement of this nature, suitable for protestants in general, might be prepared. For this purpose he corresponded with Melancthon and Calvin, who cordially approved the design. Various circumstances prevented the plan from being carried into effect, and the disadvantages resulting from the want of such a document were now too obvious to allow of longer delay. The articles accordingly were prepared. Cranmer may be considered as the author or compiler of them, having avowed himself as such when called to judgment before the Romish commissioners; but he doubtless availed himself of the assistance of Ridley and others. They vary in some respects from those now called the thirty-nine articles, but not upon any essential point. They were partly drawn from the German

confessions of faith; particularly that of Augsburg, and the Saxon confession prepared in 1551, to be presented to the council of Trent.*

The histories of Edward VI. relate the political intrigues which disturbed the latter part of his reign. The fall and execution of Somerset, and the ambitious projects of Northumberland, which led to the usurpation and death of lady Jane Grey, need not be here detailed. There can be no doubt that Somerset erred in many respects, but he deserved not to suffer as a criminal. His conduct during his last hours was that of one who felt himself a sinner, and rejoiced that a ground of confidence was set before him in the death and sufferings of Christ. On the scaffold he expressed himself to this effect, adding, "As to one thing, dearly beloved friends, I feel no cause for repentance. While in authority, I constantly and diligently set forth and furthered the christian religion to the utmost of my power." He farther said, "I most heartily beseech you all, that this religion, now so purely set forth among you, may be accepted and embraced by you, with becoming thankfulness; producing that effect upon your lives which must flow from it, if you would escape the wrath of God;" concluding his address, "I desire you all to bear me witness that I die here in the faith of Jesus Christ, desiring you to help me with your prayers that I may persevere constant in the same unto my life's end." His last words were, "Lord Jesus, save me." A painful feeling of horror was publicly manifested at the execution of this excellent nobleman.

Cranmer was deeply grieved by the fall and death of Somerset. He saw that the principal outward support of the reformation was gone. Somerset promoted the good work upon principle; Northumberland only from political objects. Cranmer and others had repeatedly to remonstrate with the latter on the open profaneness and vices of his followers. During the deliberations respecting the fate of Somerset, the primate boldly stood forward in his defence, and a letter which he wrote to the nobles who engaged in the proceedings against the protector, caused them for a time to hesitate in their course.

Cranmer also displeased Northumberland by openly opposing a bill of attainder against Tostall, bishop of Durham, the most moderate of the Romish prelates. Though he had opposed the reformation, yet it was evident that extreme proceedings were urged against him, rather that Northumberland might profit from the spoils of his richly-endowed see, than from the charges of treason being justly founded. Cranmer was unsupported excepting by one peer; even the Romish bishops did not interfere in behalf of their brother; but eventually the attainder for treason was laid aside, and Tostall was only deprived of his bishopric.

Although Northumberland could not weaken Edward's

* Heylin has printed the articles of Edward and Elizabeth, so as to exhibit all the variations between them.

affection for Cranmer, he succeeded in directing the measures of government as best suited his own interests—even those which related to matters of religion. The advice and opinions of the archbishop were no longer influential. Cranmer now lived comparatively in seclusion, where he mourned over the dark prospect presented by the declining health of Edward. Among other attacks upon him the old accusations of avarice and heaping up of treasure were revived. Cecil in friendship informed him of this. Cranmer replied, "As for your admonition, I take it most thankfully, as I have ever been most glad to be admonished by my friends, accounting no man so foolish as he that will not hear friendly admonishments. But as for the saying of St. Paul, They that will be rich fall into many temptations—I fear it not half so much as I do stark beggary. For I took not half so much care for my living when I was a scholar at Cambridge, as I do at this present. For although I have now much more revenue, yet I have much more to do withal; and have more care to live now as an archbishop than I had at that time to live like a scholar. I have not so much as I had ten years ago, by 150*l.* of certain rent, besides casualties. I pay double for every thing that I buy. If a good auditor have this account he shall find no great surplussage to wax rich upon. And if I knew any bishop that were covetous, I would surely admonish him, but I know none, but all beggars, except it be one; and yet I dare well say he is not very rich.* If you know any, I beseech you to advertise me, for peradventure I may advertise him better than you. To be short, I am not so doted to set my mind upon things here, which I neither can carry away with me, nor tarry long with them." Cranmer was reduced to "stark beggary" at last. During his imprisonment at Oxford he had not a penny in his purse, and his enemies refused to allow well-disposed persons to bestow an alms upon him; a privilege granted to common beggars, and the vilest criminals!

Among the correspondence of Cranmer is a letter which shows the correct view he had taken as to the most effectual way of imparting spiritual instruction to the people of Ireland. It will be interesting to those who, two centuries and a half later, have been led to adopt the plan recommended by the reformer. Writing of Dr. Turner, who was appointed to the archbishopric of Armagh, he says, "He preached twice in the camp that was by Canterbury; for which the rebels would

* Cranmer here refers to Holgate, archbishop of York, who in several respects was a very objectionable character, though he favoured the reformation. He was more wealthy than Cranmer supposed, as appears from the inventory of property taken from him on the accession of queen Mary. He then possessed in ready money twelve hundred pounds, besides plate, jewels, and other effects, to a large amount, all of which were seized for the use of the queen! Holgate was imprisoned for some time, but was released at the intercession of king Philip. He died in 1555, of an illness caused by grief and the treatment he had received.

have hanged him; and he then seemed more glad to go to hanging, than he doth now to go to Armagh, he alleges so many excuses. But the chief is this, that he shall preach to the walls and stalls, for the people understand no English. I bear him in hand, yes; and yet I doubt whether they speak English in the diocese of Armagh. But if they do not, then, I say, that if he will take the pains to learn the Irish tongue, which with diligence he may in a year or two, then both his person and doctrine shall be more acceptable, not only unto his diocese, but also throughout all Ireland!"

At this time Cranmer was unwell in body, as well as in mind; he suffered from a severe attack of ague, which probably was aggravated by anxiety and mental uneasiness; but he lamented the personal suffering which proceeded from his illness, less than the hinderance thereby occasioned to the good designs he was desirous to carry forward.* He expressed himself to this effect in a letter to Cecil; his mind, however, was somewhat tranquilized by the pacification in Germany, whereby the free exercise of the protestant faith was secured to a country in whose welfare he had long felt deeply interested. For many years Cranmer had corresponded, at least monthly, with the German reformers, and had assisted many of his poorer brethren there, with regular allowances, to such an extent as at times excited dissatisfaction among his own attendants. Many interesting particulars relative to this correspondence might be collected for a regular biographical account of Cranmer. Amongst other exertions in their behalf, he obtained a yearly allowance for Sleidan, to enable him to continue his history of the reformation.

One of Cranmer's occupations at this period was the revision of the Book of Common Prayer. It was used publicly for the first time at St. Paul's on All Saints' Day, 1552, on which occasion the clergy present laid aside the greater part of the Romish vestments, the use of which had been so strongly objected to by Hooper and many of the most estimable reformers.

Cranmer's attendance at the privy council appears to have ceased on the 8th of June, 1553; probably from his dislike to the measures respecting the succession then pressed forward by Northumberland. Nor was he satisfied merely to withdraw. He reasoned with the king at considerable length against the design of setting aside his sister Mary from the throne, and requested a private audience that he might urge his reasons still more fully. The party then in power prevented this. Northumberland told him that it became him not to speak to the king as he had done.

When the legal instrument for settling the crown upon lady Jane Grey was completed, Cranmer was called upon to add his signature, which he refused to do, alleging his oath

* Among them was a plan for the better and more equally providing for the ministers of religion.

to the late king.* The example of others being urged, he replied, "I am not judge over any man's conscience but my own only." At length the importunity of the dying monarch, with the assurance of the highest legal authorities of the land, prevailed upon Cranmer to sign. This instrument for altering the succession is dated June 21. Soon after, on the 6th of July, 1553, Edward departed in peace from a world which was not worthy of him.

Numerous passages in the writings of the reformers show how general was the feeling that the sins of the nation, with the disregard of the mercies vouchsafed, had brought down this sore judgment upon the land.

PART III.

Cranmer in the Reign of Queen Mary.

DURING the brief pageant of queen Jane, Cranmer acted unconformably to the engagement into which he had entered, but without any bitterness towards the rightful monarch, to whom he early declared his submission. He had reason to expect Mary's displeasure for the part he had taken in her mother's divorce; but he had still stronger claims upon her forbearance, having successfully interfered in her behalf when her father, Henry VIII., ordered that she should be sent to the Tower, and dealt with as any other subject, upon her refusal to declare her acquiescence in his assumption of the supremacy. On that occasion the king warned Cranmer that he would repent of his interference.

Soon after the queen's arrival in London, it was reported that Cranmer had endeavoured to gain her favour, by promising to take a part in the funeral solemnities for her brother, according to the Romish ceremonial. Some indeed reported that he had already said mass at Canterbury; this originated in Dr. Thornton's having performed that service. Cranmer was anxious to stop the false rumour, and prepared a writing to clear himself. Scory, then bishop of Rochester, saw this paper in the archbishop's chamber, and requested a copy. Others speedily were taken, and were so much sought for, that almost every scrivener's shop was employed in making copies.

* That Cranmer was no party to these proceedings clearly appears from his letters to queen Mary, printed by Coverdale, in which he relates the part he took in opposing the measures for altering the succession. He denies any participation with Northumberland, and says, "The duke never opened his mouth to me, to move me to any such matter. Nor was his heart such towards me, he seeking long time my destruction, that he would ever trust me in such a matter, or think that I would be persuaded by him."

Meanwhile Cranmer expected what would befall him, and directed his steward to discharge all the debts owing by him without delay. On learning this had been done, he expressed much satisfaction that honest men would not be sufferers by him.

Fox states, Dr. Cranmer, at a day fixed, appeared before the queen's commissioners, bringing a true inventory, as he was commanded, of all his goods. That done, bishop Heath, one of the commissioners, said, "My lord, there is a bill put forth in your name, wherein you seem to be aggrieved with the setting up the mass again; we doubt not but you are sorry that it is gone abroad." The archbishop answered again, saying: "As I do not deny myself to be the very author of that bill or letter, so must I confess here unto you, concerning the same bill, that I am sorry that the said bill went from me in such sort as it did. For when I had written it, master Scory got the copy of me, and it is now come abroad, and, as I understand, the city is full of it. For which I am sorry, that it so passed my hands; for I had intended otherwise to have made it in a more large and ample manner, and minded to have set it on Paul's church door, and on the doors of all the churches in London, with mine own seal joined thereto." When they saw his constancy, they dismissed him, affirming that he should hear further. Bishop Heath declared afterwards to Dr. Cranmer's friends, that, notwithstanding his attainder of treason, the queen's determination at that time was, that Cranmer should only have been deprived of his archbishopric, and have had a sufficient living assigned him, upon his exhibiting a true inventory, with command to keep his house without meddling in matters of religion. Not long after this, he was sent unto the Tower,* and soon after condemned for treason. Notwithstanding, the queen, when she could not honestly deny him his pardon, as all the rest were discharged, and especially seeing he last of all others subscribed to king Edward's request, and that against his own will, released to him his action of treason, and accused him only of heresy. This the archbishop liked right well, and it came to pass as he wished; because the cause was not now his own, but Christ's; not the queen's, but the church's.

At length it was determined by the queen and the council, that he should be removed from the Tower to Oxford, there to dispute with the doctors and divines. And although the queen and the bishops had concluded what should become of him,

* The Tower being very full of prisoners, Cranmer was confined for some time in the same room with Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford. This afforded them an opportunity mutually to support and strengthen each other; it is referred to in the letters of these martyrs. The letter which he addressed to the queen when condemned for treason, is in the present collection. According to the words of the apostle he was desirous not to suffer "as an evil doer." So many, who were far more guilty than Cranmer, had been pardoned and preferred to the queen's favour, that she could not refuse him the same.

yet it pleased them that the matter should be debated with arguments, that under some honest show of disputation, the murder of the man might be covered.

The manner in which these disputations were conducted is described by Cranmer, in a letter which he sent to the council. He says, "Dr. Chadsey was appointed to dispute against me, but the disputation was so confused, that I never knew the like, every man bringing forth what him liked, without order; and such haste was made, that no answer could be suffered to be taken fully to any argument before another brought a new argument. And when we had answered them, they would not appoint one day to bring forth our proofs, that they might answer us.—But why they would not answer us, what other cause can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to answer us; or else for some consideration they made such haste, not to seek the truth, but to condemn us, that it must be done in post haste before the matters could be thoroughly heard; for in all haste we were all three condemned of heresy." During these disputations, Dr. Weston, one of the chief arguers of the papists, attempted by a false quotation from scripture, to prove that women ought not to receive the sacrament!

After the disputations in Oxford, sentence condemnatory immediately was pronounced against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, by Dr. Weston and others of the university; whereby they were judged to be heretics, and committed to Bocardo, the common gaol in Oxford. Some interesting letters of the martyrs were addressed to Cranmer and his companions while in that prison.

As yet the authority of the pope was not re-established, and the sentence against these reformers could not be enforced by any law then existing. New proceedings were instituted in the following year, and on the 12th of September, 1555, Cranmer was brought before Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, the pope's sub-delegate, who sat in state in St. Mary's church with Dr. Martin and Dr. Story, as commissioners on the part of king Philip and queen Mary, and as Fox adds, "underneath them other doctors, scribes and pharisees also, with the pope's collector, and a rabblement of such other like."

Cranmer bowed with respect to the royal commissioners, but refused any similar mark of reverence to the pope's delegate.

Bishop Brooks then proceeded to charge Cranmer with heresy, treason, and adultery; the latter epithet being always applied by the Romanists to the marriage of the protestant clergy. Cranmer made a firm reply, concluding thus, "I cast fear apart; for Christ said to his apostles, that in the latter days they should suffer much sorrow, and be put to death for his name's sake. Fear them not, saith he, but fear Him, which when he hath killed the body, hath power to cast the soul into fire everlasting. Also Christ saith; He that will live shall die, and he that loseth his life for my name's sake, he shall find

it again, Moreover he said, Confess me before men, and be not afraid ; if you do so, I will stand with you ; if you shrink from me, I will shrink from you. This is a comfortable and a terrible saying, this maketh me to set all fear apart. I say therefore, the bishop of Rome treadeth under foot God's laws and the king's." His defence is valuable, but too long for insertion here.

Cranmer then declared how the pope's supremacy had been renounced, saying, "The truth is, my predecessor, archbishop Warham, gave the supremacy to king Henry VIII., and said that he ought to have it before the bishop of Rome, and that God's word would bear him. And upon the same was there sent to both the universities, Oxford and Cambridge, to know what the word of God would do touching the supremacy, and it was reasoned upon, and argued at length. So at the last both the universities agreed, and set to their seals, and sent it to king Henry VIII., to the court, that he ought to be supreme head and not the pope. You (bishop Brooks) were then doctor of divinity at that time, and your consent was thereunto, as your hand doth appear. Therefore you misreport me, that I was the cause of your falling away from the pope, but it was yourself. All this was in archbishop Warham's time, and whilst he was alive, so that it was three-quarters of a year after, ere ever I had the bishopric of Canterbury in my hands, and before I might do any thing. So that here ye have reported of me that which ye cannot prove, which is evil done."

Dr. Story then attempted to prove the pope's supremacy. A long desultory conversation followed between the archbishop and Dr. Martin, the substance of which is given by Fox. The articles against Cranmer were exhibited, and his answers taken down. In them is stated, "as for the catechism, and the book of articles, with the other book against Winchester, he granted the same to be his doings."

The judges and commissioners were about to rise and depart: but the bishop of Gloucester thinking it not the best so to dismiss the people, being somewhat stirred with the words of the archbishop, began another oration, in which he told Cranmer that he must not reason with him, being a heretic, and stated arguments in behalf of the pope's supremacy, and the real presence in the sacrament. Dr. Story added some remarks; Cranmer replied, but was rudely ordered "to hold his peace."

Several witnesses were then called, and their depositions being taken, Dr. Story admonished the archbishop, permitting him to make his exceptions, if he thought any of the said witnesses should be refused: who then would admit none of them all, being men perjured, and not in christian religion. For if to swear, said he, against the pope were unlawful, they should rather have given their lives, than their oath. But if it were lawful, then are they perjured, to defend him whom they forswore before. This answer being lightly regarded, he was commanded to the place from whence he came.

Among other things they objected to him that he was married, which he confessed. Whereupon Dr. Martin said, that his children were bondmen to the see of Canterbury. At which saying, the archbishop smiled, and asked him if a priest at his benefice kept a concubine, and had by her bastards, whether they were bondmen to the benefice or no, saying, I trust you will make my children's cases no worse.

After they had received his answers to all their objections, they cited him to appear at Rome within fourscore days, to make there his personal answer. He wrote to the queen, that if she would send him, he would be content to go.

Cranmer was now remanded to prison, and the mockery of citing him at Rome was proceeded in, while he was detained a close prisoner in England, and his beloved brethren Ridley and Latimer were committed to the flames. On the 4th of December, he was declared to be contumacious, that is, wilfully absent, and sentenced to be put to death.

Bonner, and Thirlby, bishop of Ely, who had formerly been much favoured by Cranmer, arrived at Oxford on the 14th of February, 1556, with full authority to deprive and condemn the venerable primate. The remainder of this narrative will be given chiefly in the words of Fox. While the pope's commission was in reading, the archbishop said, "What lies are these, that I, being continually in prison, and never suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, should produce, witness, and appoint my counsel at Rome? God must needs punish this open and shameless lying." They read on the commission which came from the pope, with fulness of power to supply all manner of defects in law or process, and giving them full authority to proceed to the deprivation and degradation of him, and so upon excommunication to deliver him up to the secular power, no appeal being allowed.

When the commission was read, they clothed him; putting on him a surplice, and then an alb; after that the vestment of a sub-deacon, and every other furniture, as a priest ready to mass. When they had apparelled him so far: What, said he, I think I shall say mass. Yea, said Cosins, one of Bonner's chaplains, my lord, I trust to see you say mass, for all this. Do you so, quoth he, that shall you never see, nor will I ever do it.

Then they invested him in all manner of robes of a bishop and archbishop, as he is at his installing, saying that as every thing then is most rich and costly, so every thing in this was of canvass and old clouts, with a mitre and a pall of the same put upon him in mockery, and the crosier staff was put in his hand.

Bonner then went on, lying and railing against the archbishop, till at length there was never a man but was weary of the unmannerly usage of him in that time and place; insomuch that the bishop of Ely divers times pulled Bonner by the sleeve to make an end, and said to him afterward when they went to dinner, that he had broken promise with him; for he had entreated him earnestly to use the archbishop with reverence.

After all this done and finished, they began then to bustle toward his degrading; and first to take from him his crosier staff out of his hands, which he held fast, and refused to deliver, and withal imitating the example of Martin Luther, pulled an appeal out of his left sleeve under the wrist, which he there and then delivered unto them, saying, I appeal to the next general council; and herein have comprehended my cause and form of it, which I desire may be admitted.

This appeal being put up to the bishop of Ely, he said: My lord, our commission is to proceed against you, every appeal being put aside, and therefore we cannot admit it.

Why, quoth he, then you do me the more wrong, for my case is not as every private man's case. The matter is between the pope and me immediately, and none otherwise; and I think no man ought to be a judge in his own cause.

Well, quoth Ely, if it may be admitted, it shall, and so received it of him. And then began he to persuade earnestly with the archbishop to consider his state, and to weigh it well, while there was time to do him good, promising to become a suitor to the king and queen for him; and so protested his great love and friendship that had been between them, heartily weeping, so that for a time he could not go on with his tale. Then proceeded they to his degradation.

To be short, when they came to take off his pall, which is a solemn vesture of an archbishop, then said he: Which of you hath a pall, to take off my pall? * Whereunto one of them said, in that they were but bishops, they were his inferiors, and not competent judges; but being the pope's delegates, they might take his pall, and so they did, and so proceeding took every thing in order from him, as it was put on. Then a barber clipped his hair round about, and the bishops scraped the tops of his fingers where he had been anointed, wherein bishop Bonner behaved himself as roughly and unmannerly, as the other bishop was to him soft and gentle. Whilst they were thus doing, All this, quoth the archbishop, needed not: I had myself done with this gear long ago. Last of all they stripped him out of his gown into his jacket, and put upon him a poor yeoman beadle's gown, full bare and nearly worn, and as evil made as one might see, and a townsman's cap on his head, and so delivered him to the secular power.

Then spake lord Bonner, saying to him: Now are you no lord any more; and so whensoever he spake to the people of him, as he was continually barking against him, ever he used this term—This gentleman here, &c.

And thus with great compassion and pity of every man, in this evil-favoured gown was he carried to prison. There

* A long narrow piece of woollen cloth worn over the shoulders. The palls were made from the wool of lambs, consecrated at Rome every year with great ceremony, and were sent by the pope to every archbishop upon his election, for which he had to pay a large sum of money.

a gentleman of Gloucestershire with the archbishop's son, who standing by, and being thought to be attending one of the bishops, had it delivered to him; who by the way talking with him, Cranmer said, The bishop of Ely protested his friendship with tears; yet he might have used a great deal more friendship towards me, and never have been the worse thought on, for I have well deserved it. This gentleman going into the prison with him, asked him if he would drink. Who answered him, saying, if he had a piece of salt fish, that he had better will to eat; for he had been that day somewhat troubled with this matter, and had eaten little, but now that it is past, my heart, said he, is well quieted. Whereupon the gentleman said, he would give him money with all his heart, for he was able to do it. But he being skilled in the law, and fearing master Farmer's case,* durst therefore give him nothing, but gave money to the bailiffs that stood by, and said, that if they were good men, they would bestow it on him, for my lord of Canterbury had not one penny in his purse to help him, and so left him, my lord bidding him earnestly farewell, commending himself to his prayers and all his friends. That night this gentleman was staid by Bonner and Ely, for giving him this money; and but for the help of friends, he had been sent up to the council. Such was the cruelty and iniquity of the time, that men could not do good without punishment.

The doctors and divines of Oxford now busied themselves about Cranmer, to have him recant, assaying by all crafty practices and allurements they might devise, how to bring their purpose to pass. And to the intent they might win him easily, they had him to the dean's house of Christ's church in the said university, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at bowls, had his pleasure for walking, and all other things that might bring him from Christ. Over and besides all this, secretly and craftily they suborned certain men, who, when they could not prevail against him by arguments and disputation, should by entreaty and fair promises, or any other means, allure him to recantation; perceiving otherwise what a great wound they should receive, if the archbishop had stood steadfast in his sentence; and again on the other side, how great profit they should get, if he, as the principal standard bearer, should be overthrown. By reason whereof the wily papists flocked about him, with threatening, flattering, entreating, and promising, and all other means; especially Henry Sydall, and the Spaniard, friar John de Villa Garcina, also Dr. Cole and others.

The papists thus used every inducement to persuade Cranmer to make some assent to their doctrines. At length they overcame his fortitude, and Cranmer fell! He consented to affix his signature to a formulary of recantation.

It might be supposed, that it was done for the hope of life,

* This Farmer had lost all his lands, for relieving a priest in the Tower in king Henry's time.

and better days to come. But as we may since perceive by a letter of his sent to a lawyer, the most cause why he desired his time to be delayed, was that he would make an end of Marcus Antoninus, which he had already begun; but howsoever it was, plain it was, to be against his conscience.*

This recantation of the archbishop was not so soon conceived, but the doctors and prelates without delay caused the same to be imprinted and set abroad in all men's hands.† All this while Cranmer was in no certain assurance of his life, although the same was faithfully promised to him by the doctors. The queen having now gotten a time to revenge her old grief, received his recantation very gladly; but of her purpose to put him to death, she would nothing relent.

Now was Cranmer's cause in a miserable taking, who neither inwardly had any quietness in his own conscience, nor yet outwardly any help in his adversaries. Besides this, on the one side was praise, on the other side scorn, on both sides danger, so that neither could he die honestly, nor yet live dishonestly. And whereas he sought profit, he fell into double disprofit, that neither with good men he could avoid secret shame, nor yet with evil men the note of dissimulation.

Dr. Cole, having his lesson, returned to Oxford ready to play his part, who, as the day of execution drew near, even the day before, came into the prison to Cranmer, to try whether he abode in the catholic faith, wherein before he had left him. To whom when Cranmer had answered, that by God's grace, he would daily be more confirmed in the catholic faith; Cole departing for that time, the next day following repaired to the archbishop again, giving no signification as yet of his death that was prepared. In the morning, the 21st day of March, appointed for Cranmer's execution, Cole, coming to him, asked if he had any money? To whom, when he answered, that he had none, he delivered fifteen crowns to give to the poor, to whom he would: and exhorting him so much as he could to constancy in faith, departed thence about his business.

The archbishop now began to surmise what they went about, and thinking that the time was at hand, in which he could no longer dissemble the profession of his faith with Christ's people, he put secretly in his bosom his prayer with his exhortation, which he minded to recite to the people, before he should make the last profession of his faith, fearing lest, if they had heard the confession of his faith, they would not afterwards suffer him to exhort the people.

About nine of the clock, the lord Williams, sir Thomas Brydges, sir John Brown, and the other justices, with other noblemen of the queen's council, came to Oxford with a great

* His answer to Gardiner on the sacrament. Knox bears a strong testimony to the ability with which Cranmer exposed the errors of popery on this head.—See *Admonition*. Knox, p. 112.

† For further particulars respecting his recantation, see note, p. 72.

train of waiting-men. Also of the other multitude on every side, as are wont in such a matter; was made a great concourse and greater expectation. Briefly, as every man's will inclined, either to this part or to that, so according to the diversity of their desires, every man wished and hoped for.

In this so great frequency and expectation, Cranmer at length cometh from the prison Bocardo, unto St. Mary's church, in this order; the mayor went before, next him the aldermen in their place and degree. After them was Cranmer brought between two friars, who mumbling to and fro certain psalms in the streets, answered one to another until they came to the church door, and there they began the song of Simeon, *Nunc dimittis*, and entering into the church, the psalm-saying friars brought him to his standing, on a stage over against the pulpit.

The lamentable case and sight of that man gave a sorrowful spectacle to all christian eyes that beheld him. He that late was archbishop, metropolitan, and primate of England, and the king's privy counsellor, being now in a bare and ragged gown, and ill-favouredly clothed, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, did admonish men not only of his own calamity, but to consider of their state and fortune.

In this habit, when he had stood a good space upon the stage, turning to a pillar near adjoining thereunto, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed to God once or twice; till at the length Dr. Cole coming into the pulpit, divided his whole sermon into three parts, according to the solemn custom of the schools, intending to speak first, of the mercy of God; secondly, of his justice to be showed; and, last of all, how the prince's secrets are not to be opened.

It were too long to repeat all things, that in long order were then pronounced. The sum of this tripartite declamation was, that although pardon and reconciliation were due according to the canons, seeing he repented from his errors, yet there were causes, why the queen and the council at this time judged him to death; of which, lest he should marvel too much, he should hear some.

"He glorified God much in his conversion, because it appeared to be only his work, declaring what travail and conference had been with him to convert him, and all prevailed not, till it pleased God of his mercy to reclaim him, and call him home. In discoursing of which place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doings, thus tempering his judgment and talk of him, that all the time he flowed in riches and honour, he was unworthy of his life; and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But lest he should carry with him no comfort, he would diligently labour, he said, and also he did promise in the name of all the priests, that were present, that immediately after his death, there should be dirges, masses, and funerals, executed for him in all the churches of Oxford for the succour of his soul.

"Cranmer, in all the mean time, with what great grief of mind he stood hearing this sermon, the outward show of his body and countenance did better express, than any man can declare; one while lifting up his hands and eyes unto heaven, and then again for shame letting them down to the earth. A man might have seen the very image and shape of perfect sorrow lively in him expressed. More than twenty several times the tears gushed out abundantly, and dropped down marvelously from his fatherly face. They, which were present, do testify, that they never saw in any child more tears, than burst out from him at that time, all the sermon while; but especially when he recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiseration and pity moved all men's hearts, who beheld so heavy a countenance and such abundance of tears, in an old man of so reverend dignity.

"Cole, after he had ended his sermon, called back the people that were ready to depart, to prayers: 'Brethren,' said he, 'lest any man should doubt of this man's earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear him speak before you, and therefore, I pray you, master Cranmer, that you will now perform what you promised not long ago, namely, that you would openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion from men, and that all men may understand that you are a catholic indeed.'—'I will do it,' said the archbishop, 'and with a good will:' rising up, and putting off his cap, he began to speak thus unto the people.

"'I desire you, well-beloved brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me, to forgive my sins, which above all men, both in number and greatness, I have committed; but, among all the rest, there is one offence, which of all at this time doth vex and trouble me, whereof in process of my talk you shall hear more in its proper place;' and then, putting his hand into his bosom, he drew forth his prayer, which he recited to the people.

"And here kneeling down, he said: 'O Father of heaven: O Son of God, Redeemer of the world: O Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me, most wretched caitiff and miserable sinner. I have offended both against heaven and earth more than my tongue can express. Whither then may I go, or whither should I fly? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no place of refuge or succour. To thee, therefore, O Lord, do I run; to thee do I humble myself, saying, O Lord, my God, my sins are great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. The great mystery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didst not give thy Son, O heavenly Father, unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner return unto thee with his whole heart, as I do here at this present. Wherefore have mercy on me, O God, whose property is always to have

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mercy : have mercy on me, O Lord, for thy great mercy. I crave nothing, O Lord, for mine own merits, but for thy name sake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake ; and now therefore, Our Father of heaven, hallowed be thy name,' &c. And then he, rising, said :

“ ‘ Every man, good people, desireth at the time of his death to give some good exhortation, that others may remember the same before their death, and be the better thereby : so I beseech God grant me grace, that I may say something at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified. First, it is a heavy case to see that so many folk so much dote upon the love of this false world, and are so careful for it, that of the love of God, or the world to come, they seem to care very little or nothing. Therefore this shall be my first exhortation, that you set not your minds overmuch upon this flattering world, but upon God and upon the world to come ; and learn to know what this lesson meaneth, which St. John teaches, that the love of this world is hatred against God.

“ ‘ The second exhortation is, that next under God you obey your king and queen willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging ; not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God ; knowing, that they are God's ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you : and therefore, whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God.

“ ‘ The third exhortation is, that you love altogether like brethren and sisters. For, alas ! pity it is to see what contention and hatred one christian man beareth to another, not taking each other as brother and sister, but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But, I pray you, learn and bear well away this one lesson, to do good unto all men, as much as in you lieth ; and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your own natural loving brother or sister. For this you may be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, surely and without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himself in God's favour

“ ‘ The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches of this world, that they will well consider and weigh three sayings of the scriptures. One is of our Saviour Christ himself, who saith : It is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. A sore saying, and yet spoken of him that knoweth the truth. The second is of St. John, whose saying is this : He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother in necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say that he loveth God ? The third thing is of St. James, who speaketh to the covetous rich men after this manner : Weep you and howl for the misery that shall come upon you : your riches do rot, your clothes be moth-eaten, your gold and silver doth canker and rust, and their rust shall bear witness against you, and consume you like fire. You gather a hoard or treasure of God's indignation against the last

day.—Let them that are rich ponder well these three sentences; for if ever they had occasion to show their charity, they have it now, the poor people being so many, and victuals so dear.*

“And now, forasmuch as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my master, Christ, for ever in joy, or else to be in pain for ever with wicked devils in hell, and I see before mine eyes presently, either heaven ready to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up; I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith how I believe, without any colour or dissimulation; for now it is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said or written in time past.

“First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, &c. And I believe every article of the catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the new and old testament.

“And now I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more than any thing that ever I did or said in my whole life; and that is, the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth: which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and which were written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be; and that is, all such bills and papers, which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore; for may I come to the fire, it shall first be burned. And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine. And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester, the which, my book, teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine contrary thereto, shall be ashamed to show her face.’

“Here the standers-by were all astonished, marvelled, were amazed, and looked one upon another. Some began to admonish him of his recantation, and to accuse him of falsehood.

“Briefly, it was a world to see the doctors beguiled of so great a hope. I think there was never cruelty more notably or better in time deluded and deceived. For it is not to be doubted, but they looked for a glorious victory and a perpetual triumph by this man's recantation. Who, as soon as they heard these things, began to let down their ears, to rage, fret, and fume; and so much the more, because they could not revenge their grief; for they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. For the most miserable man in the world can die but once; and whereas of necessity he must needs die that day, though the papists had been ever so well pleased; now being ever so

* A great scarcity then prevailed, a pound of beef was sold for fourpence, equal to five shillings of our present money.

much offended with him, yet he could not be twice killed of them. And so, when they could do nothing else unto him, they ceased not to object unto him his falsehood and dissimulation.

"Unto which accusation he answered: 'Ah, my masters, do not you take it so. Always since I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity, and never before this time have I dissembled:' and in saying this, all the tears that remained in his body, appeared in his eyes. And when he began to speak more of the sacrament, and of the papacy, some of them began to cry out; and especially Cole cried out: 'Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away.'

"And then Cranmer, being pulled down from the stage, was led to the fire, accompanied with those friars, vexing, troubling, and threatening him most cruelly. To whom he answered nothing, but directed all his talk to the people, saving that one, troubling him in the way, he spake and exhorted him to get him home to his study, and apply diligently; saying, that if he diligently called upon God, by reading more, he should get knowledge.

"But when he came to the place where the holy bishops and martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Ridley, were burnt before him for the confession of the truth; kneeling down, he prayed to God, and not tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garments to his shirt, he prepared himself to death. His shirt was made long down to his feet. His feet were bare. Likewise his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare, that not one hair could be seen upon it. His beard was long and thick, covering his face with marvellous gravity. Such a countenance moved the hearts, both of friends and enemies.

"Then the Spanish friars began to exhort him, and play their parts afresh, but with vain and lost labour. Cranmer, with steadfast purpose abiding in the profession of his doctrine, gave his hand to certain old men, and others that stood by, bidding them farewell.

"Then was an iron chain tied about Cranmer, whom, when they perceived to be more steadfast than that he could be moved from his sentence, they commanded the fire to be set unto him. And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, stretching out his arm, he put his right hand into the flame; which he held so steadfast and immovable, saving that once with the same hand he wiped his face, that all men might see his hand burned, before his body was touched. His body did so abide the burning of the flame, with such constancy and steadfastness, that standing always in one place without moving of his body, he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound. His eyes were lifted up unto heaven, and oftentimes he repeated, 'This hand hath offended; Oh! this unworthy right hand,' so long as his voice would suffer him: and using often the words of St. Stephen, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit,' in the greatness of the flame he gave up the ghost.

"This fortitude of mind, when friar John saw, thinking it came not of fortitude but of desperation, he ran to the lord Williams, crying, that the archbishop was vexed in mind, and died in great desperation. But he, aware of the archbishop's constancy, smiled, and, by silence, rebuked the friar's folly.

"And this was the end of the learned archbishop, whom, lest by evil subscribing he should have perished, by well recanting God preserved; and lest he should have lived longer with shame and reproof, it pleased God rather to take him away, to the glory of his name and the profit of the church."*

The principal writings of Cranmer have been already mentioned. Strype has given a list of several minor pieces, which for the most part have reference to the subjects principally agitated in those times. Many letters written by him, also some volumes of the numerous passages or common-places collected during the course of his extensive reading, have also been preserved. These manuscripts are chiefly to be found in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and among the Cotton manuscripts in the British Museum; there are some in the palace at Lambeth. Few of them possess much interest for the reader of the present day, excepting as historical documents; as such they are valuable, and many of them have been printed by Burnet and Strype. Cranmer's correspondence with the German reformers doubtless contained much valuable matter, and if carefully sought for in the libraries on the continent, some precious remains might probably be recovered. Cranmer also wrote a part of the book of Homilies. There is no doubt of his being the author of the homily of Salvation. Dr. Wordsworth conjectures that those of the misery of all mankind, of true and lively faith, and of good works, also proceeded from his pen. It is hardly necessary to add, that all his writings were prohibited during the reign of Mary, as heretical.

Cranmer's anxiety to promote the reformation in England was also shown by his kind reception and entertainment of several learned foreigners, some of whom he induced to settle in England, and others he received when exiles for religion. Among the former was Martin Bucer, who had been most active in promoting the reformation in Germany, and who was highly esteemed for his moderation and piety. While these excellent men were under his roof, Cranmer employed them in various ways connected with the furtherance of the truth. When the Interim was enforced in Germany, in 1549, there were in Cranmer's house at one time, Bucer, Alasco, Martyr, Fagius, Alexander, Ochinus, the younger Jonas, and others, several of whom

* All the main circumstances of this narrative of Cranmer's end, are given in the narrative of a Romanist who was present. His account is printed in Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, from a MS. now in the Harleian collection.

were soon after settled in the English universities. Bucer was nominated public professor of divinity, and Fagius of the Hebrew, at Cambridge, but they died after a short residence there. In the reign of queen Mary, their remains were publicly burned. By Cranmer's particular direction, their lectures were to illustrate and interpret the scripture. Martyr was settled at Oxford, where he engaged in a public disputation with the Romanists respecting the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Martyr continued in England till the commencement of queen Mary's reign, when he retired to the continent. His wife having died during their abode at Oxford, the papists, in the reign of Mary, took up her body and buried it in a dunghill. Both Bucer and Martyr were employed by Cranmer in the revision of the book of common prayer. Alasco settled at London as pastor of the Dutch congregation, to whom the church of the Augustine monastery in Throgmorton-street was granted for their place of worship. An Italian church was also settled at London, and at Glastonbury one composed of refugees from Strasburg. This care of foreigners, and allowing them to use their own rites and ceremonies unmolested, shows considerable progress towards correct views of toleration. Latimer also resided at Lambeth very often during this reign—and other names might be mentioned, proving that Cranmer did not restrict his bounty to foreigners alone.

Cranmer's second wife survived him, and also some of his children, but Strype was unable to ascertain the number of his family or any particulars concerning them worthy of notice; a son and a daughter were alive after the accession of Elizabeth. Among his chaplains were Dr. Taylor, the martyr, Ponet, and Becon.

This account of archbishop Cranmer cannot be concluded better than in the words of Dr. Laurence:—

“Cranmer's fate has been peculiarly hard. Living in evil days, and exposed after his death to the malice of evil tongues, he has suffered in almost every part of his reputation. Papists have impeached the sincerity, while protestants have doubted the steadiness of his principles; and a too general idea seems to prevail that his opinions were for ever fluctuating, or at least so flexible as to have rendered him little better than a weak instrument in the hands of those who possessed more talent and more consistency. But the fact was far otherwise. He was in truth the chief promoter and the ablest advocate of the reformation; planning it with the discretion of a prudent, and the zeal of a good man, and carrying it on towards perfection with a firmness, a wisdom, and a liberality, which obtained him no less credit for the endowments of his head, than the impressions of his heart.”

THE
LIFE, ADMONITION, AND MARTYRDOM
OF
JOHN ROGERS.

JOHN ROGERS was brought up in the university of Cambridge, where he profitably travailed in good learning, and at the length was chosen and called by the merchants adventurers to be their chaplain at Antwerp in Brabant. He served them to their good contentment many years. He there fell in company with that worthy servant and martyr of God, William Tindal, and with Miles Coverdale, both of whom, for the hatred they bare to popish superstitions and idolatry, and love to true religion, had forsaken their native country. In conferring the Scriptures with them, he came to great knowledge in the gospel of God, insomuch that he cast off the heavy yoke of popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy idolatry, and joined himself with them two, in that most painful and profitable labour of translating the Bible into the English tongue, which is entitled, *The Translation of Thomas Mathew*.* He, knowing by the Scriptures that unlawful vows may lawfully be broken, and that matrimony is both honest and honourable amongst all men, joined himself in lawful matrimony; and so went to Wittemberg in Saxony, where he with much soberness of living did not only greatly increase in all good and godly learning, but also so much profited in the knowledge of the German tongue, that the charge of a congregation was orderly committed to his cure.

In which ministry he diligently and faithfully served many years, until such time as it pleased God by the faithful travail of his chosen and dear servant king Edward the sixth, utterly to banish all popery out of England, and to receive in true religion, setting God's gospel at liberty. He

* This was the second printed edition of the English Bible; it was edited by Coverdale, assisted by Rogers, and was sanctioned by royal authority. The New Testament, and the first half of the Old, were from Tindal's version, the remainder from Coverdale's.

then, being orderly called, having both a conscience, and a ready good will to help forward the work of the Lord in his native country, left such honest and certain conditions as he had in Saxony, and came into England to preach the gospel, without certainty of any condition. In which office, after he had a space diligently and faithfully travailed, Nicholas Ridley, then bishop of London, gave him a prebend in the cathedral church of St. Paul; and the dean and chapter chose him to be the reader of the divinity lecture there, wherein he diligently travailed, until such time as queen Mary, obtaining the crown, banished the gospel and true religion, and brought in the antichrist of Rome, with his idolatry and superstition.

After the queen was come to the tower of London, (August 3d, 1553,) Rogers, being orderly called thereunto, made a godly and vehement sermon at Paul's cross, confirming such true doctrine as he and others had there taught in king Edward's days, exhorting the people constantly to remain in the same, and to beware of all pestilent popery, idolatry, and superstition. The council being then overmatched with popish and bloody bishops, called him to account for his sermon. To whom he made a stout, wise, and godly answer, and yet so conducted himself that at that time he was clearly dismissed. But after that proclamation was set forth by the queen to prohibit true preaching, (August 18th,) he was called again before the council; for the bishops thirsted after his blood. The council quarrelled with him concerning his doctrine, and in conclusion commanded him to keep his own house as prisoner,* and so he did; although by flying he might easily have escaped their cruel hands, and many things there were which might have moved him thereunto. He saw that the recovery of religion in England at that time seemed to be desperate; he knew he could not want a living in Germany, and he could not forget his wife and ten children, and wished to seek means to succour them. But all these things set apart, after he was called to answer in Christ's cause, he would not depart from the realm, but stoutly stood in defence of

* From the state papers of William Cecil, lord Burghley, it appears that Rogers was confined to his house rather earlier; he says, "August 16th, John Rogers, alias Mathew, a seditious preacher, was ordered by the lords of the council to keep himself as prisoner in his house at Paul's, without conference with any person, other than such as are daily with him in household, until such time as he hath contrary commandment."

the same, and for the trial of that truth was content to hazard his life.

In April, 1554, there was an intention to send Rogers, and some other protestant divines to Cambridge, to be there disputed with, as Cranmer and others had been "baited" at Oxford; but he and others signed a declaration, that they would not dispute, excepting before the queen and parliament, or a fair hearing and opportunity to speak their minds were allowed them.

Thus he remained in his own house as prisoner a long time, till at the length, through the uncharitable procurement of Bonner, bishop of London, who could not abide such honest neighbours to dwell by him, he was removed from his own house to the prison called Newgate, where he was lodged among thieves and murderers, for a great space; during which time, what business he had with the adversaries of Christ, is not all known; neither yet is there any certainty of his examinations, further than he himself did leave in writing, which God would not to be lost, but to remain for a perpetual testimony in the cause of God's truth, as here follows, recorded and testified by his own writing.

The examination and answer of John Rogers, made to the lord chancellor, and to the rest of the council, the 22d of January, 1555; penned by himself.

The Lord Chancellor (bishop Gardiner.) First, the lord chancellor said unto me thus; Sir, ye have heard of the state of the realm in which it standeth now.

Rogers. No, my lord, I have been kept in close prison, and except there have been some general things said at the table, when I was at dinner or supper, I have heard nothing; and there have I heard nothing whereupon any special thing might be grounded.

L. C. Then said the lord chancellor, General things, general things, mockingly; Ye have heard of my lord cardinal's coming, and that the parliament hath received his blessing, not one resisting unto it, but one man who did speak against it.* Such a unity, and such a miracle

* Cardinal Pole arrived in England in the November preceding, as legate from the pope. The king and queen, and all the members of both houses of parliament, kneeled down before him to entreat pardon and absolution for the kingdom. There was only one exception, Sir Ralph Bagnal, who refused to consent to this submission, others were of the same mind, but had not courage to speak out. See *Strype*.

has not been seen. One that was by, whose name I know not, said, And all they, of whom there are eight score in one house, have with one assent and consent received pardon of their offences, for the schism that we had in England, in refusing the holy father of Rome to be head of the catholic church. How say ye, are ye content to unite, and knit yourself to the faith of the catholic church, with us, in the state in which it is now in England: will ye do that?

R. The catholic church I never did nor will dissent from.

L. C. Nay; but I speak of the state of the catholic church in that wise in which we stand now in England, having received the pope to be supreme head.

R. I know none other head but Christ of his catholic church, neither will I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to have any more authority than any other bishop hath, by the word of God, and by the doctrine of the old and pure catholic church four hundred years after Christ.

L. C. Why didst thou then acknowledge king Henry the eighth to be supreme head of the church, if Christ be the only head?

R. I never granted him to have any supremacy in spiritual things, as the forgiveness of sins, giving of the Holy Ghost, and authority to be a judge above the word of God.

L. C. Yea, said he, and Tonsal bishop of Durham, and the bishop of Worcester.—If thou hadst said so in his days, (and they nodded the head at me with laughter,) thou hadst not been alive now.

I denied, and would have told how he was said and meant to be supreme head. But they looked and laughed one upon another, and made such a business, that I was constrained to let it pass. There lies also no great weight thereupon; for all the world knows what the meaning was. The lord chancellor also said to the lord William Howard, that there was no inconvenience therein, to have Christ to be supreme head and the bishop of Rome also; and when I was ready to have answered that there could not be two heads of one church, and to have more plainly declared the vanity of that his reason, the lord chancellor said, What sayest thou? Make us a direct answer whether thou wilt be one of this catholic church, or not, with us, in that state in which we now are.

R. My lord, without fail I cannot believe that ye yourselves do think in your hearts that he is supreme head in

forgiving of sin, &c. Seeing you and all the bishops of the realm have now twenty years long preached, and some of you also written to the contrary, and the parliament has so long ago consented unto it. And there he interrupted me thus.

L. C. Tush, that parliament was with most great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the primacy from the bishop of Rome.

R. With cruelty! Why then I perceive that you take a wrong way with cruelty to persuade men's consciences. For it should appear by your doings now, that the cruelty then used has not persuaded your consciences. How would you then have our consciences persuaded with cruelty?

L. C. I talk to thee of no cruelty—but that they were so often and so cruelly called upon in that parliament to let the act go forward; yea, and even with force driven thereunto; whereas in this parliament it was so uniformly received, as is aforesaid.

Here my lord Paget told me more plainly, what my lord chancellor meant. Unto whom I answered:

R. My lord, what will you conclude thereby? that the first parliament was of less authority, because but few consented unto it: and this last parliament of greater authority, because more consented unto it? It goes not, my lord, by the more or lesser part, but by the wiser, truer, and godlier part.—And I would have said more, but the lord chancellor interrupted me with his question, willing me once again to answer him. "For," said he, "we have more to speak with than thou, who must come in after thee."—And so indeed there were ten persons more out of Newgate, besides two that were not called. Of which ten, one was a citizen of London, who yielded unto them, and nine were contrary; all of whom came to prison again, and refused the cardinal's blessing, and the authority of his holy father's church, saving that one of these nine was not asked the question, otherwise than thus, Whether he would be an honest man, as his father was before him? and he answered, Yea; so he was discharged by the friendship of my lord William Howard, as I have understood. He bade me tell him what I would do; whether I would enter into the one church with the whole realm as it is now, or not? No, said I, I will first see it proved by the Scriptures. Let me have pen, ink, books, &c., and I will take upon me plainly to set out the matter, so

that the contrary shall be proved to be true; and let any man that will, confer with me by writing.

L. C. Nay, that shall not be permitted thee. Thou shalt never have so much proffered thee as thou hast now, if thou refuse it, and wilt not now consent and agree to the catholic church. Here are two things, mercy and justice: if thou refuse the queen's mercy now, then shalt thou have justice ministered unto thee.

R. I never offended, nor was disobedient unto her grace, and yet I will not refuse her mercy. But if this shall be denied me, to confer by writing, and to try out the truth, then it is not well, but too far out of the way. Ye yourselves, all the bishops of the realm, brought me to abjure the pretended primacy of the bishop of Rome, when I was a young man, twenty years past; and will ye now, without collation, have me to say and do the contrary? I cannot be so persuaded.

L. C. If thou wilt not receive the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the catholic church, then thou shalt never have her mercy, thou mayest be sure. And as touching conferring and trial, I am forbidden by the Scriptures to use any conferring and trial with thee. For St. Paul teaches me, that I should shun and eschew a heretic after one or two monitions, knowing that such a one is overthrown and is faulty, insomuch as he is condemned by his own judgment.

R. My lord, I deny that I am a heretic; prove ye that first, and then allege the aforesaid text.—But still the lord chancellor played on one string, saying,

L. C. If thou wilt enter into one church with us, &c. tell us that, or else thou shalt never have so much proffered thee again, as thou hast now.

R. I will find it first in the Scripture, and see it tried thereby, before I receive him to be supreme head.

Worcester. Why, do ye not know what is in your creed, I believe the holy catholic church?

R. I find not the bishop of Rome there. For "catholic" signifies not the Romish church; it signifies the consent of all true teaching churches of all times, and of all ages. But how should the bishop of Rome's church be one of them, which teaches so many doctrines that are plainly and directly against the word of God? Can that bishop be the true head of the catholic church that does so? That is not possible.

L. C. Show me one of them; one; let me hear one.

I remembered myself, that among so many I were best to show one, and said, I will show you one.

L. C. Let me hear that, let me hear that.

R. The bishop of Rome and his church say, read, and sing all that they do in their congregations in Latin, which is directly and plainly against the first to the Corinthians, the fourteenth chapter.

L. C. I deny that, I deny that that is against the word of God. Let me see you prove that; how prove you that?

Then I began to say the text from the beginning of the chapter; To speak with tongues, said I, is to speak with a strange tongue, as Latin or Greek, &c. and so to speak is not to speak unto men, but unto God (meaning God only at the most.) But ye speak in Latin, which is a strange tongue, wherefore ye speak not unto men, but unto God. This be granted, that they speak not unto men, but unto God.

L. C. Well, then, is it vain unto men?

R. No, not in vain. For one man speaketh in one tongue, and another in another tongue, and all well.

L. C. Nay, I will prove then that he speaks neither unto God nor unto man, but unto the wind.

I was willing to have declared how these two texts do agree, for they must agree, they both are the sayings of the Holy Ghost, spoken by the apostle Paul, as, To speak not to men, but unto God, and To speak unto the wind: and so I would have gone forward with the proof of my matter begun, but here arose a noise and a confusion. Then said the lord chancellor,

L. C. To speak unto God, and not unto God, were impossible.

R. I will prove them possible.

Nay, saith my lord William Howard to my lord chancellor, now will I bear you witness that he is out of the way. For he grants first, that they which speak in a strange speech speak unto God; and now he saith the contrary, that they speak neither to God nor to man.

R. (*turning to my lord Howard.*) I have not granted or said as you report. I have alleged the one text, and now I am come to the other; they must agree, and I can make them to agree. But as for you, you understand not the matter.

L. H. I understand so much, that it is not possible.

This is a point of sophistry, quoth secretary Bourn.

Then the lord chancellor began to tell the lord Howard, that when he was in Germany, they at Halle, which had before prayed and used their service in German, began then to turn part into Latin, and part into German.

W. Yea, and at Wittemberg too.

R. Yea, (*but I could not be heard for their noise,*) in a university, where men for the most part understood the Latin—and yet not all in Latin—And I would have told the order, and have gone forward both to have answered my lord, and to have proved the thing that I had taken in hand; but perceiving their talk and noise to be too noisome, I was fain to think this in my heart, suffering them in the mean while to talk one of them one thing, and another another. Alas! neither will these men hear me if I speak, neither yet will they suffer me to write. There is no remedy, but let them alone, and commit the matter to God. Yet I began to go forward, and said, that I would make the texts to agree, and to prove my purpose well enough.

L. C. No, no, thou canst prove nothing by the Scripture. The Scripture is dead; it must have a lively expositor.

R. No, the Scripture is alive. But let me go forward with my purpose.

W. All heretics have alleged the Scriptures for them, and therefore we must have a lively expositor for them.

R. Yea, all heretics have alleged the Scriptures for them; but they were confuted by the Scriptures, and by no other expositor.

W. But they would not confess that they were overcome by the Scriptures, I am sure of that.

R. I believe that: and yet were they overcome by them, and in all the councils they were disputed with and overthrown by the Scriptures. And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in these days, and so have come again to my purpose, but it was impossible; for one asked one thing, another said another, so that I was fain to hold my peace, and let them talk. And even when I would have taken hold of my proof, the lord chancellor bade to prison with me again; and, Away, away, said he, we have more to talk withal; if I would not be reformed, so he termed it, away, away. Then up I stood, for I had kneeled all the while.

Then sir Richard Southwell, who stood by in a window,

said to me, Thou wilt not burn in this gear when it comes to the purpose, I know well that.

R. Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust to my Lord God, yes—lifting up mine eyes unto heaven.

Then my lord of Ely told me much of the queen's majesty's pleasure and meaning, and set it out with large words, saying, that she took them that would not receive the bishop of Rome's supremacy, to be unworthy to have her mercy, &c.

I said I would not refuse her mercy, and yet I never offended her in all my life; and that I besought her grace and all their honours to be good to me, reserving my conscience.

Several spake at once. No? said they then, (a great sort of them, and specially secretary Bourn,) a married priest, and have not offended the law?

I said, I had not broken the queen's law, nor yet any point of the law of the realm therein, for I married where it was lawful.

Several at once, Where was that? said they; thinking that to be unlawful in all places.

R. In Germany. And if ye had not here in England made an open law that priests might have had wives, I would never have come home again; for I brought a wife and eight children with me; which ye might be sure that I would not have done, if the laws of the realm had not permitted it before.

Then there was a great noise, some saying, that I was come too soon with such a sort; that I should find a sour coming of it; and some one thing and some another: and one, I could not well perceive who, said, that there was never a catholic man or country, that ever granted that a priest might have a wife.

I said that the catholic church never denied marriage to priests, nor yet to any other man; and therewith was I going out of the chamber, the sergeant who brought me thither having me by the arm.

Then the bishop of Worcester turned his face towards me, and said that I wist not where that church was or is.

I said, yes, that I could tell where it was—but therewith went the sergeant with me out of the door.

This was the very true effect of all that was spoken unto me, and of all that I answered thereunto.

And here would I gladly make a more perfect answer to all the former objections, as also a due proof of that which I had taken in hand; but at this present I was informed that I should to-morrow come to further answer. Wherefore I am compelled to leave out that which I would most gladly have done, desiring here the hearty and unfeigned help of the prayers of all Christ's true members, the true sons of the unfeigned catholic church, that the Lord God of all consolation will now be my comfort, aid, strength, buckler, and shield; as also of all my brethren that are in the same case and distress, that I and they all may despise all manner of threats and cruelty, and even the bitter burning fire, and the dreadful dart of death, and stick like true soldiers to our dear and loving Captain, Christ, our only Redeemer and Saviour, and also the true Head of the church; that doeth all in us all, which is the very property of a head, and is a thing that all the bishops of Rome cannot do, and that we do not traitorously run out of his tents, or rather out of the plain field from him, into the most jeopardy of the battle; but that we may persevere in the fight, if he will not otherwise deliver us, till we be most cruelly slain of his enemies. For this I most heartily, and at this present with weeping tears, most instantly and earnestly desire, and beseech you all to pray; and also, if I die, to be good to my poor and most honest wife, being a poor stranger, and all my little souls, hers and my children; whom with all the whole faithful and true catholic congregation of Christ, the Lord of life and death, save, keep, and defend in all the troubles and assaults of this vain world, and bring at the last to everlasting salvation, the true and sure inheritance of all crossed Christians. Amen. Amen.

The 27th day of January at night.

JOHN ROGERS.

The second confession of John Rogers, made, and that should have been made, if I might have been heard, the 28th and 29th days of January, 1555.

First, Being asked again by the lord chancellor, whether I would come into one church with the bishops and whole realm, as now was concluded by parliament, in the which all the realm was converted to the catholic church of Rome, and so receive the mercy before proffered me, arising again with the whole realm out of the schism and error in which we had long been, with recantation of my errors—I an-

swered, that before I could not tell what his mercy meant, but now I understood that it was a mercy of the antichristian church of Rome, which I utterly refused, and that the rising, which he spake of, was a very fall into error and false doctrine. Also that I had, and would be able, by God's grace, to prove that all the doctrine which I had ever taught was true and catholic, and that by the Scriptures, and the authority of the fathers who lived four hundred years after Christ's death. He answered, that should not, might not, and ought not to be granted me; for I was but a private man, and might not be heard against the determination of the whole realm. Should, quoth he, when a parliament hath concluded a thing, one or any private person have authority to discuss, whether they have done right or wrong? No, that may not be.

I answered shortly, that all the laws of men might not, neither could rule the word of God; but that they all must be discussed and judged thereby, and obey thereunto; and neither my conscience, nor any Christian man's, could be satisfied with such laws as disagreed from that word. And so was willing to have said much more, but the lord chancellor began a long tale to very small purpose, concerning mine answer, to have debased me, that there was nothing in me wherefore I should be heard, but arrogancy, pride, and vain-glory. I also granted mine ignorance to be greater than I could express, or than he took it; but yet that I feared not, by God's assistance and strength, to be able by writing to perform my word; neither was I, I thanked God, so utterly ignorant as he would make me, but all was of God, to whom be thanks rendered therefore; proud man was I never, nor yet vain-glorious. All the world knew well, where and on what side, pride, arrogancy, and vain-glory was. It was a poor pride that was or is in us, God knoweth it.

Then he said, that I at the first dash condemned the queen and the whole realm to be of the church of antichrist, and he burdened me highly therewithal. I answered, that the queen's majesty, God save her grace, would have done well enough, if it had not been for his counsel. He said, the queen went before him, and it was her own motion. I said without fail, I neither could, nor would I ever believe it.*

* There afterwards appeared but too much probability of the truth of this assertion of Gardiner.

Then said doctor Aldrich, the bishop of Carlisle, that they the bishops would bear them witness. Yea, quoth I, that I believe well; and with that the people laughed; for that day there were many, but on the morrow they kept the doors shut, and would let none in but the bishops' adherents, and servants in a manner, yea, and the first day the thousandth man came not in. Then master Comptroller and secretary Bourn would have stood up also to bear witness and did so.

I said it was no great matter; and to say the truth, I thought that they were good helpers thereto themselves; but I ceased to say any more therein, knowing that they were too strong and mighty of power, and that they would be believed before me, yea, and before our Saviour Christ, and all his prophets, and apostles too, in these days.

Then after many words he asked me what I thought concerning the blessed sacrament, and stood up, and put off his cap, and all his fellow-bishops, of which there were a great sort, new men, of whom I knew few, whether I believed the sacrament to be the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, that was born of the virgin Mary, and hanged on the cross, really and substantially.

I answered, I had often told him that it was a matter in which I was no meddler, and therefore was suspected of my brethren to be of a contrary opinion. Notwithstanding, even as the most part of your doctrine in other parts is false, and the defence thereof only by force and cruelty: so in this matter I think it to be as false as the rest. For I cannot understand, "really and substantially," to signify otherwise than corporeally; but corporeally Christ is only in heaven, and so cannot Christ be corporeally also in your sacrament. And here I somewhat set out his charity after this sort. My lord, quoth I, ye have dealt with me most cruelly; for ye have put me in prison without law, and kept me there now almost a year and a half; for I was almost half a year in my house, where I was obedient to you, God knows, and spake with no man. And now have I been a full year in Newgate, at great cost and charges, having a wife and ten children to find, and I had never a penny of my livings; which was against the law.

He answered, that Dr. Ridley, who had given them me, was a usurper, and therefore I was the unjust possessor of them.

Was the king then an usurper, quoth I, who gave Dr. Ridley the bishopric?

Yea, quoth he, and began to set out the wrongs that the king had done to the bishop of London, and to himself also. But yet I do misuse my terms, quoth he, to call the king usurper. But the word was gone out of the abundance of the heart before; and I think that he was not very sorry for it in heart. I might have said more concerning that matter, but I did not.

I asked him wherefore he put me in prison? He said, because I preached against the queen.

I answered, that it was not true; and I would be bound to prove it, and to stand to the trial of the law, that no man should be able to prove it, and thereupon would set my life. I preached, quoth I, a sermon at the cross, after the queen came to the Tower; but therein was nothing said against the queen, I take witness of all the audience, which was not small. I alleged also that he had, after examination, let me go at liberty after the preaching of that sermon.

Yea, but thou didst read thy lectures after, quoth he, against the commandment of the council.

That did I not, quoth I; let that be proved, and let me die for it. Thus have you now against the law of God and man handled me, and never sent for me, never conferred with me, never spoken of any learning, till now that ye have gotten a whip to whip me with, and a sword to cut off my neck, if I will not condescend to your mind. This charity doth all the world understand.*

I might and would have added, if I could have been suffered to speak, that it had been time enough to take away men's livings, and thereto to have imprisoned them, after they had offended the laws: for they are good citizens that break not laws, and worthy of praise and not of punishment. But their purpose is to keep men in prison, until they may catch them in their laws, and so kill them. I could and would have added the example of Daniel, who by a crafty-devised law was cast into the lions' den.

Also, I might have declared, that I most humbly desired to be set at liberty, sending my wife to him (Gardiner)

* Rogers here alludes to the laws against heretics originally enacted in the reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., which had been repealed a few years before, but were revived by an act brought into the house of Commons on the 12th December, 1554, and passed by the Lords on the 18th; immediately after which they began to examine and put to death as heretics, the protestants who had hitherto been detained in prison on various pretences.

with a supplication, being great with child, and with her eight honest women, or thereabout, to Richmond, at Christmas was a twelvemonth, while I was yet in my house.

Also, I wrote two supplications to him out of Newgate, and sent my wife many times to him. Master Gosnold* also, that worthy man, who is now departed in the Lord, laboured for me, and so did divers other worthy men also take pains in the matter. These things declare my lord chancellor's antichristian charity, which is, that he hath and doth seek my blood, and the destruction of my poor wife and my ten children.

This is a short sum of the words which were spoken on the 28th day of January at afternoon, after that master Hooper had been the first, and master Cardmaker† the second, in examination before me. The Lord grant us grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in his cause till we be smitten down together, if the Lord's will be so to permit it: for there shall not a hair of our heads perish against his will, but with his will. Whereunto the Lord grant us to be obedient unto the end, and in the end. Amen. Sweet, mighty, and merciful Lord Jesus, the son of David, and of God. Amen, Amen, let every true Christian say and pray.

Then the clock being as I guessed about four, the lord chancellor said that he and the church must yet use charity with me; what manner of charity it is, all true Christians do well understand, namely, the same that the fox does with the chickens, and the wolf with the lambs, and he gave me respite till to-morrow, to see whether I would remember myself well to-morrow, and whether I would return to the catholic church, for so he called his antichristian false church again, and repent, and they would receive me to mercy.

I said, that I was never out of the true catholic church, nor would be: but into his church would I by God's grace never come.

Well, quoth he, then is our church false and antichristian? Yes, quoth I.

And what is the doctrine of the sacrament?—False, quoth I; and cast my hands abroad.

Then said one, that I was a player. To whom I answered not; for I passed not upon‡ his mock.

* Solicitor-general in the reign of Edward VI.

† Cardmaker was a prebendary of Wells; he was burned in Smithfield on the 30th of May following.

‡ Cared not for.

Come again, quoth the lord chancellor, to-morrow, between nine and ten.

I am ready to come again, whensoever ye call, quoth I.

And thus was I brought by the sheriffs to the compter in Southwark, master Hooper going before me, and a great multitude of people being present, so that we had much to do to go in the streets.

Thus much was done the 28th day of January.

The second day, which was the 29th of January, we were sent for in the morning, about nine of the clock, and by the sheriffs fetched from the compter in Southwark to the church again,* where we were the day before in the afternoon. And when master Hooper was condemned, as I understood afterwards, then sent they for me. Then the lord chancellor said unto me:

Rogers, here thou wast yesterday, and we gave thee liberty to remember thyself this night, whether thou wouldest come to the holy catholic church of Christ again, or not. Tell us now, what thou hast determined, whether thou wilt be repentant and sorry, and wilt return again and take mercy.

My lord, quoth I, I have remembered myself right well, what you yesterday said to me, and desire you to give me leave to declare my mind, what I have to say thereunto; and that done, I shall answer you to your demanded question.

When I yesterday desired that I might be suffered by the Scriptures and authority of the first, best, and purest church to defend my doctrine by writing, meaning not only of the primacy, but also of all the doctrine that ever I had preached, ye answered me, that it might not, and ought not to be granted me, for I was a private person; and that the parliament was above the authority of all private persons, and therefore the sentence thereof might not be found faulty and valueless by me, being only a private person. And yet, my lord, quoth I, I am able to show examples, that one man hath come into a general council, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an act or article, some one man coming in afterwards, hath by the word of God, declared so pithily that the council had erred in decreeing the said article, that he caused the whole council to change, and alter their act or article before determined. And of these examples, I am able to show two.

* St. Saviour's, or St. Mary Overy, Southwark.

I can also show the authority of Augustine; that when he disputed with a heretic, he would neither himself, nor yet have the heretic to lean unto the determination of the two former councils, of the which the one made for him, and the other for the heretic that disputed against him, but said that he would have the Scriptures to be their judge, which were common and indifferently for them both, and not proper to either of them.

Also, I could show, said I, the authority of a learned lawyer, (Panormitanus,) who saith, that unto a simple layman who brings the word of God with him, there ought more credit to be given, than to a whole council gathered together. By these things will I prove that I ought not to be denied to say my mind, and to be heard against a whole parliament, bringing the word of God for me and the authority of the old church four hundred years after Christ, albeit that every man in the parliament had willingly and without respect of fear and favour agreed thereunto, which I doubt not a little of, especially seeing the like had been permitted in that old church, even in general councils, yea, and that in one of the chiefest councils that ever was, unto which neither any acts of this parliament, nor yet any of the late general councils of the bishops of Rome, ought to be compared. For, said I, if Henry the eighth were alive, and should call a parliament, and begin to determine a thing, (and here I would have alleged the example of the act of making the queen a bastard, and of making himself the superior head; but I could not, being interrupted by one whom God forgive,*) then will ye (*pointing to my lord chancellor,*) and ye, and ye, and so ye all, (*pointing to the rest of the bishops*) say Amen; yea, and if it like your grace, it is meet that it be so enacted.

Here my lord chancellor would suffer me to speak no more, but bade me sit down, mockingly saying, that I was sent for to be instructed of them, and I would take upon me to be their instructor.

My lord, quoth I, I stand and sit not—shall I not be suffered to speak for my life?

Shall we suffer thee to tell a tale, and to prate? quoth he.—And with that he stood up, and began to face me, after his old arrogant proud fashion; for he perceived that I was in a way to have touched them somewhat, which

* Sir Anthony Brown.

he thought to hinder by dashing me out of my tale, and so he did. For I could never be suffered to come to my tale again, no, not to one word of it; but he had much like communication with me, as he had the day before, and as his manner is, taunt upon taunt, and check upon check. For in that case, being God's cause, I told him he should not make me afraid to speak.

See, what a spirit this fellow has, said he; finding fault at mine accustomed earnestness, and hearty manner of speaking.

I have a true spirit, quoth I, agreeing and obeying the word of God; and would further have said, that I was never the worse, but the better to be earnest in a just and true cause, and in my Master Christ's matters; but I could not be heard.

And at the length he proceeded towards his excommunication and condemnation, after that I had told him that his church of Rome was the church of antichrist, meaning the false doctrine and tyrannicallaws, with the maintenance thereof by cruel persecutions used by the bishops of the said church, of which the bishop of Winchester and the rest of his fellow-bishops that are now in England are the chief members: of the laws I mean, quoth I, and not all the men and women which are in the pope's church.

Likewise, when I was said to have denied their sacrament, whereof he made his wonted reverent mention, more to maintain his kingdom thereby, than for the true reverence of Christ's institution; more for his own and his popish generation's sake, than for religion or God's sake—I told him after what order I did speak of it; for the manner of his speaking was not agreeing to my words, which are before recited in the communication that we had on the 28th of January, wherewith he was not contented, but he asked the audience whether I had not simply denied the sacrament. They would have said and done what he listed, for the most of them were of his own servants at that day; the 29th of January I mean. At the last I said, I will never deny what I said, which is, That your doctrine of the sacrament is false; but yet I tell you after what order I said it.

To be short, he read my condemnation before me, particularly mentioning therein but two articles; first, that I affirmed the Romish catholic church to be the church of antichrist; and that I denied the reality of their sacraments.

He caused me to be degraded and condemned, and put into the hands of the laity, and so he gave me over into the sheriff's hands, which were much better than his.

The copy of this condemnation here I thought good to put down in English, to the intent that the same, being here once expressed, may serve for all other sentences condemnatory through the whole history to be referred unto.—(*Fox.*)

The sentence condemnatory against master Rogers.

In the name of God, Amen. We, Stephen, by the permission of God, bishop of Winchester, lawfully and rightly proceeding, with all godly favour, by authority and virtue of our office, against thee, John Rogers, priest, alias, called Mathew, before us personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of heresy; having heard, seen, and understood, and with all diligent deliberation, weighed, discussed, and considered the merits of the cause, all things being observed, which by us in this behalf in order of law ought to be observed, sitting in our judgment-seat, the name of Christ being first called upon, and having God only before our eyes. Because, by the acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine own confession, judicially made before us, we do find that thou hast taught, holden and affirmed, and obstinately defended, divers errors, heresies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy church; as, namely, these, that the catholic church of Rome is the church of antichrist; also, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not, substantially nor really, the natural body and blood of Christ. The which aforesaid heresies and damnable opinions, being contrary to the law of God, and the determination of the universal and apostolical church, thou hast arrogantly, stubbornly, and wittingly, maintained, held, and affirmed, and also defended before us, as well in this judgment, as also otherwise; and with the like obstinacy, stubbornness, malice, and blindness of heart, both wittingly and willingly, hast affirmed that thou wilt believe, maintain, and hold, affirm and declare the same. We, therefore, Stephen Winchester, bishop, ordinary and diocesan aforesaid, by the consent and assent, as well of our reverend brethren, the lords

bishops here present and assistant, as also by the counsel and judgment of divers worshipful lawyers and professors of divinity with whom we have communicated in this behalf, do declare and pronounce thee, the said John Rogers, otherwise called Mathew, through thy demerits, transgressions, and obstinacies and wilfulness, which thy manifold ways hast incurred by thy own wicked and stubborn obstinacy, to have been and to be guilty of the detestable, horrible, and wicked offence of heretical pravity and execrable doctrine; and that thou hast before us, sundry times spoken, maintained, and wittingly and stubbornly defended the said cursed and execrable doctrine in thy sundry confessions, assertions, and recognitions, here judicially before us oftentimes repeated, and yet dost still maintain, affirm, and believe the same, and that thou hast been, and art, lawfully and ordinarily convicted in this behalf. We therefore, I say, albeit, following the example of Christ, which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live, we have gone about oftentimes to correct thee, and by all lawful means that we could, and all wholesome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again unto the true faith and unity of the universal catholic church, notwithstanding have found thee obstinate and stiff-necked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and heresies, and refusing to return again unto the true faith and unity of the holy mother church; and as the child of wickedness and darkness thou hast so hardened thy heart, that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy shepherd, which with a fatherly affection doth seek after thee, nor will be allured with his fatherly and godly admonitions.—We, therefore, Stephen, the bishop afore-said, not willing that thou, which art wicked, shouldst now become more wicked, and infect the Lord's flock with thy heresy, which we are greatly afraid of, with sorrow of mind and bitterness of heart do judge thee, and definitively condemn thee, the said John Rogers, otherwise called Mathew, thy demerits and defaults being aggravated through thy damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate impenitent sinner, refusing penitently to return to the lap and unity of the holy mother church, and that thou hast been and art by law excommunicate, and do pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicated person. Also we pronounce and declare thee, being a heretic, to be cast out from the

church, and left unto the judgment of the secular power, and now presently do leave thee as an obstinate heretic, and a person wrapped in the sentence of the great curse, to be degraded worthily for thy demerits, (requiring them, notwithstanding, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment worthily to be done upon thee, may so be moderated, that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of the heretics, to the unity of the catholic faith,*) by this our sentence definitive, which we here lay upon and against thee, and do with sorrow of heart promulgate in this form aforesaid.

After this sentence being read, he sent us, master Hooper, I mean, and me, to the Clink, there to remain till night; and when it was dark they carried us, master Hooper going before with the one sheriff, and I coming after with the other, with bills and weapons enough, out of the Clink, and led us through the bishop's house, and so through St. Mary's churchyard, and so into Southwark, and over the bridge, in procession to Newgate, through the city. But I must show you this also, that when he had read the condemnation, he declared that I was in the great curse, and what a vengeable† dangerous matter it was to eat and drink with us that were accursed, or to give us any thing; for all that did so, should be partakers of the same great curse.

Well, my lord, quoth I, here I stand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and take him to witness, that I never wittingly or willingly taught any false doctrine; and therefore have I a good conscience before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a Judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you; and I nothing doubt but that I shall be found there a true member of the true catholic church of Christ, and everlastingly saved. And as for your false church, you need not excommunicate me forth of it. I have not been in it these twenty years, the Lord be thank-

* This clause was always inserted in the condemnation of the professors of the truth, by the Romish ecclesiastics, although they well knew that the only course which the civil authorities dared to follow, was to burn those so recommended to their mercy.

† Deserving of punishment.

ed therefore! But now ye have done what you can, my lord, I pray you yet grant me one thing.

What is that? quoth he.

That my poor wife, being a stranger, may come and speak with me so long as I live. For she hath ten children that are hers and mine; and somewhat I would counsel her what were best for her to do.

No, quoth he; she is not thy wife.

Yes, my lord, quoth I, and hath been these eighteen years.

Should I grant her to be thy wife? quoth he.

Choose you, quoth I, whether you will or not, she shall be so, nevertheless.

She shall not come at thee, quoth he.

Then I have tried out all your charity, said I. You make yourself highly displeased with the matrimony of priests, but you maintain open whoredom, as in Wales, quoth I, where every priest hath his harlot openly dwelling with him; and even as your holy father suffereth all the priests in Germany and in France to do the like. Thereto he answered not, but looked, as it were, a-squint at it; and thus I departed and saw him for the last time.

Other good matter there is besides, penned by master Rogers in the prison, which he thought he would have answered, if he might have been permitted; which matter here follows, as set down by himself.

Hitherto, dearly beloved, ye have heard what was said; now hear what I proposed the night before to have said, if I could have been permitted. Two things I purposed to have touched. The one, how it was lawful for a private man to reason and write against a wicked act of parliament, or ungodly council, which the lord chancellor the day before denied me. The other was, to prove that prosperity was not always a token of God's love.

And this I purpose to speak of, because the lord chancellor boasted of himself, that he was delivered forth of prison, as it were by miracle, and preserved of God, to restore true religion, and to punish me and such others, whom he termed heretics. Concerning these two points, in this matter I purposed to have proceeded thus. It is not unknown to you that king Henry the eighth, in his

time, made his daughter, the queen that now is, a bastard; he abolished the authority of the bishop of Rome: he pulled down abbeyes: and all this he did by the consent of parliament.

King Edward the sixth, in his time, made lawful the marriage of priests, turned the service into English, abolished the idolatrous mass, with all like superstitious trumpery, set up the holy communion, and all by consent of parliament.

The queen that now is, hath repealed the act that made her a bastard; hath brought in the bishop of Rome, and set him in his old authority; begins to set up abbeyes again; hath made the marriage of priests unlawful; hath turned the English service into Latin again; hath set up the mass again, with like baggage, and pulled down the holy communion; and all this is done by consent of parliament.

If the acts of parliament made in king Henry's time, and king Edward's, had their foundation upon God's word, whereupon all positive law ought to be grounded; then these which are established in the queen's time, being wholly contrary to the others, as they are not warranted by God's word, so are they wicked, and therefore to be both spoken and written against of all men, as well of private as of public persons.

If your acts, my lord chancellor, which you have lately coined, (I call them yours, because you only bear the swing, and devise and decree what ye list, all other men are forced to follow,) be good, and according to God's word, then the former acts were naught, which ye seemed to say, in utterly taking them away, and setting up the contrary. If the former were naught, why then did ye consent unto them, and confirm them to be good by your voluntary and advised writing, as it appears, and will do to the world's end, in your book, *De vera obedientia*, where you prove the queen a bastard, and the bishop of Rome to be an usurper, and to have no authority in the realm of England.

Ye must needs confess, that the most part of your acts of parliament, in these latter days, have been according to the fantasies of a few. King Henry, in his time, established by parliament, in a manner, what he listed, and many things that might well have been amended.

In king Edward's days, the dukes of Somerset and Northumberland bare a great stroke in things, and did not all things sincerely. Even so, since the queen, that

now is, came to the government of the realm, all things are ordered by your device and head, and the whole parliament-house is led as you list; by reason whereof they are compelled to consent to things both contrary to God's manifest word, and also contrary to their own consciences, so great is your cruelty.

For to bring your wicked purposes to pass, and to establish your antichristian kingdom, which, I trust the Lord with the breath of his mouth will speedily blow over, you have called three parliaments in one year and a half, that, what you could not compass by subtle persuasion, you might bring to pass by tyrannical threatening. For if you had not used cruel force in your doings, you had never brought to pass such things as this day you have, to the utter defacing and abolishing of God's true religion, and to the casting away and destruction of your natural country, so much as in you lieth.

And as it is most true that acts of parliament have, in these latter days, been ruled by the fantasies of a few, and the whole parliament-house, contrary to their minds, was compelled to consent to such things as a few have conceived: so it must needs be granted that the papists at all times were most ready to apply themselves to the present world; and, like men-pleasers, to follow the fantasies of such as were in authority, and turn with the state, whosoever way it turned. Yea, if the state should change ten times in a year, they would be ever ready at hand to change with it, and to follow the cry, and rather utterly forsake God, and be of no religion, than that they would forego lust and living, for God or religion.

King Henry, by parliament, according to God's word, put down the pope; the clergy consented, and all men openly, by oath, refused his usurped supremacy, knowing, by God's word, Christ to be head of the church, and every king in his realm to have, under and next unto Christ, the chief sovereignty.

King Edward, also, by parliament, according to God's word, set the marriage of priests at liberty, abolished the popish and idolatrous mass, changed the Latin service, and set up the holy communion; the whole clergy consented hereunto; many of them set it forth by their preaching, and all they by practising confirmed the same.

Notwithstanding, now, when the state is altered, and the laws changed, the papistical clergy, with other like

worldlings, as men neither fearing God, nor flying worldly shame, neither yet regarding their consciences, oaths, or honesty, like wavering weather-cocks, turn round about, and putting on harlots' foreheads, sing a new song, and cry with an impudent mouth, Come again, come again to the catholic church—meaning the antichristian church of Rome, which is the synagogue of Satan, and the very sink of all superstition, heresy, and idolatry.

Of what force, I pray you, may a man think these parliaments to be, which scarcely can stand a year in strength? or what credit is to be given to these law-makers, who are not ashamed to establish contrary laws, and to condemn that for evil, which before, (the thing itself and the circumstances remaining all one,) they affirmed and decreed to be good? Truly ye are so ready, contrary to all right, to change and turn for the pleasure of man, that at length, I fear, God will use you like changelings, and both turn you forth of his kingdom, and out of your own country.

Ye charge the gospel preachers with the undoing of this realm; nay, it is the turning papists, which have not only set to sale their country like traitors, but also troubled the simple people, so that they cannot tell what they may believe. For that which they affirmed and preached to be true doctrine in king Edward's days, now they cry against it, as if it were most abominable heresy. This fault I trust shall never find at our hands.

Therefore, to conclude that which I proposed, forasmuch as the acts of parliament of these latter times are one contrary to another, and those which ye now have established in your time, are contrary to God's most manifest word; as is the usurped supremacy of the bishop of Rome, the idolatrous mass, the Latin service, the prohibiting of lawful marriage, (which St. Paul calleth the doctrine of devils,) with many such others: I say, it is not only lawful for any private man, who brings God's word for him, and the authority of the primitive church, to speak and write against such unlawful laws, but it is his duty, and he is bound in very conscience to do it. Which I have proved by divers examples before, and now will add but one other, which is written in the fifth of Acts, where it appeareth that the high priests, the elders, scribes, and pharisees, decreed in their council, and gave the same commandment to the apostles, that they should not preach in the name of Christ, as ye have also so bidden us; notwithstanding, when they

were charged therewithal, they answered, We ought more to obey God than man; even so we may and do answer you, God is more to be obeyed than man; and your wicked laws cannot so tongue-tie us, but we will speak the truth.

The apostles were beaten for their boldness, and they rejoiced that they suffered for Christ's cause. Ye have also provided rods for us, and bloody whips, yet when ye have done that which God's hand and counsel hath determined that ye shall do, be it life or death, I trust that God will so assist us by his Holy Spirit and grace, that we shall patiently suffer it, and praise God for it; and whatsoever become of me and others, who now suffer for speaking and professing of the truth, yet be ye sure, that God's word will prevail and have the upper hand, when your bloody laws, and wicked decrees, for want of sure foundation, shall fall in the dust. And that which I have spoken of your acts of parliament, the same may be said of the general councils of these latter days, which have been within these five hundred years, where the antichrist of Rome, by reason of his usurped authority ruled the roast, and decreed such things as made for his gain, not regarding God's glory; and therefore are they to be spoken, written, and cried out against, by all such as fear God and love his truth. And thus much I purposed to have said concerning the first point.

Now touching the second point: That whereas my lord chancellor had, the day before, said his pleasure of them that ruled the realm while he was in prison: and also rejoiced, as though God had made this alteration even for his sake, and his catholic church, as he called it; and to declare, as it were by miracle, that we were before in a schism and heresy; and the realm was now brought unto an unity, and to a truth, and I cannot tell whereto—thereto was I fully purposed to have said, Secondly, My lord, whereas yesterday you so highly dispraised the government of them that ruled in inopotent king Edward's days, it may please your lordship to understand, that we poor preachers, whom you so evil allow, did most boldly and plainly rebuke their evil governance in many things, especially their covetousness, and negligence, and small regard to live after the gospel, as also their neglect to occasion others to live thereafter, with more things than I can now rehearse. This all London can testify with us.

I would also have told him what I myself, for my part, did once at Paul's cross, concerning the misuse of abbeyes, and other church goods; and I am assured right well, that never a papist of them all did ever so much therein as I did, I thank the Lord therefore. I was also, as it is well known, fain to answer therefore before all the council; and many of my brethren did the like, so that we, for the not rebuking of their faults, shall not answer before God, nor be blameworthy before men. Therefore, let the gentlemen and courtiers themselves, and all the citizens of London, testify what we did.

But, my lord, you could not abide them, for that which they did unto you, and for that they were of a contrary religion unto you. Wherefore, in that you seem so infest* against them, it is neither any just nor public cause, but it is your own private hate, that makes you to report so evil of their governance. And you may now say what you list of them, when they are partly dead and gone, and partly by you put out of office.

But what shall be said of you, when your fall shall follow, you then shall hear. And I must say my conscience to you—I fear me, you have, and will, with your governance “bring England out of God's blessing into a warm sun.” I pray God you do not.

I am an Englishman born, and, God knows, do naturally wish well to my country. And, my lord, I have often proved that the things which I have much feared beforehand should come to pass, have indeed followed. I pray God I may fail of my guessing in this behalf; but truly that will not be with expelling the true word of God out of the realm, and with the shedding of innocent blood.

And, as touching your rejoicing, as though God had set you aloft to punish us by miracle, (for so you report and brag openly of yourself,) and to minister justice, if we will not receive your holy father's mercies, and thereby declare your church to be true and ours false—to that I answer thus: God's works are wonderful, and are not to be comprehended and perceived by man's wisdom, nor by the wit of the most wise and prudent. Yea, they are soonest deceived, and do most easily judge amiss of God's wonderful works, that are most worldly wise. God hath made all the wisdom of this world foolishness. (1 Cor. i.) He hath put

* Angry, displeased.

his beloved and dear heart into the hands of the enemies thereof. (Jer. xii.) This God doth, which all wise men account to be the most foolish and unwise part that can be. Will the wise of the world, think ye, put their most dear friends and tenderly beloved children into their enemies' hands, to kill, slay, burn, &c.? That is unto them a madness above all madness. And yet God uses this order; and this is a high and singular wisdom in his sight, which the world takes to be the most extreme madness.

Can the world show a cause why he suffered the great multitude of innocent children to be murdered by Herod of Ascalon, or why he put that most holy man John the Baptist into the hands of Herod his son to be beheaded, and that in prison, in secret without open judgment, most tyrannously? Why he suffered his beloved apostle James to be beheaded of another Herod? (Acts xii.) Why he suffered his beloved seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to be four hundred years in thralldom and bondage, and under Pharaoh? And all the stock of Judah and Benjamin, his beloved children and church, to come under the power, sword, and tyranny of Nebuchadnezzar? No, verily; but his true catholic church knows divers causes thereof, which are now too long to rehearse, and which I would right gladly show, if I had time.

But this I am right sure of; that it was not because that the aforesaid godly men were in heresies, and subject to false gods' services and idolatry, and that their adversaries were men of God, and beloved of God. The contrary was true; John Baptist was beloved of God, and Herod hated, and so of the rest: and John Baptist, the innocent children, James, the children of Israel in Egypt and Babylon, were the catholic members and people of God. And their adversaries, into whose hands they were put and delivered, and that of God, by his good will and pleasure, were idolaters, and the people of the devil; but they would be called the chief members of God, and rejoiced that they had the true God, and that it was now declared by miracle, that the Israelites had but a false god, and a false religion, seeing they were delivered into the Babylonians' hands. And all the others (the Herods and Pharaoh I mean) plainly determined, that if the men, whom they killed and handled evil, had been God's people, God would never have suffered them to have come into their hands, but rather have done the con-

trary, and have let John Baptist kill Herod, and the Israelites Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar. Even the like is now to be seen in us, and in our most cruel adversaries.

They are not therefore the catholic church, because our merciful God hath at this present given our lives into their hands; neither are we therefore heretics, because we suffer punishment at their hands, as the lord chancellor by his rejoicing seemeth to gather. The contrary is hereby to be gathered, that we are the members of the true catholic church, because we suffer for the same doctrine which John Baptist, James, the Israelites, yea, Christ himself, and the apostles did teach; of whom none taught any thing of our adversaries' doctrine, namely, that the rotten antichristian head of Rome should be the head of Christ's church: but they have manifestly taught the contrary, especially Paul, in the second to the Thessalonians, John in the Revelation, Daniel xi., which thing, if I might have life and books, I would, by God's grace, so set forth that all the world should see it: and that our adversaries, with their antichristian head, are the members of the devil's church, as they undoubtedly are.

And in like case as the above-mentioned holy men, though they in their days were counted to be heretics, seditious, and disturbers of the whole world. For unto John Baptist it was said, (John i.) Wherefore baptizest thou, if thou be not Elias, nor that prophet, &c. As who should say, Thou hast no such authority to begin a new ceremony in the church. For we are in ordinary possession of the church, and of us thou hast received no such power: we abide by our circumcision. And the like could I declare of James, and of all the apostles and prophets, and of our Saviour Christ himself, who were all condemned as heretics and blasphemers of God, and disturbers of the whole world. Paul and Silas, (Acts xvi.) heard like words of the Philipians; These men trouble our city, seeing they are Jews, and preach institutions which are not lawful for us to receive, seeing we be Romans. And in Athens, the wise men of this world, and such as give their endeavour to wisdom, said of St. Paul, What will this prater, (as my lord chancellor said to me, Shall we suffer this fellow to prate? when I would fain have said that which I have here written,) trifier, news carrier or bringer, that telleth whatsoever men will have him for gain and advantage, that will for a piece of bread say what ye will have him, &c.? And an-

other said in the same place, He seemeth to be a preacher of new doctrines, &c. And, (Acts xxi.) the Jews said by Paul, laying hands on him, "Help, O ye Israelites, say they; this is the man that teaches all men every where against the people (meaning the Jews) and the law of this place" (meaning Jerusalem;) and yet was never a word of this true. And (Acts xxii.) the same Jews said of Paul, Out of the earth with that man, or away with him. For it is not lawful for him to live, or he is not worthy to live.

And how many more of these examples are there to be found in the Bible? Although, I say, these men were in their days taken for heretics of them that were then in authority, and of the great multitude of the world, yet it is now well known, yea, and very shortly after their deaths this was known, yea, and even in their lives also unto the true catholic church, that they were not only the chief and special members of the true catholic church, but also the founders and builders thereof, notwithstanding the sinister judgment that the wise and mighty men, and the great multitude of the world had of them, and in their consciences they were always assuredly certified of the same. Even the same shall the world find true in us, shortly after our deaths, as also there are at this hour, the Lord be thanked therefore, not a few that already know it, as we ourselves also are by God's grace assuredly certified in our consciences, that we are not heretics, but members of the true catholic church; and that our adversaries, the bishops, and popish clergy, who will have that title, are the members of Satan's church, and their antichristian head of Rome with them.

But here will they cry out, Lo! these men will be still like John Baptist, the apostles, and the prophets, &c. I answer, we make not ourselves like unto them, in the singular virtues and gifts of God given unto them, as of doing miracles, and of many other things. The similitude and likeness of them and us consists not in all things, but only in this, that we are like them in doctrine, and in the suffering of persecution and infamy for the same.

That we have preached their very doctrine, and none other, we are able sufficiently to declare by their writings; and by writing, for my part, I have proffered to prove the same, as it is now often said. And for this cause we suffer the like reproach, shame, and rebuke of the world, and the

like persecution, losing of our lives and goods, forsaking, as our master Christ commands, father, mother, sister, brethren, wives, children, and all that there is, being assured of a joyful resurrection, and to be crowned in glory with them, according to the infallible promises made unto us in Christ our only and sufficient Mediator, Reconciler, Priest, and Sacrifice, who hath pleased the Father, and quieted and pacified his wrath against our sins, and made us without spot or wrinkle in his sight, by imputation; although we, of and in ourselves, are bespotted and blotted with many filthy sins, which if the great mercy granted in Christ did not put away, by not imputing them unto us, of his measureless unspeakable mercy and love to save us, they would have brought us to everlasting damnation, and death perpetual.

Herein, and in no other, do we affirm ourselves to be like unto our head Christ and all his apostles, prophets, martyrs, and saints. And herein ought all Christian men to be like them; and herein are all true Christian men and women to be like them, every one, according to the measure of the faith that God hath dealt unto them, and to the diversity of the gifts of the Spirit given unto them. But let us now consider, that if it be God's good will and pleasure to give his own beloved heart, that is, his beloved church, and the members thereof, into the hands of their enemies, to chasten, try, and prove them, and to bring them to the true unfeigned acknowledging of their own natural stubbornness, disobedience towards God and his commandments, as touching the love of God and of their brethren or neighbours; and their natural inclination, readiness, and desire to love creatures, to seek their own lusts, pleasures, and things forbidden of God, to obtain a true and earnest repentance and sorrowfulness therefore, and to make them sigh and cry for the forgiveness of the same, and for the aid of the Spirit, daily to mortify and kill the said evil desires and lusts, yea, and their often falling unto gross outward sins, as did David, Peter, Magdalen, and others, to rise again also thereout with a mighty crying for mercy, with many other causes; let us also consider what He hereafter doth with the said enemies, into whose hands he hath given his tenderly beloved dearlings to be chastened and tried.

Whereas he but chastens his dearlings, and crosses them for a small while, according to his good pleasure, as all

fathers do with their children, (Hebrews xii.; Proverbs iii.) he utterly destroys, yea, and everlastingly condemns the unrepentant enemies. Let Herod tell me what he won by killing James, and persecuting Peter, and Christ's tender dearlings, and beloved spouse and wife, his church. Verily, God thought him not worthy to have death ministered unto him by men or angels, or any worthy creatures; but those small, and yet most vile vermin, lice and worms, must consume and kill his beastly, vile, and tyrannous body!

Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar, for all their pride and most mighty power, must at the length let God's dearlings go freely away out of their land, yea, out of their bands and tyranny. For when it could not be obtained at their hands, that God's congregation might have true mercy ministered unto them, but the counterfeit mercy of these our days, that is to say, extreme cruelty, and even the very and most horrible and cruel death, God arose and awoke out of his sleep, and destroyed those enemies of his flock with a mighty hand and stretched-out arm.

Pharaoh did with most great and intolerable labours and burdens, oppress and bring under the poor Israelites, and yet did the courtiers undoubtedly noise abroad that the king was merciful unto them, to suffer them to live in the land, and to set them to work, that they might get them their livings. If he should thrust them out of his land, whither should they go, like a sort of vagabonds and runagates? This title and name of mercy would that tyrant have, and so did his flattering false courtiers spread his vain praise abroad.

Have not we the like examples now-a-days? O that I had'now time to write certain things pertaining to our Winchester's mercy! How merciful he hath been to me and to my good brethren, I will not speak of; neither yet the duke of Suffolk's most innocent daughter, and to her as innocent husband. For although their fathers were faulty, yet had their youth and lack of experience deserved a pardon by all true and merciful men's judgments. O that I had time to paint out this matter aright! but there are many alive that can do it much better, when I am dead. Pharaoh had his plagues, and his most flourishing land was by counterfeit mercy, which was indeed right cruelty and abominable tyranny, utterly destroyed. And think ye that bloody butcherly bishop of Winchester and his most

bloody brethren shall escape? Or that England shall for their offences, and specially for the maintenance of their idolatry, and wilful following of them, not abide as great brunts? Yes, undoubtedly.

If God look not mercifully upon England, the seeds of utter destruction are sown in it already, by these hypocritical tyrants and antichristian prelates, popish papists, and double traitors to their natural country. And yet they speak of mercy, of blessing, of the catholic church, of unity, of power, and strengthening of the realm. This double dissimulation will show itself one day when the plague cometh, which will undoubtedly light upon those crown-shorn captains, and that shortly, whatsoever the godly and the poor realm suffer in the mean while by God's good sufferance and will.

Spite of Nebuchadnezzar's beard and maugre his heart, the captive, thrall, and miserable Jews must come home again, and have their city and temple builded up again by Zerubbabel, Ezra, Nehemiah, &c., and the whole kingdom of Babylon must go to ruin, and be taken of strangers, the Persians and the Medes. So shall the dispersed English flock of Christ be brought again into their former state, or to a better, I trust in the Lord God, than it was in innocent king Edward's days, and our bloody Babylonical bishops and the whole crown-shorn company brought to utter shame, rebuke, ruin, decay, and destruction. For God cannot, and undoubtedly will not, suffer for ever their abominable lying, false doctrine, their hypocrisy, blood-thirst, whoredom, idleness, their pestilent life, pampered in all kinds of pleasure, their Thrasonical boasting pride, their malicious, envious, and poisoned stomachs, which they bear towards his poor and miserable Christians.

Peter truly warns, that if judgment begins at the house of God, what shall be the end of them that believe not the gospel? If the righteous shall scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinful appear? Some shall have their punishment here in this world and in the world to come; and they that do escape in this world shall not escape everlasting damnation.—

After that John Rogers, as ye have heard, had been long and straitly imprisoned, lodged in Newgate amongst thieves, often examined, and very uncharitably treated, and at length unjustly and most cruelly, by wicked Winchester,

condemned; on the fourth of February, in the year of our Lord 1555, being Monday in the morning, he was warned suddenly, by the keeper's wife of Newgate, to prepare himself to the fire; who then being sound asleep, scarce with much jogging could be awaked. At length being raised and waked, and bid to make haste, then said he, If it be so, I need not to tie my points; and so was had down, first to Bonner to be degraded. That done, he craved of Bonner but one petition. And Bonner asking what that should be: Nothing, said he, but that I might speak a few words with my wife before my burning. But that could not be obtained of him. Then said he, You declare your charity what it is: and so he was brought into Smithfield by master Chester and master Woodroof, then sheriffs of London, there to be burnt; where he showed most constant patience, not using many words, for he could not be permitted; but only exhorted the people constantly to remain in that faith and true doctrine, which he before had taught, and they had learned, and for the confirmation whereof, he was not only content patiently to suffer and bear all such bitterness and cruelty as had been showed him, but also most gladly to resign up his life, and to give his flesh to the consuming fire, for the testimony of the same.

Briefly, and in few words to comprehend the whole order of his life, doings, and martyrdom; First, this godly master Rogers was committed to prison, as is above said, and there continued a year and a half. In prison he was joyful, and earnest in all he went about. He wrote much; his examinations he penned with his own hand, which else had never come to light. Wherein is to be noted by the way a memorable working of God's providence. Ye heard a little above, how master Rogers craved of Bonner, going to his burning, that he might speak a few words before with his wife, which could not be granted. What these words were, which he had to say to his wife, it is for no man certainly to define.

Likely it may be supposed that his purpose was, amongst other things, to signify unto her of the book written of his examinations and answers, which he had privily hid in a secret corner of the prison where he lay. But where man's power lacketh, see how God's providence worketh. For notwithstanding that during the time of his imprisonment, strait search there was to take away his letters and writings, yet after his death, his wife, and one of her sons, called

Daniel, coming into the place where he lay, to seek for his books and writings, and now ready to go away, it chanced her son, beforenamed, casting his eye aside, to spy a black thing, for it had a black cover, belike because it should not be known, lying in a blind corner under a pair of stairs, who, willing his mother to see what it was, found it to be the book written with his own hand, containing these his examinations and answers, with other matters above specified.*

Furthermore, amongst other words and sayings, which may seem prophetically to be spoken by him, this also may be added, and is notoriously to be marked, that he spake, being in prison, to the printer of the present book, who then also was laid up for like cause of religion:† Thou, said he, shalt live to see the alteration of this religion, and the gospel freely preached again; and therefore have me commended to my brethren, as well in exile as others, and bid them to be circumspect in displacing the papists, and putting good ministers into churches, or else their end will be worse than ours. And for lack of good ministers to furnish churches, his device was, master Hooper also agreeing to

* Daniel Rogers was about thirteen when his father was burned; Strype relates that he afterwards studied at Wittenberg under Melancthon, and at Oxford. In queen Elizabeth's reign he was employed as an agent among the protestants on the continent, and made many important communications to secretary Cecil. Wood speaks of him as the most accomplished gentleman of his time, a very good man and excellently learned. Others, however, consider this Daniel Rogers not to have been the son of the martyr, but of another protestant of the same name.

† John Day, who may be called the printer of the English reformation. In the reign of Edward VI. he printed many writings of the Reformers. During queen Mary's reign he was imprisoned for the truth, and though he was released he almost wholly refrained from pursuing his business. On the accession of queen Elizabeth he resumed his trade, and many of the most valuable works of the reformers were set forth at his expense and risk. Among these particularly may be enumerated those of Becon, Tindal, Frith, &c., but especially that invaluable work, "THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE CHURCH." This work occupied Fox and several assistants eleven years; it was warmly encouraged by bishop Grindal, but certainly Day was mainly instrumental in its completion. The Acts and Monuments, or, as it is more commonly called, "Fox's Martyrs," is too well known to render any account of it necessary in this place. Day was opposed by many of his trade, "who hindered what they could the sale of his books;" but by the assistance of archbishop Parker he was enabled to open a shop in St. Paul's church-yard, and thus many of the valuable writings now reprinted in "THE BRITISH REFORMERS" were widely circulated.

the same, that for every ten churches some one good and learned superintendent should be appointed, who should have under him faithful readers, such as might well be got, so that popish priests should be clean put out, and the bishop once a year to oversee the profiting of the parishes, and if the minister did not his duty, as well in profiting himself in his book, and his parishioners in good instructions, so that they might be trained by little and little to give a reckoning how they profited, then he to be expelled, and another to be put in his place; and the bishop to do the like with the superintendent. This was his counsel and request; showing moreover, and protesting in his commendations to his brethren by the printer aforesaid, that if they would not so do, their end he said, would be worse than theirs.

Over and besides divers other things touching master Rogers, this is not to be forgotten, how in the days of king Edward the sixth there was a controversy among the bishops and clergy, about wearing of priests' caps, and other attire belonging to that order. Master Rogers being one of that number who never went otherwise than in a round cap, during all the time of king Edward, affirming that he would not agree to that decrement of uniformity, but upon this condition, that if they would needs have such an uniformity of wearing the cap, tippet, &c., then it should also be decreed withal, that the papists, for a difference between them and others, should be constrained to wear upon their sleeves a chalice with a host upon it. Whereunto if they would consent, he would agree to the other, otherwise he would not, he said, consent to the setting forth of the same, nor ever wear the cap, as indeed he never did.

To proceed now further in describing the doings of this man, during the time while he remained prisoner in Newgate, he was to the prisoners beneficial and liberal, for whom he had thus devised, that he with his fellows should have but one meal a day, they paying notwithstanding for the charges of the whole; the other meal should be given to them that lacked on the other side of the prison. But Alexander their keeper, a strait man, and a right Alexander, a coppersmith indeed, of whose doings more shall be said, God willing, hereafter, would in no case suffer that. The Sunday before he suffered, he drank to master Hooper, being then underneath him, and bade them commend him unto him, and tell him, there was never little fellow better

would stick to a man than he would stick to him, presupposing they should be burnt together, although it happened otherwise; for master Rogers was burnt alone. And thus much briefly concerning the life and such acts of master Rogers, as I thought worthy noting.

Now when the time came, that he, being delivered to the sheriffs, should be brought out of Newgate to Smithfield, the place of his execution, first came to him master Woodroof, one of the sheriffs, and calling master Rogers unto him, asked him if he would revoke his abominable doctrine and his evil opinions of the sacrament of the altar. Master Rogers answered and said, That which I have preached I will seal with my blood. Then, quoth master Woodroof, thou art a heretic.—That shall be known, quoth Rogers, at the day of judgment.—Well, quoth master Woodroof, I will never pray for thee.—But I will pray for you, quoth master Rogers; and so he was brought the same day, which was Monday the fourth of February, by the sheriffs towards Smithfield, saying the fifty-first psalm by the way, all the people wonderfully rejoicing at his constancy, with great praises and thanks to God for the same: and there in the presence of master Rochester, comptroller of the queen's household, sir Richard Southwell,* both the sheriffs, and a wonderful number of people, he was burnt into ashes, washing his hands in the flame as he was in burning.

A little before his burning at the stake, his pardon was brought if he would have recanted: but he utterly refused it. He was **THE FIRST MARTYR** of all the blessed company that suffered in queen Mary's time; he gave the first adventure upon the fire.

His wife and children, being eleven in number, ten able to go, and one sucking on her breast, met him by the way as he went toward Smithfield. This sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood, dear as they were to him, could yet nothing move him, but that he constantly and cheerfully took his death with wonderful patience, in the defence and cause of Christ's gospel.

In addition to his biblical labours, Rogers translated some homilies and other pieces of Melancthon. Tanner also mentions a volume of sermons and lectures upon the gospel of St. John, with a few other pieces.

* He was at first inclined to favour the Reformation, but afterwards a persecutor.

THE HISTORY AND MARTYRDOM

OF

M. LAWRENCE SAUNDERS.

LAWRENCE SAUNDERS was the son of respectable parents. He was educated at Eton, and afterwards was a scholar at King's College, Cambridge, for three years, when his mother apprenticed him to a merchant named sir William Chester. Fox relates, "Thus by the mind of his friends, Lawrence should needs have been a merchant; but almighty God, who hath his secret working in all things, saw better for his servant, as it fell out in the end; for although Saunders was bound by fast indenture to play the merchant, yet the Lord so wrought inwardly in his heart, that he could find no liking in that vocation, so that when his other fellows were busily occupied, he would secretly withdraw himself into some private corner, and there fall into his solitary lamentations, as one not liking that trade and manner of life."

Fox proceeds to state, that "His master being a good man, and hearing his apprentice thus in his secret prayers inwardly to mourn by himself," inquired into the cause of Saunders's troubles, and perceiving his desire for more serious pursuits, gave up his indentures; he then returned to Cambridge, where he applied himself earnestly to the study of the holy Scripture, to fit himself for the office of a preacher, becoming master of the Hebrew as well as of the Latin and Greek.

Fox says, "In study he was diligent and painful, in godly life he declared the fruits of a well exercised conscience; he prayed often, and with great fervour, and in his prayers, as also at other times, he had his part of spiritual exercises, which his hearty sighing to God declared: in which, when any special assault did come, by prayer he felt present relief; then was his company marvellous comfortable, for as his exercises were special teaching, so in the end they proved singular consolations, wherein he became so expert, that within short space he was able to comfort others which were in any affliction, by the consolation wherewith the Lord did comfort him."

Saunders was ordained in the beginning of king Edward's reign, and preached successively at Fotheringay,

Litchfield, and Church Langton in Leicestershire. He was afterwards appointed to Allhallows, Bread Street, just before queen Mary's accession to the throne, and went into the country to resign his former living; but "seeing the dreadful days at hand," he preached with diligence at both these benefices, seeing he could resign neither of them but into the hands of a papist."—Thus passed he to and fro in preaching, until the proclamation was put forth to the contrary, and he was by force prevented from continuing his office in the country. He then returned to his flock in London, and on his way, October 14, 1553, he was overtaken by sir John Mordaunt, one of the queen's council, who advised him to forsake his cure. Saunders replied, "How shall I then be discharged before God, if any be sick and desire consolation, if any want good counsel and need instruction, or if any should fall into error and receive false doctrine?" He offered, however to submit to lawful authority, and to obey if sir John forbade him, and had power to do so. The knight replied that he would not forbid, but only advised him to forbear, and informed Bonner of Saunders's intention to preach on the morrow. He preached the morning, earnestly warning the people against the corruptions of popery from 2 Cor. xi. 2—4, and was ready to give another exhortation in the afternoon, when an officer of the bishop's interrupted him, and took him before Bonner. Here he was accused of treason, heresy, and sedition, and commanded to write what he believed of transubstantiation. At that time it was lawful to do so, but Saunders, when complying with Bonner's command, told him he knew it was intended to be brought against him afterwards, which in fact was Bonner's intention, and he so made use of it. Saunders was then sent to Gardiner, who treated him with much roughness, and committed him to prison.

Saunders was kept a prisoner in the Marshalsea for fifteen months, during which time he was occupied much as his fellow-martyrs, in writing letters, and conferring, both with friends and adversaries, as occasion offered. Full power to proceed against the protestants as heretics having then been given, he was brought before Gardiner and his companions; after several examinations he was condemned, and sent to the compters in Bread Street. The account of his last hours is best given in the words of Fox.

The fourth day of February, 1555, the bishop of Lon-

don came to the prison, where he was to degrade him, which when he had done, Lawrence Saunders said to him, "I thank God I am none of your church."

The day following, in the morning, the sheriff of London delivered him to certain of the queen's guard, who were appointed to carry him to the city of Coventry, there to be burned. The first night they came to St. Alban's, where master Grimoald, a man who had more store of good gifts than of great constancy, spoke with him.

After master Saunders had given him a lesson proper for his lightness, he took a cup in his hand, and asked him if he would pledge him of that cup of which he would begin to him. Grimoald, by his shrugging and shrinking showing what he was, said, "Of that cup which is in your hand I will pledge you; but of that other which you mean, I will not promise you."—"Well," said master Saunders, "my dear Lord Jesus Christ has begun to me of a more bitter cup than mine shall be, and shall I not pledge my most sweet Saviour? Yes, I hope."

After they were come to Coventry, the same night a poor shoemaker, who was wont to serve him with shoes, came to him after his manner, and said, "O my good master, God strengthen and comfort you."—"Gramercy, good shoemaker," replied master Saunders, "and I pray thee to pray for me, for I am the unmeetest man for this high office, that ever was appointed to it; but my gracious God and dear Father is able to make me strong enough." That same night he was put into the common gaol among other prisoners, where he slept little, but spent the night in prayer and instructing of others.

The next day, which was the eighth of February, he was led to the place of execution in the park, without the city, going in an old gown and a shirt, bare-footed, and oft-times fell flat on the ground, and prayed. When he was come nigh to the place, the officer appointed to see the execution done, said to master Saunders that he was one of them which marred the queen's realm with false doctrine and heresy, "wherefore thou hast deserved death, but yet, if thou wilt revoke thine heresies, the queen hath pardoned thee; if not, yonder fire is prepared for thee."

To whom master Saunders answered, "It is not I, nor my fellow-preachers of God's truth, that have hurt the queen's realm, but it is yourself, and such as you are, who have always resisted God's holy word; it is you who have

and do mar the queen's realm. I hold no heresies; but the doctrine of God, the blessed gospel of Christ, that hold I, that believe I, that have I taught, and that will I never revoke." With that the tormentor cried "Away with him." And away from him went Master Saunders with a joyful courage towards the fire. He fell to the ground and prayed; he rose up again, and took the stake to which he should be chained, in his arms, and kissed it, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ; welcome everlasting life;" and being fastened to the stake, and fire put to him, full sweetly he slept in the Lord.

And thus ye have the history of Lawrence Saunders, whom I might well compare to St. Lawrence, or any other of the old martyrs of Christ's church, both for the fervent zeal of the truth and gospel of Christ, and the most constant patience in his sufferings, as also for the cruel torments that he in his patient body did sustain in the flame of fire: for so his cruel enemies handled him, that they burned him with green wood, and other smothering rather than burning, fuel, which put him to much more pain; but the grace and most plentiful consolation of Christ, which never forsaketh his servants, and gave strength to St. Lawrence, gave also patience to this Lawrence, above all that his torments could work against him; which well appeared by his quiet standing, and sweet sleeping in the fire, as is above declared.

Dr. Pendleton and M. Saunders meeting together in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, and speaking of the persecution which was likely to ensue, about which Saunders showed much weakness and many fears, Pendleton said to him—"What, man! There is much more cause for me to fear than for thee, forasmuch as I have a big and fat body; yet will I see the utmost drop of this grease of mine melted away, and the last gobbet of this flesh of mine consumed to ashes, before I will forsake Jesus Christ and his truth which I have professed." Yet not long after, when the hour of trial came, poor, feeble, faint-hearted Saunders, by the power and goodness of God, sealed the truth with his blood; while proud Pendleton played the apostate, and turned papist.

Saunders was an active and faithful preacher of the gospel. Several of his letters have been preserved by Coverdale and Fox. They will interest and edify the Christian reader.

THE HISTORY
OF
DR. ROWLAND TAYLOR.*

From the Acts and Monuments of John Fox.

THE town of Hadley was one of the first that received the word of God in all England, at the preaching of master Thomas Bilney; by whose industry the gospel of Christ had such gracious success, and took such root there, that a great number in that parish became exceedingly well learned in the Holy Scriptures, as well women as men; so that a man might have found many among them that had often read the whole Bible through, and who could have said a great part of St. Paul's epistles by heart, and very well and readily have given a godly learned sentence in any matter of controversy. Their children and servants were also brought up and trained so diligently in the right knowledge of God's word, that the whole town seemed rather a university of the learned, than a town of cloth-making or labouring people. And what most is to be commended, they were for the more part faithful followers of God's word in their living.

In this town Dr. Rowland Taylor, doctor in both the civil and canon laws, and a right perfect divine, was parson. Who at his first entering into his benefice did

* Strype, speaking of Dr. Taylor, says, "He was one of the chaplains of archbishop Cranmer, and an extraordinary man, both for his learning, as well as his bold and brave profession of Christ's religion, even to the fiery trial. He had read over, which was rare in those days, all Augustine's works, Cyprian, Gregory Nazianzen, Eusebius, Origen, and divers other fathers. He professed the civil law, and had read over the canon law also. He was much employed in ecclesiastical affairs in the reign of Edward the sixth." Dr. Taylor was a native of Rothbury, in Northumberland; he was of the University of Cambridge, where the conversation of Dr. Turner, and the preaching of Latimer, proved to be the means of his conversion. The narrative of his sufferings, which is here faithfully reprinted, is one of the most affecting and interesting pieces connected with the history of the British Reformation.

not, as the common sort of beneficed men do, let out his benefice to a farmer, who should gather up the profits, and set in an ignorant unlearned priest to serve the cure, and so that they may have the fleece, little or nothing care for feeding the flock: but, contrarily, he forsook the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, with whom he before was in household, and made his personal abode and dwelling in Hadley among the people committed to his charge. Where he as a good shepherd, abiding and dwelling among his sheep, gave himself wholly to the study of holy Scriptures, most faithfully endeavouring himself to fulfil that charge which the Lord gave unto Peter, saying, Peter, lovest thou me? feed my lambs, feed my sheep, feed my sheep. This love of Christ so wrought in him, that no Sunday nor holyday passed, nor other time when he might get the people together, but he preached to them the word of God, the doctrine of their salvation.

Not only was his word a preaching unto them, but all his life and conversation was an example of unfeigned Christian life and true holiness. He was void of all pride, humble and meek as any child; so that none were so poor, but they might resort unto him boldly, as unto their father, neither was his lowliness childish or fearful, but as occasion, time, and place required, he would be stout in rebuking the sinful and evil doers, so that none was so rich but he would tell him plainly his fault, with such earnest and grave rebukes as became a good curate and pastor. He was a man very mild, void of all rancour, grudge, or evil will, ready to do good to all men, readily forgiving his enemies, and never sought to do evil to any.

To the poor that were blind, lame, sick, bedrid, or that had many children, he was a very father, a careful patron, and diligent provider, insomuch that he caused the parishioners to make a general provision for them;* and he himself, besides the continual relief that they always found at his house, gave an honest portion yearly to the common alms box. His wife also was an honest, discreet, and sober matron, and his children well nurtured, brought up in the fear of God and good learning.

To conclude, he was a right and lively image or pattern of all those virtuous qualities described by St. Paul in a true bishop; good salt of the earth, savourily biting the corrupt manners of evil men; a light in God's house set

* The poor laws had not then been enacted.

upon a candlestick for all good men to imitate and follow. Thus continued this good shepherd among his flock, governing and leading them through the wilderness of this wicked world, all the days of the most innocent and holy king of blessed memory, Edward the sixth. But after it pleased God to take king Edward from this vale of misery unto his most blessed rest, the papists, who ever seemed and dissembled, both with king Henry the eighth, and with king Edward his son, now seeing the time convenient for their purpose, uttered their false hypocrisy, openly refusing all the good reformation made by the said two kings; and contrary to that which they had in these two kings' days preached, taught, written, and sworn, they violently overthrew the true doctrine of the gospel, and persecuted with sword and fire all those that would not agree to receive again the Roman bishop as supreme head of the universal church, and allow all the errors, superstitions, and idolatries, that before by God's word were disproved and justly condemned, as though now they were good doctrine, virtuous, and true religion.

In the beginning of this rage of antichrist, a certain petty gentleman, after the sort of a lawyer, called Foster, being a steward and keeper of courts, a man of no great skill, but a bitter persecutor in those days, with one John Clerk, of Hadley, which Foster had ever been a secret favourer of all Romish idolatry, conspired with the said Clerk to bring in the pope and his maumetry* again into Hadley church. For as yet Dr. Taylor, as a good shepherd, had retained and kept in his church the godly church service and reformation made by king Edward, and most faithfully and earnestly preached against the popish corruptions, which had infected the whole country round about.

Therefore the aforesaid Foster and Clerk hired one John Awerth, parson of Aldam, a very money mammonist,† a blind leader of the blind, a popish idolater, and an open adulterer and whoremonger, a very fit minister for their purpose, to come to Hadley, and there to begin again the popish mass. To this purpose they builded up the altar with all haste possible, intending to bring in their mass again about Palm Monday. But this their device took no effect; for in the night the altar was beaten down. Wherefore they built it up again the second time, and laid diligent watch, lest any should again break it down.

* Idolatry.

† A covetous man.

On the day following came Foster and John Clerk, bringing with them their popish sacrificer, who brought with him all his implements and garments, to play his popish pageant, whom they and their men guarded with swords and bucklers, lest any man should disturb him in his missal sacrifice.

When Dr. Taylor, who, according to his custom, sat at his book studying the word of God, heard the bells ring, he arose and went into the church, supposing that something had been there to be done, according to his pastoral office. Coming to the church, he found the church doors shut and fast barred, saving the chancel door, which was only latched. Where he entering in, and coming into the chancel, saw a popish sacrificer in his robes, with a broad new shaven crown, ready to begin his popish sacrifice, beset round about with drawn swords and bucklers, lest any man should approach to disturb him.

Then said Dr. Taylor, Thou devil, who made thee so bold to enter into this church of Christ, to profane and defile it with this abominable idolatry? With that started up Foster, and with an ireful and furious countenance said to Dr. Taylor, Thou traitor, what doest thou here, to hinder and disturb the queen's proceedings? Dr. Taylor answered, I am no traitor, but I am the shepherd that God my Lord Christ hath appointed to feed this his flock: wherefore I have good authority to be here: and I command thee, thou popish wolf, in the name of God, to avoid hence, and not to presume here to poison Christ's flock with such popish idolatry.

Then said Foster, Wilt thou, traitorly heretic, make a commotion, and resist violently the queen's proceedings?

Dr. Taylor answered: I make no commotion, but it is you, papists, that make commotions and tumults. I resist only with God's word against your popish idolatries, which are against God's word, the queen's honour, and tend to the utter subversion of this realm of England. And further, thou doest against the canon law, which commands that no mass be said but at a consecrate altar.

When the parson of Aldam heard that, he began to shrink back, and would have left his saying of mass: then started up John Clerk, and said, M. Averth, be not afraid, you have a superaltar.* Go forth with your business, man:

* A superaltar is a stone consecrated by the bishops, commonly of a foot long, which the papists carry instead of an altar when they say mass for money in gentlemen's houses. *Fox.*

Then Foster, with his armed men, took Dr. Taylor, and led him with strong hand out of the church, and the popish prelate proceeded in his Romish idolatry. Dr. Taylor's wife, who followed her husband into the church, when she saw her husband thus violently thrust out of his church, kneeled down and held up her hands, and with a loud voice said, I beseech God the righteous Judge to avenge this injury that this popish idolater this day doth to the blood of Christ. Then they thrust her out of the church also, and shut the doors, for they feared that the people would have rent their sacrificer in pieces. Notwithstanding, one or two threw in great stones at the windows, and missed very little the popish masser.

Thus you see how without consent of the people, the popish mass was again set up, with battle array, with swords and bucklers, with violence and tyranny; which practice the papists have ever yet used. As for reason, law, or Scripture, they have none on their part. Therefore they are the same that saith, The law of unrighteousness is our strength: come, let us oppress the righteous without any fear, &c.

Within a day or two after, with all haste possible, this Foster and Clerk made a complaint of Dr. Taylor, by a letter written to Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor. When the bishop heard this, he sent a letter missive to Dr. Taylor, commanding him within certain days, to come and appear before him upon his allegiance, to answer such complaints as were made against him.

When Dr. Taylor's friends heard of this, they were exceeding sorry and grieved in mind; foreseeing to what end the same matter would come, seeing also that all truth and justice were trodden under foot, and that falsehood with cruel tyranny were set aloft and ruled all the whole rout. His friends, I say, came to him, and earnestly counselled him to depart and fly, alleging and declaring unto him that he could neither be indifferently heard to speak his conscience and mind, nor yet look for justice or favour at the said chancellor's hands, who as it is well known, was most fierce and cruel; but must needs, if he went up to him, wait for imprisonment and cruel death at his hands.

Then said Dr. Taylor to his friends, Dear friends, I most heartily thank you that you have so tender a care over me. And although I know that there is neither justice nor truth to be looked for at my adversaries' hands,

but rather imprisonment and cruel death; yet know I my cause to be so good and righteous, and the truth so strong upon my side, that I will, by God's grace, go and appear before them, and to their beards resist their false doings.

Then said his friends, M. Doctor, we think it not best so to do. You have sufficiently done your duty, and testified the truth, both by your godly sermons, and also in resisting the parson of Aldam, with others, that came hither to bring in again the popish mass. And forasmuch as our Saviour Christ willeth and biddeth us, that when they persecute us in one city, we should flee into another; we think in flying at this time ye should do best, keeping yourself against another time when the church shall have great need of such diligent teachers and godly pastors.

Oh, said Dr. Taylor, what will ye have me to do? I am now old, and have already lived too long, to see these terrible and most wicked days. Do you fly, and do as your consciences lead you. I am fully determined with God's grace, to go to the bishop, and to his beard to tell him that he doeth naught. God shall well hereafter raise up teachers of his people, who shall with much more diligence and fruit teach them than I have done. For God will not forsake his church, though now for a time he trieth and correcteth us, and not without a just cause. As for me, I believe before God, I shall never be able to do God so good service, as I may do now; nor shall I ever have so glorious a calling, as I now have, nor so great mercy of God proffered me, as is now at this present. For what Christian man would not gladly die against the pope and his adherents? I know that the papacy is the kingdom of antichrist, altogether full of lies, altogether full of falsehood, so that all their doctrine, even from Christ's cross be my speed,* and St. Nicholas, unto the end of their apocalypse, is nothing but idolatry, superstition, errors, hypocrisy, and lies. Wherefore I beseech you and all other my friends, to pray for me, and I doubt not but God will give me strength and his Holy Spirit, that all mine adversaries shall have shame of their doings.

When his friends saw him so constant, and fully determined to go, they with weeping eyes commended him

* The horn-book or child's spelling alphabet. St. Nicholas was the patron saint of children; his picture was sometimes prefixed to their books. The words here referred to by Dr. Taylor, were the usual invocation of children when commencing their learning.

unto God; and he within a day or two prepared himself to his journey, leaving his cure with a godly old priest, named sir Richard Yeoman, who afterwards, for God's truth, was burnt at Norwich.* There was also in Hadley one Alcock, a very godly man, well learned in the Holy Scriptures, who, after sir Richard Yeoman was driven away, used daily to read a chapter, and to say the English litany in Hadley church. But him they took up to London, and cast him in prison in Newgate: where after a year's imprisonment he died.

But let us return to Dr. Taylor again, who being accompanied with a servant of his own, named John Hull, took his journey towards London. By the way, this John Hull laboured to counsel and persuade him very earnestly to flee, and not to come to the bishop, and proffered himself to go with him to serve him; and in all perils to venture his life for him and with him. But in no wise would Dr. Taylor consent or agree thereunto, but said, Oh! John, shall I give place to this thy counsel and worldly persuasion, and leave my flock in this danger? Remember the good Shepherd, Christ, who not only fed his flock, but also died for his flock. Him must I follow, and with God's grace I will do so. Therefore, good John, pray for me, and if thou seest me weak at any time, comfort me, and discourage me not in this my godly enterprise and purpose.

Thus they came up to London, and shortly after Dr. Taylor presented himself to the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, then lord chancellor of England.

For this hath been one great abuse in England these many years, that such offices as have been of most importance and weight, have commonly been committed to bishops and other spiritual men, whereby three mischiefs and inconveniences have happened in this realm, to the great dishonour of God, and utter neglecting of the flock of Christ: the which three are these.—First, They have had small leisure to attend to their pastoral cures, which thereby have been utterly neglected and left undone. Secondly, It hath also puffed up many bishops and other spiritual persons into such haughtiness and pride, that they have thought no nobleman in the realm worthy to be their

* The narrative of Yeoman's sufferings as given by Fox is very interesting. After travelling about as a pedlar for some time, he returned to Hadley, where he was concealed in a chamber in the guildhall more than a year. Being discovered at length he was condemned to the fire.

equal and fellow. Thirdly, Where they by this means knew the very secrets of princes, they being in such high offices, have caused the same to be known in Rome, before the kings could accomplish and bring their intents to pass in England. By this means hath the papacy been so maintained, and things ordered after their wills and pleasures, that much mischief hath happened in this realm and others, sometime to the destruction of princes, and sometime to the utter undoing of many commonwealths.

Now when Gardiner saw Dr. Taylor, he, according to his common custom, reviled him, calling him knave, traitor, heretic, with many other villainous reproaches: all which Dr. Taylor heard patiently, and at the last said unto him: My lord, I am neither traitor nor heretic, but a true subject, and a faithful Christian man, and am come according to your commandment, to know what is the cause that your lordship hath sent for me.

Then said the bishop, Art thou come, thou villain? How darest thou look me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who I am? Yes, said Dr. Taylor, I know who you are. You are doctor Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor, and yet but a mortal man, I trow. But if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear you not God, the Lord of us all? How dare you for shame look any Christian man in the face, seeing you have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour Christ and his word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing? With what countenance will you appear before the judgment seat of Christ, and answer to your oath made first unto king Henry the eighth, of famous memory, and afterward unto blessed king Edward the sixth, his son?

The bishop answered, Tush, tush, that was Herod's oath, unlawful, and therefore worthy to be broken. I have done well in breaking it: and, I thank God, I am come home again to our mother, the catholic church of Rome, and so I would thou shouldest do.

Dr. Taylor answered, Should I forsake the church of Christ, which is founded upon the true foundation of the apostles and prophets, to approve those lies, errors, superstitions, and idolatries, which the popes and their company at this day so blasphemously do approve? Nay, God forbid. Let the pope and his, return to our Saviour Christ and his word, and thrust out of the churches such abominable idolatries as he maintaineth, and then will Christian

men turn unto him. You wrote truly against him, and were sworn against him.

I tell thee, said the bishop of Winchester, it was Herod's oath, unlawful, and therefore ought to be broken and not kept: our holy father the pope hath discharged me of it.

Then said Dr. Taylor, But you shall not so be discharged before Christ, who doubtless will require it at your hands, as a lawful oath made to your liege and sovereign lord the king, from whose obedience no man can assoil you, neither the pope nor none of his.

I see, quoth the bishop, thou art an arrogant knave, and a very fool.

My lord, quoth Dr. Taylor, leave your unseemly railing at me, which is not seemly for such a one in authority, as you are. For I am a Christian man, and you know that he that saith to his brother, Racha, is in danger of a council, and he that saith, Thou fool, is in danger of hell fire.

The bishop answered, Ye are false, and liars all of you. Nay, quoth Dr. Taylor, we are true men, and know that it is written, The mouth that lieth slayeth the soul. And again, Lord God thou shalt destroy all that speak lies. And therefore we abide by the truth of God's word, which you, contrary to your own consciences, deny and forsake.

Thou art married, said the bishop.—Yea, said Dr. Taylor, that, I thank God, I am, and have had nine children, and all in lawful matrimony, and blessed be God that ordained matrimony, and commanded that every man that hath not the gift of continency should marry a wife of his own, and not live in adultery or whoredom.

Then said the bishop, Thou hast resisted the queen's proceedings, and wouldest not suffer the parson of Aldam, a very virtuous and devout priest, to say mass in Hadley. Dr. Taylor answered, My lord, I am parson of Hadley, and it is against all right, conscience, and laws, that any man shall come into my charge and presume to infect the flock committed unto me, with venom of the popish idolatrous mass.

With that the bishop waxed very angry, and said, Thou art a blasphemous heretic indeed, that blasphemest the blessed sacrament, (and he put off his cap,) and speakest against the holy mass, which is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead. Dr. Taylor answered, Nay, I blaspheme not the blessed sacrament which Christ instituted, but I reverence it as a true Christian man ought to do, and

confess that Christ ordained the holy communion in remembrance of his death and passion, which when we keep according to his ordinance, we, through faith, eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood, giving thanks for our redemption, and this is our sacrifice for the quick and the dead, to give God thanks for his merciful goodness showed to us, in that he gave his Son Christ unto the death for us.

Thou sayest well, quoth the bishop, It is all that thou hast said, and more too; for it is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead. Then answered Dr. Taylor, Christ gave himself to die for our redemption upon the cross, whose body there offered was the propitiatory sacrifice, full, perfect, and sufficient unto salvation, for all them that believe in him. And this sacrifice our Saviour Christ offered in his own person, himself, once for all, neither can any priest any more offer him, nor do we need any more propitiatory sacrifice, and therefore I say with Chrysostom, and all the doctors, Our sacrifice is only memorative, in the remembrance of Christ's death and passion, a sacrifice of thanksgiving, and therefore the fathers called it *Eucharistia*; and none other sacrifice hath the church of God.

It is true, quoth the bishop, the sacrament is called *Eucharist*, a thanksgiving, because we there give thanks for our redemption; and it is also a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, which thou shalt confess ere thou and I have done. Then the bishop called his men, and said, Have this fellow hence, and carry him to the King's Bench, and charge the keeper he be straitly kept.

Then kneeled Dr. Taylor down, and held up both his hands, and said, Good Lord, I thank thee; and from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable errors, idolatries, and abominations, good Lord deliver us: and God be praised for good king Edward. So they carried him to prison, to the King's Bench, where he lay prisoner near two years.

This is the sum of that first talk, as I saw it mentioned in a letter that Dr. Taylor wrote to a friend of his, thanking God for his grace, that he had confessed his truth, and was found worthy for truth to suffer prison and bonds, beseeching his friends to pray for him, that he might persevere constant unto the end.

Being in prison, Dr. Taylor spent all his time in prayer, reading the Holy Scriptures, and writing, and preaching,

and exhorting the prisoners and such as resorted to him, to repentance and amendment of life.

Within a few days after, divers other learned and godly men, in sundry counties of England, were committed to prison for religion, so that almost all the prisons in England were become right Christian schools and churches; so that there was no greater comfort for Christian hearts, than to come to the prisons, to behold their virtuous conversation, and to hear their prayers, preachings, most godly exhortations, and consolations.* Now were placed in churches blind and ignorant massmongers with their Latin babblings and apish ceremonies; who like cruel wolves, spared not to murder all such as but once whispered against their popery. As for the godly preachers which were in king Edward's time, they were either fled the realm, or else, as the prophets in king Ahab's days, they were privily kept in corners. As for as many as the papists could lay hold on, they were sent unto prison, there as lambs waiting when the butchers would call them to the slaughter.

When Dr. Taylor was come into the prison called the King's Bench, he found therein the virtuous and vigilant preacher of God's word, M. Bradford; who for his innocent and godly living, his devout and virtuous preaching, was worthily counted a miracle of our times, as even his adversaries must needs confess. Finding this man in prison, he began to exhort him to faith, strength, and patience, and to persevere constant unto the end. M. Bradford hearing this, thanked God that he had provided him such a comfortable prison-fellow, and so they both together lauded God, and continued in prayer, reading, and exhorting one the other. Insomuch that Dr. Taylor told his friends that came to visit him, that God had most graciously provided

* George Marsh, the martyr, relates, that when imprisoned at Lancaster, "They threatened and rebuked me for my preaching to the people out of the prison, as they called it, and for my praying and reading so loud that the people in the streets might hear. The truth is, I, and my prison-fellow, Warburton, every day, kneeling on our knees, read morning and evening prayer, with the English litany every day twice, both before noon and after, with other prayers more; and also read every day certain chapters of the Bible, commonly towards night. And we read all these things with so high and loud a voice, that the people without in the streets might hear us, and would oftentimes, namely in the evenings, come and sit down in our sight under the windows, and hear us read, wherewith others being offended, complained." *Fox.*

for him, to send him to that prison where he found such an angel of God, to be in his company to comfort him.

After Dr. Taylor had lain in prison awhile, he was cited to appear in the arches at Bow church to answer unto such matter as there should be objected against him. At the day appointed he was led thither, his keeper waiting upon him. Where, when he came, he stoutly and strongly defended his marriage, affirming by the Scriptures of God, by the doctors of the primitive church, by both laws civil and canon, that it is lawful for priests to marry, and that such as have not the gift of continency, are bound on pain of damnation to marry. This did he so plainly prove, that the judge could give no sentence of divorce against him, but gave sentence he should be deprived of his benefice because he was married.

You do me wrong then, said Dr. Taylor; and alleged many laws and constitutions for himself, but all prevailed not. For he was again carried into prison, and his livings taken away, and given to others. As for Hadley benefice, it was given or sold, I know not which, to one master Newall, whose great virtues were altogether unlike to Dr. Taylor his predecessor, as the poor parishioners full well have proved.

After a year and three quarters, or thereabout, in which time the papists got certain old tyrannous laws, which were put down by king Henry the eighth, and by king Edward, to be again revived by parliament; so that now they might, ex officio, cite whom they would, upon their own suspicion, and charge them with what articles they pleased, and except they in all things agreed to their purpose, burn them; when these laws were once established, they sent for Dr. Taylor with certain other prisoners, who were again summoned before the chancellor and other commissioners, about the 22d of January, 1555. The purport and effect of which talk between them, because it is sufficiently described by himself in his own letter written to a friend of his, I have annexed as here follows.

A letter of Dr. Taylor, containing and reporting the talk had between him and the lord chancellor and other commissioners, the 22d of January, 1555.

Whereas you would have me write the talk between the king and queen's most honourable council and me on Tuesday, the 22d of January, this, so far as I remember, was

the effect thereof. First my lord chancellor said, You among others are at this time sent for to enjoy the king's and the queen's majesty's favour and mercy, if you will now rise again with us from the fall which we generally have received in this realm, from which, God be praised, we are now clearly delivered, miraculously. If you will not rise with us now, and receive mercy now offered, you shall have judgment according to your demerits. To this I answered, that so to rise should be the greatest fall that ever I could receive, for I should so fall from my dear Saviour Christ to antichrist. For I do believe that the religion set forth in king Edward's days, was according to the vein of the holy Scripture, which contains fully all the rules of our Christian religion, from which I do not intend to decline, so long as I live, by God's grace.

Then master secretary Bourne said, Which of the religions mean ye of king Edward's days? for you know there were divers books of religion set forth in his days. There was a religion set forth in a catechism by my lord of Canterbury.* Do you mean that you will stick to that?

I answered, My lord of Canterbury made a catechism to be translated into English; which book was not of his own making, yet he set it forth in his own name, and truly that book for the time did much good. But there was after that set forth by the most innocent king Edward, for whom God be praised everlastingly, the whole church service, with great deliberation, and the advice of the best learned men of the realm, and authorized by the whole parliament, and received and published gladly by the whole realm, which book was never reformed but once, and yet by that one reformation it was so fully perfected, according to the rules of our religion in every behalf, that no Christian conscience could be offended with any thing therein contained; I mean of that book reformed.

Then my lord chancellor said, Didst thou never read the book that I set forth of the sacrament?

I answered that I had read it.

Then he said, How likest thou that book? With that one of the council, whose name I know not, said, My lord, that is a good question; for I am sure, that book stoppeth all their mouths. Then said I, My lord, I think many things are far wide from the truth of God's word in that book.

Then my lord said, Thou art a very varlet. To that I

* The catechism of 1548. See Cranmer's writings.

answered, That is as ill as Racha, or Thou fool. Then my lord said, Thou art an ignorant beetle-brow.*

To that I answered, I have read over and over again the Holy Scriptures, and Augustine's works through, Cyprian, Eusebius, Origen, Gregory Nazianzen, with divers other books throughout; therefore I thank God I am not utterly ignorant. Besides these, my lord, I professed the civil law, as your lordship did, and I have read over the canon law also.

Then my lord said, Thou readest all things with a corrupt judgment; touching my profession, it is divinity, in which I have written divers books. Then I said, my lord, you did write one book, *De vera obedientia*,† I would you had been constant in that; for indeed you never declared a good conscience that I heard of, but in that one book.

Then my lord said, Tut, tut, tut, I wrote against Bucer in priests' marriages; but such books please not such wretches as thou art, who hast been married many years. To that I answered, I am married indeed, and I have had nine children in holy matrimony, I thank God. And this I am sure of, that your proceedings now at this present, in this realm, against priests' marriages, is the maintenance of the doctrine of devils, against natural law, civil law, canon law, general councils, canons of the apostles, ancient doctors, and God's laws.

Then spake my lord of Durham, saying, You have professed the civil law, as you say. Then you know that Justinian writes, that priests should at their taking of orders swear that they were never married; and to prove that he brings in the canons of the apostles.

To that I answered, I did not remember any such law of Justinian. But I am sure that Justinian writes in *Titulo de indicta viduitate*, that if one would bequeath to his wife in his testament a legacy, under a condition that she should never marry again, and take an oath of her for accomplishing the same, yet she may marry again if he die, notwithstanding the aforesaid conditions and oath taken and made against marriage; and an oath is another manner of obligation made to God, than is a papistical vow made to man. Moreover, in the pandects it is contained, that if a man manumits his handmaid under a condition that she shall

* A person having prominent eyebrows was called so.

† A book written by Gardiner "*Of true Obedience*," in which he taught of the king's supremacy. *Fox*.

never marry; yet she may marry, and her patron shall lose his power over her, for his adding of the unnatural and unlawful condition against matrimony.

Then my lord chancellor said, Thou sayest that priests may be married by God's law. How provest thou that?

I answered by the plain words and sentences of St. Paul, both to Timothy and to Titus, where he speaks most evidently of the marriage of priests, deacons, and bishops. And Chrysostom, writing upon the epistle to Timothy, saith, It is a heresy to say that a bishop may not be married.

Then said my lord chancellor, Thou liest of Chrysostom. But thou doest, as all thy companions do, belie ever, without shame, both the Scriptures and the doctors. Didst thou not say, that by the canon law, priests may be married? which is most untrue, and the contrary is most true.

I answered, We read in the decrees, that the four general councils, Nicene, Constantinopolitan, Ephesine, Chalcedon, have the same authority that the four evangelists have. And we read in the same decrees, which is one of the chief books of the canon law, that the council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, did allow priests' and bishops' marriages. Therefore by the best part of the canon law, priests may be married.

Then my lord chancellor said, Thou falsifiest the general council. For there is express mention in the said decree that priests who are married should be divorced from their wives. Then said I, If those words be there, as you say, then am I content to lose this great head of mine. Let the book be fetched.

Then spake my lord of Durham, Though they be not there, yet they may be in the ecclesiastical history which Eusebius wrote, out of which the decree was taken.

To that said I, It is not likely that the pope would leave out any such sentence, having such authority, and making so much for his purpose. Then my lord chancellor said, Gratian was but a patcher, and thou art glad to snatch up such a patch as makes for thy purpose. I answered, My lord, I cannot but marvel that you call one of the chief papists that ever was, but a patcher!*

Then my lord chancellor said, Nay, I call thee a snatcher and a patcher: to make an end, wilt thou not return again

* Gratian was a celebrated Benedictine monk of the twelfth century, to whose writings the popes were chiefly indebted for the high authority they exercised in the following centuries.

with us to the catholic church? And with that he rose. And I said, by God's grace, I will never depart from Christ's church. Then I required that I might have some of my friends to come to me in prison; and my lord chancellor said, Thou shalt have judgment within this week. And so was I delivered again unto my keeper. My lord of Durham would that I should believe as my father and my mother did. I alleged Augustine, that we ought to prefer God's word before all men.

And thus much was contained in the letter of Dr. Taylor for that matter. Besides this letter, moreover he directed another writing in like manner to another friend of his concerning the causes wherefore he was condemned.*

A brief recapitulation out of Dr. Taylor's causes afore-touched, for the reader more evidently to see how the papists act against their own knowledge in forbidding priests' marriage.

The pope's clergy forbidding ecclesiastical persons to marry, do against their conscience and knowledge, as may well be proved by these causes hereunder following.

1. They know that matrimony in the old testament is permitted to all men alike, without any exception.

2. They know that in the old testament both priests, levites, prophets, patriarchs, and all others, had wives.

3. They know that matrimony was permitted and instituted of God for two principal ends; namely, for the having of children and avoiding of sin.

4. They know that in the old testament, God not only instituted and permitted matrimony to be free, but also induces and appoints men to marry and takes wives, in these words, It is not good for a man to be alone, &c.

5. They know that in the new testament St. Paul permits the state of matrimony to be free to all men, not having the gift of continency, and forbids none.

6. They know that in the new testament St. Paul not only permits, but also expressly wills and charges men having not the gift, to marry.

7. They know that in the new testament the said St. Paul not only permits and commands, but also commends

* The other letter is given in Fox's Acts and Monuments. The substance is given in the recapitulation which follows.

and praises the state of matrimony; (Heb. xiii.) calling it honourable, and the bed to be undefiled, &c.

8. They know that in the new testament Christ himself, not only was not conceived nor born of the virgin before she was espoused in matrimony, but also that both he and his blessed mother did beautify and honour the state of matrimony with their presence; yea, in the same he began his first miracle.

9. They know both by the old testament and new, that marriage is no impediment to walk in the obedience of God's commandment. For Abraham carried into the land of Canaan, his old, yea, and barren wife, the virtuous woman Sarah with him; and also to Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David, and others, their marriage was no impediment to them to walk with God; neither to other levites, bishops, and priests, in the time both of the old testament and of the new. Again, neither was it a hindrance to Peter, Philip, and others, both to have their wives with them, and also to supply the office of apostleship.

10. They know both by the old testament and new, that sinful fornication and adultery deprives man of God's favour and graces of the Holy Ghost, which graces especially are requisite in men of the church.

11. They know in their own secret conscience, and by experience, that neither they which enjoin this vow of chastity, nor they which take it, observe the vow of chastity. Whereupon rise inconveniences more than can be expressed: but the Lord above knows all, besides the secret murders peradventure of many a poor infant, &c.

12. They know by Cyprian, (Epist. 11,) and Augustine, (lib. de bono conjugali ad Julianum,) that a vow is no impediment sufficient to hinder matrimony, or to divorce the same.

13. They know that Chrysostom affirms it is a heresy to say that a bishop may not have a wife.

14. They know that Ambrose, (xxxii. q. 1. *Integritas*,) will have no commandment, but counsel only, to be given touching the observing of virginity.

15. They know that before the time of pope Hildebrand, that is, during the time of one thousand years after Christ, marriage was never restrained by any forcible necessity of vow from men of the church.

16. They know that St. Paul calls it the doctrine of devils to forbid meats and marriage, which God hath

left free with thanksgiving for necessity of man and woman.

Dr. Taylor concluded his letter in these words:—"God be praised, since my condemnation I never was afraid to die. God's will be done. If I shrink from God's truth, I am sure of another manner of death than had judge Hales. But, God be praised, even from the bottom of my heart, I am unmovably settled upon the Rock, nothing doubting but that my God will perform and finish the work that he hath begun in me and others. To him be all honour, both now and ever, through Christ our only and whole Saviour. Amen.

After that Dr. Taylor thus with great spirit and courage had answered for himself, and stoutly rebuked his adversaries for breaking their oath made before to king Henry and to king Edward, his son, and for betraying the realm into the power of the Roman bishop, they perceiving that in no case he could be stirred to their wills and purpose, that is, to turn with them from Christ to antichrist, committed him thereupon to prison again, where he remained till the last of January.

Dr. Taylor the fourth time, with M. Bradford and M. Saunders, brought before Winchester and other bishops.

On the last day of January, 1555, Dr. Taylor and M. Bradford, and M. Saunders, were again called to appear before the bishops of Winchester, Norwich, London, Salisbury, and Durham, and there were charged again with heresy and schism, and therefore a determinate answer was required, whether they would submit themselves to the Roman bishop and abjure their errors, or else they would, according to their laws, proceed to their condemnation.

When Dr. Taylor and his fellows, M. Bradford and M. Saunders, heard this, they answered stoutly and boldly, that they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in king Edward's days, neither would they submit themselves to the Romish antichrist; but they thanked God for so great mercy, that he would call them to be worthy to suffer for his word and truth.

When the bishops saw them so boldly, constantly, and immovably fixed in the truth, they read the sentence of death upon them, which when they had heard, they most joyfully gave God thanks, and stoutly said unto the bish-

ops, We doubt not but God the righteous judge, will require our blood at your hands, and the proudest of you all shall repent this receiving again of antichrist, and your tyranny that ye now show against the flock of Christ. So was Dr. Taylor condemned and committed to the Clink, and the keepers charged straitly to keep him. For ye have now another manner of charge, said the lord chancellor, than ye had before; therefore look ye take heed to it.

When the keeper brought him towards the prison, the people flocked about to gaze upon him; unto whom he said, God be praised good people; I am come away from them undefiled, and will confirm the truth with my blood. So was he bestowed in the Clink till it was toward night, and then he was removed to the Compter by the Poultry.

When Dr. Taylor had laid in the said Compter in the Poultry a few days a prisoner, on the fourth day of February, Edmond Bonner bishop of London, with others, came to the said Compter to degrade him, bringing with them such ornaments as appertain to their massing mummery. Now being come, he called for the said Dr. Taylor to be brought unto him, the bishop being then in the chamber where the keeper of the Compter and his wife lay. So Dr. Taylor was brought down from the chamber above that, to the said Bonner. And at his coming, the bishop said, Master doctor, I would you would remember yourself, and turn to your mother holy church; so may you do well enough, and I will sue for your pardon. Whereunto master Taylor answered, I would you and your fellows would turn to Christ. As for me I will not turn to antichrist. Well, said the bishop, I am come to degrade you: wherefore, put on these vestures. No, quoth Dr. Taylor, I will not. Wilt thou not? said the bishop. I shall make thee, ere I go. Quoth Dr. Taylor, You shall not by the grace of God. Then he charged him upon his obedience to do it, but he would not do it for him. So he willed another to put them on his back; and when Dr. Taylor was thoroughly furnished therewith, he set his hands by his sides, walking up and down, and said, How say you, my lord, am I not a goodly fool? How say you, my masters; If I were in Cheap,* should I not have boys enough to laugh at these apish toys, and toying trumpery? So the bishop scraped his fingers, thumbs, and the crown of his head, and did the rest of such like devilish observances.

* Cheapside.

At the last, when he should have given Dr. Taylor a stroke on the breast with his crosier staff, the bishop's chaplain said; My lord strike him not, for he will sure strike again. Yea by St. Peter will I, quoth Dr. Taylor, laughing at his fear. The cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian if I would not fight in my master's quarrel. So the bishop laid his curse upon him, but struck him not. Then Dr. Taylor said; Though you do curse me, yet God doth bless me. I have the witness of my conscience, that ye have done me wrong and violence; and yet I pray God, if it be his will, forgive you. But from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us. And in going up to his chamber, he still said; God deliver me from you, God deliver me from you. And when he came up, he told master Bradford, for then both lay in one chamber, that he had made the bishop of London afraid: For, saith he laughingly, his chaplain gave him counsel not to strike me with his crosier staff, for that I would strike again; and, said he, rubbing his hands, I made him believe I would do so indeed.

The night after that he was degraded, his wife and his son Thomas resorted to him, and were by the gentleness of the keepers permitted to sup with him. For this difference was ever found between the keepers of the bishops' prisons, and the keepers of the king's prisons; that the bishops' keepers were ever cruel, blasphemous, and tyrannous, like their masters; but the keepers of the king's prisons showed, for the most part, as much favour as they possibly might. So came Dr. Taylor's wife, his son, and John Hull his servant, to sup with him; and at their coming in before supper, they kneeled down and prayed, saying the litany.

After supper, walking up and down, he gave God thanks for his grace, who had so called him and given him strength to abide by his holy word; and turning to his son Thomas: My dear son, said he, Almighty God bless thee, and give thee his Holy Spirit, to be a true servant of Christ, to learn his word, and constantly to stand by his truth all thy life long. And my son, see that thou fear God always. Flee from all sin, and wicked living; be virtuous, serve God with daily prayer, and apply to thy book. In any wise see thou be obedient to thy mother, love her, and serve her; be ruled by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counsel in all things. Beware of wicked company, of

young men that fear not God, but follow their wicked lusts and vain appetites. Flee from whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remembering that I thy father do die in the defence of holy marriage. Another day when God shall bless thee, love and cherish the poor people, and count that thy chief riches is to be rich in alms; and when thy mother is waxed old, forsake her not, but provide for her according to thy power, and see that she lack nothing. For so will God bless thee and give thee long life upon earth and prosperity; which I pray God to grant thee.

Then turning to his wife; My dear wife, said he, continue steadfast in the fear and love of God; keep yourself undefiled from their popish idolatries and superstitions. I have been unto you a faithful yokefellow, and so have you been unto me, for the which I pray God to reward you, and doubt you not, dear wife, but God will reward it. Now the time is come that I shall be taken from you, and you discharged of the wedlock bond towards me; therefore I will give you my counsel what I think most expedient for you. It will be most convenient for you to marry. For doubtless you shall never be at a convenient stay for yourself and our poor children, nor out of trouble, till you are married. Therefore as soon as God will provide it, marry with some honest, faithful man who fears God. Doubt you not God will provide an honest husband for you, and he will be a merciful father to you and to my children; whom I pray you bring up in the fear of God, and in learning, to the uttermost of your power, and keep them from this Romish idolatry. When he had thus said, they with weeping tears talked together, and kissed one the other; and he gave to his wife a book of the church service, set out by king Edward, which in the time of his imprisonment he daily used. And unto his son Thomas he gave a Latin book, containing the notable sayings of the old martyrs, gathered out of the ecclesiastical histories; and in the end he wrote his testament and last farewell, as here follows.

The last will and testament of doctor Rowland Taylor, parson of Hadley.

I say to my wife, and to my children; The Lord gave you unto me and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from me; blessed be the name of the Lord. I believe that they are blessed which die in the Lord. God careth for sparrows, and for the hairs of our heads. I

have ever found him more faithful and favourable than any father or husband. Trust ye therefore in him by the means of our dear Saviour Christ's merits; believe, love, fear, and obey him; pray to him, for he hath promised to help. Count me not dead, for I shall certainly live, and never die. I go before, and you shall follow after, to our long home. I go to the rest of my children, Susan, George, Ellen, Robert, and Zachary. I have bequeathed you to the only Omnipotent.

I say to my dear friends of Hadley, and to all others who have heard me preach; that I depart hence with a quiet conscience, as touching my doctrine; for which I pray you thank God with me. For I have, after my little talent, declared to others, those lessons which I gathered out of God's book, the blessed Bible. Therefore if I or an angel from heaven should preach to you any other gospel, than that ye have received, God's great curse upon that preacher.

Beware for God's sake, that ye deny not God, neither decline from the word of faith, lest God decline from you, and so ye everlastingly perish. For God's sake beware of popery, for though it appear to have in it unity, yet the same is in vanity, and antichristianity, and not in Christ's faith and verity.

Beware of the sin against the Holy Ghost, now after such a light opened so plainly and simply, truly, thoroughly, and generally to all England.

The Lord grant all men his good and Holy Spirit, increase of his wisdom, increase of condemning the wicked world, increase of hearty desire to be with God, and the heavenly company, through Jesus Christ our only Mediator, Advocate, Righteousness, Life, Sanctification, and Hope. Amen, Amen. Pray, pray.

ROWLAND TAYLOR departing hence in sure hope, without all doubting of eternal salvation, I thank God my heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ my certain Saviour. Amen.

The 5th of February, Anno 1555.

The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom then shall I fear? (Psalm xxvii.) God is he that justifieth; who is he that can condemn? (Rom. viii.) In thee, O Lord, have I trusted, let me never be confounded. Psalm xxi.

On the next morrow after that Dr. Taylor had supped with his wife in the Compter, as is before expressed, which

was the fifth day of February, the sheriff of London, with his officers came to the Compter by two of the clock in the morning, and so brought forth Dr. Taylor, and without any light led him to the Woolsack, an inn without Aldgate. Dr. Taylor's wife suspecting that her husband should that night be carried away, watched all night within St. Botolph's church-porch beside Aldgate, having with her two children, the one named Elizabeth, of fourteen years of age, whom being left without father or mother, Dr. Taylor had brought up of alms from three years old, the other named Mary, Dr. Taylor's own daughter.

Now, when the sheriff and his company came over against St. Botolph's church, Elizabeth cried, saying; O my dear father: mother, mother, here is my father led away. Then cried his wife, Rowland, Rowland, where art thou? for it was a very dark morning, that the one could not see the other. Dr. Taylor answered, Dear wife, I am here, and stayed. The sheriff's men would have led him forth, but the sheriff said; stay a little masters, I pray you, and let him speak to his wife, and so they stayed. Then came she to him, and he took his daughter Mary in his arms; and he, his wife, and Elizabeth kneeled down and said the Lord's prayer. At which sight the sheriff wept apace, and so did divers others of the company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, and said: Farewell, my dear wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children. And then he kissed his daughter Mary and said, God bless thee, and make thee his servant: and kissing Elizabeth, he said, God bless thee. I pray you all stand strong and steadfast unto Christ and his word, and keep you from idolatry. Then said his wife; God be with thee dear Rowland. I will with God's grace meet thee at Hadley.

And so was he led forth to the Woolsack, and his wife followed him. As soon as they came to the Woolsack, he was put into a chamber, where he was kept with four yeomen of the guard and the sheriff's men. Dr. Taylor, as soon as he was come into the chamber, fell down on his knees, and gave himself wholly to prayer. The sheriff then seeing Dr. Taylor's wife there, would in no case grant her to speak any more with her husband, but gently desired her to go to his house and take it as her own, and promised her she should lack nothing, and sent two officers to con-

duct her thither. Notwithstanding, she desired to go to her mother's, whither the officers led her, and charged her mother to keep her there till they came again.

Thus remained Dr. Taylor in the Woolsack, kept by the sheriff and his company, till eleven of the clock. At which time the sheriff of Essex was ready to receive him; and so they set him on horseback within the inn, the gates being shut. At the coming out of the gates, John Hull, before spoken of, stood at the rails with Thomas, Dr. Taylor's son; when Dr. Taylor saw them, he called them, saying, Come hither, my son Thomas. And John Hull lifted the child up, and set him on the horse before his father; and Dr. Taylor put off his hat and said to the people that stood there looking on him; Good people, this is mine own son, begotten in lawful matrimony; and God be blessed for lawful matrimony. Then lifted he up his eyes towards heaven, and prayed for his son, laid his hand upon the child's head, and blessed him, and so delivered the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand, and said; Farewell John Hull, the faithfulest servant that ever man had. So they rode forth, the sheriff of Essex, with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men leading him.

When they were come almost at Burutwood, one Arthur Faysie, a man of Hadley, who before time had been Dr. Taylor's servant, met them, and he supposing him to have been at liberty, said: Master doctor, I am glad to see you again at liberty, and came to him, and took him by the hand. Soft sir, said the sheriff, he is a prisoner; what hast thou to do with him? I cry you mercy, said Arthur, I knew not so much, and I thought it none offence to talk to a true man. The sheriff was very angry with this, and threatened to carry Arthur with him to prison; notwithstanding, he bade him get him quickly away, and so they rode forth to Burntwood, where they caused to be made for Dr. Taylor a close hood, with two holes for his eyes to look out at, and a slit for his mouth to breathe at. This they did, that no man should know him, nor he speak to any man. Which practice they used also with others. Their own consciences told them that they led innocent lambs to the slaughter. Wherefore they feared, lest if the people should have heard them speak or have seen them, they might have been much more strengthened by their godly exhortations to stand steadfast in God's word, and to fly the superstitions and idolatries of the papacy.

All the way Dr. Taylor was joyful and merry, as one that accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet or bridal. He spake many notable things to the sheriff and yeomen of the guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weep, through his much earnest calling upon them to repent and to amend their evil and wicked living. Oftentimes also he caused them to wonder and rejoice to see him so constant and steadfast, void of all fear, joyful in heart and glad to die. Of these yeomen, three used Dr. Taylor friendly, but the fourth, whose name was Holmes, used him very homely, unkindly, and churlishly.

At Chelmsford the sheriff of Suffolk met them, there to receive him, and to carry him forth into Suffolk. And being at supper, the sheriff of Essex very earnestly laboured him to return to the popish religion, thinking with fair words to persuade him and said, Good master doctor, we are right sorry for you, considering what loss is of such a one as ye might be if ye would. God hath given you great learning and wisdom, wherefore ye have been in great favour and reputation in times past with the council and highest of this realm.* Besides this ye are a man of goodly personage, in your best strength, and by nature likely to live many years; and without doubt, ye should in time to come, be in as good reputation as ever you were, or rather better. For you are well beloved of all men, as well for your virtues as for your learning; and methinks it were great pity you should cast away yourself willingly, and so come to such a painful and shameful death. You should do much better to revoke your opinions, and return to the catholic church of Rome, acknowledge the pope's holiness to be the supreme head of the universal church, and reconcile yourself to him. You may do well yet, if you will; doubt you not but you shall find favour at the queen's hands, and I and all these your friends will be suitors for your pardon; which no doubt, ye shall obtain. This counsel I give you, good master doctor, of a good heart, and good will toward you; and thereupon I drink to you. In like manner said all the yeomen of the guard; Upon that condition, master doctor, we will all drink to you.

When they had all drunk to him, and the cup was come to him, he stayed a little as one studying what answer he might give. At the last thus he answered and said;

* Dr. Taylor had been employed repeatedly in public matters of importance.

Master sheriff, and my masters all; I heartily thank you of your good will. I have hearkened to your words and marked well your counsels. And to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myself, and am like to deceive a great many of Hadley, of their expectation. With that word they all rejoiced. Yea, good master doctor, quoth the sheriff, God's blessing on your heart: hold you there still. It is the most comfortable word, that we heard you speak yet. What! should you cast away yourself in vain? Play a wise man's part, and I dare warrant it, you shall find favour. Thus they rejoiced very much at the word, and were very merry. At the last, Good master doctor, said the sheriff, what meant you by this, that you said you think you have been deceived yourself, and think you shall deceive many in Hadley? Would you know my meaning plainly, quoth he? Yea, quoth the sheriff, good master doctor, tell it us plainly.

Then said doctor Taylor, I will tell you how I have been deceived, and, as I think, I shall deceive a great many. I am, as you see, a man that hath a very great carcass, which I thought should have been buried in Hadley church-yard, if I had died in my bed, as I well hoped I should have done. But herein I see I was deceived; and there are a great number of worms in Hadley church-yard, which should have had jolly feeding upon this carrion, which they have looked for many a day. But now I know we are deceived, both I and they; for this carcass must be burnt to ashes, and so shall they lose their bait and feeding, which they looked to have had of it!

When the sheriff and his company heard Dr. Taylor say so, they were amazed, and looked one on another, marveling at the man's constant mind, who thus, without all fear, made but a jest at the cruel torment and death now at hand prepared for him. Thus was their expectation wholly disappointed. And in this appears what was his meditation in his chiefest wealth and prosperity; namely, that he should shortly die and feed worms in his grave; which meditation if all our bishops and spiritual men had used, they had not for a little worldly glory forsaken the word of God and truth, which they in king Edward's days had preached and set forth; nor to maintain the bishop of Rome's authority, have committed so many to the fire as they did.

But let us return to Dr. Taylor, who at Chelmsford was delivered to the sheriff of Suffolk, and by him conducted

to Hadley, where he suffered. When they were come to Lavenham, the sheriff staid there two days; and thither came to him a great number of gentlemen and justices upon great horses, who all were appointed to aid the sheriff. These gentlemen laboured Dr. Taylor very sorely, to reduce him to the Romish religion, promising him his pardon, which, said they, we have here for you. They promised him great promotions, yea a bishopric if he would take it; but all their labour and flattering words were in vain. For he had not built his house upon the sand, in peril of falling at every puff of wind; but upon the sure and unmovable rock, Christ. Wherefore he abode constant and unmovable unto the end.

After two days, the sheriff and his company led Dr. Taylor towards Hadley, and coming within two miles of Hadley, he desired to light off his horse, which done, he leapt, and skipped once or twice as men commonly do in dancing. Why, master doctor, quoth the sheriff, how do you now? He answered: Well, God be praised, good master sheriff. Never better, for now I know I am almost at home. I lack not past two stiles to go over, and I am even at my father's house. But master sheriff, said he, shall not we go through Hadley? Yes, said the sheriff, you shall go through Hadley. Then said he: O good Lord, I thank thee. I shall yet once ere I die see my flock, whom thou, Lord, knowest I have most heartily loved and truly taught. Good Lord, bless them, and keep them steadfast in thy word and truth.

When they were now come to Hadley, and came riding over the bridge, at the bridge foot waited a poor man with five small children; who when he saw Dr. Taylor, he and his children fell down upon their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a loud voice, and said: O dear father and good shepherd, Dr. Taylor: God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me and my poor children. Such witness had the servant of God of his virtuous and charitable alms given in his lifetime. For God would now that the poor should testify of his good deeds, to his singular comfort, to the example of others, and confusion of his persecutors and tyrannous adversaries. For the sheriff and others that led him to death, were wonderfully astonished at this; and the sheriff sorely rebuked the poor man for so crying. The streets of Hadley were beset on both sides the way, with men and

women of the town and country, who waited to see him. When they beheld him so led to death, with weeping eyes and lamentable voices, they cried, saying one to another, Ah! good Lord, there goeth our good shepherd from us, who so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so godly hath governed us. O merciful God! what shall we poor scattered lambs do? What shall come of this most wicked world? Good Lord, strengthen him and comfort him; with such other most lamentable and piteous voices. Wherefore the people were sore rebuked by the sheriff and the catchpoles his men, that led him. And Dr. Taylor evermore said to the people; I have preached to you God's word and truth, and am come this day to seal it with my blood.

Coming against the alms-houses, which he well knew, he cast to the poor people money, which remained of what good people had given him in time of his imprisonment. As for his living, they took it from him at his first going to prison, so that he was sustained all the time of his imprisonment by the charitable alms of good people that visited him. Therefore the money that now remained, he put in a glove ready for the same purpose, and, as is said, gave it to the poor almsmen standing at their doors to see him. And coming to the last of the alms-houses, and not seeing the poor that there dwelt ready at their doors, as the others were, he asked; Is the blind man and blind woman that dwelt here alive? It was answered, Yea: they are there within. Then threw he glove and all in at the window, and so rode forth.

Thus this good father and provider for the poor, now took his leave of those, for whom all his life he had a singular care and study. For it was his custom, once in a fortnight at the least, to call upon sir Henry Doyle, and others the rich cloth-makers, to go with him to the alms-houses, and there to see how the poor lived; what they lacked in meat, drink, clothing, bedding, or any other necessities. The like did he also to other poor men that had many children, or were sick. Then would he exhort and comfort them, and, where he found cause, rebuke the unruly, and what they lacked, that gave he after his power; and what he was not able, he caused the rich and wealthy men to minister unto them. Thus showed he himself in all things an example to his flock, worthy to be followed, and taught by his deed, what a great treasure alms is to all such as cheerfully for Christ's sake do it.

At the last, coming to Aldham Common, the place assigned where he should suffer, and seeing a great multitude of people gathered thither, he asked, What place is this, and what means it that so much people are gathered hither? It was answered: It is Aldham Common, the place where you must suffer; and the people are come to look upon you. Then said he: Thanked be God, I am even at home, and so he lighted from his horse, and with both his hands, rent the hood from his head. Now his hair was knotted evil favouredly, and clipped much like as a man would clip a fool's head; which cost bishop Bonner had bestowed upon him, when he degraded him. But when the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burst out with weeping tears, and cried, saying; God save thee, good Dr. Taylor; Jesus Christ strengthen thee, and help thee; the Holy Ghost comfort thee; with such other like godly wishes. Then would he have spoken to the people; but the yeomen of the guard were so busy about him, that as soon as he opened his mouth, one or other thrust a tip-staff into his mouth, and would in no wise permit him to speak. Then desired he licence of the sheriff to speak; but the sheriff denied it to him, and bade him remember his promise to the council.

Well, quoth Dr. Taylor, promise must be kept. What this promise was, it is unknown; but the common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the council sent for them, and threatened them they would cut their tongues out of their heads, except they would promise that at their deaths they would keep silence and not speak to the people. Wherefore they, desirous to have the use of their tongues, to call upon God as long as they might live, promised silence. For the papists feared much, lest this mutation of religion, from truth to lies, from Christ's ordinances to the popish traditions, should not so quietly have been received as it was, especially this burning of the preachers. They, measuring others' minds by their own, feared lest any tumult or uproar might have been stirred, the people having so just a cause not to be contented with their doings, or else, what they most feared, that the people should have been more confirmed by their godly exhortations to stand steadfast against their vain popish doctrine and idolatry. But thanks to God, who gave to his witnesses faith and patience, with stout and manly hearts to despise all torments; neither was there so much as any one man that once showed any sign of disobedience to-

wards the magistrates. They shed their blood gladly in the defence of the truth, so leaving example unto all men of true and perfect obedience; which is to obey God more than men, and if need require it, to shed their own blood rather than to depart from God's truth.

Dr. Taylor, perceiving that he could not be suffered to speak, sat down, and seeing one named Soyce, he called him and said; Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my boots, and take them for thy labour. Thou hast long looked for them, now take them. Then rose he up, and pulled off his clothes unto his shirt, and gave them away. Which done, he said with a loud voice: Good people, I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the holy Bible; and I am come hither this day to seal it with my blood. With that word, Holmes, yeoman of the guard aforesaid, who had used Dr. Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head with a waster,* and said, Is that the keeping of thy promise, thou heretic? Then he, seeing they would not permit him to speak, kneeled down and prayed, and a poor woman, who was among the people, stepped in and prayed with him; but her they thrust away, and threatened to tread her down with horses; notwithstanding she would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the stake and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch barrel, which they had set for him to stand in, and so he stood with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes toward heaven, and so he continually prayed.

Then they bound him with chains, and the sheriff called one Richard Doningham, a butcher, and commanded him to set up fagots; but he refused to do it, and said; I am lame sir, and not able to lift a fagot. The sheriff threatened to send him to prison, notwithstanding he would not do it.

Then appointed he one Mullein of Carsey, a man for his virtues fit to be a hangman; and Soyce a very drunkard, and Warwike, who, in the commotion time in king Edward's days, lost one of his ears for his seditious talk; amongst whom was also one Robert King, a deviser of interludes,† who also was there present, and had doing there with the

* A cudgel.

† A strolling player. This King was one of them which went with his halberd to bring them to death which were burnt at Bury. *Fox.*

gunpowder; what he meant and did therein, he himself saith he did it for the best, and for quick despatch; the Lord knoweth, who shall judge all; more of this I have not to say. These four were appointed to set up the fagots and to make the fire, which they most diligently did. And this Warwike cruelly cast a fagot at him, which lighted upon his head, and brake his face, so that the blood ran down his visage. Then said Dr. Taylor; O friend, I have harm enough, what needed that? Furthermore, sir John Shelton there standing by, as Dr. Taylor was speaking and saying the psalm Miserere in English, struck him on the lips; Ye knave, said he, speak Latin, I will make thee. At the last they set to fire, and Dr. Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and said; Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus Christ's my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into thy hands. So stood he still, without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce with a halberd struck him on the head, that the brains fell out, and the dead corpse fell down into the fire.

Thus rendered the man of God his blessed soul into the hands of his merciful Father, and to his most dear and certain Saviour Jesus Christ, whom he most entirely loved, faithfully and earnestly preached, obediently followed in living, and constantly glorified in death. They that were present and familiarly conversant with this Dr. Taylor, reported of him, that they never saw in him any fear of death, but especially and above all the rest who besides him suffered at the same time, he always showed himself merry and cheerful in time of his imprisonment, as well before his condemnation, as after—he kept one countenance and like behaviour. Whereunto he was the rather confirmed by the company and presence of master John Bradford, who was in the same prison and chamber with him.*

* The day following, a sermon was preached at Hadley, by Newall, the popish priest of the town, in which he inveighed against the martyr with much scurrility and bitterness. Strype has given the heads and some passages of this discourse. Speaking of Taylor's death, Newall, said, "Sure he died in damnable case, if he did not otherwise repent in the hour of pain." On Aldham common, a stone yet marks the place where the martyr suffered; on it is rudely engraved, "1555, D. Taylor in defending that was good. At this plas left his blude." A more finished monument was erected there in 1818.



John Knox
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John Kimer

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A
BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF
JOHN KNOX.

JOHN KNOX was born at Haddington, or at Gifford, a neighbouring village, in Scotland, in 1505. His parents were respectable, and gave their son a liberal education. He afterwards studied at the university of St. Andrew's, where he made considerable progress in a short period under the tuition of John Major, an able divine, who had imbibed principles opposed to the lofty pretensions of the papacy. Knox was ordained a priest in the Romish church at an age earlier than usual, and taught philosophy as a lecturer in the university. While thus employed, he read the writings of several of the fathers, particularly Augustine and Jerome; by them he was directed to the study of the scriptures, and by degrees was emancipated from the trammels of scholastic divinity. As he publicly advocated scriptural sentiments, he soon became an object of suspicion to the bigoted Romanists, and having quitted St. Andrew's, sentence was publicly passed against him as a heretic.

Knox was chiefly indebted to Wishart for instruction in the doctrines of truth. At that period the Reformers were openly persecuted, and Knox was soon sought for. He accompanied Wishart for some time, and only left that Reformer the night previous to his apprehension by the Romanists, when Wishart having a presentiment of his approaching martyrdom, obliged Knox to leave him and return to his pupils, who were the sons of Douglas of Long Niddrie, and Cockburn of Ormiston. Knox was very attentive to the religious instruction of his charge, and contrived that the neighbourhood should benefit thereby. After concealing himself for some time, early in 1547, he took refuge in the castle of St. Andrew's, then held by the protestants, who had lately put to death the Romish cardinal Beaton, by whom Wishart and others had been burned.

Here Knox was earnestly called to exercise the office of the ministry, which he undertook with much reluctance; but when he had entered upon the duties, he discharged them with much energy and faithfulness, in particular controverting the doctrines and principles of popery, denouncing the church of

Rome as antichristian, so that many inhabitants, both of the town and castle, openly professed the protestant faith.

An account of Knox's first sermon, and a disputation with the papists which followed, is given in his history.

On the last day of July, 1547, the castle of St. Andrew's was surrendered to the French forces then in Scotland. The besiegers, however, engaged that the lives of all persons in the castle should be spared; also that they should be carried to France, and afterwards be conveyed to any other country they might prefer.

On their arrival in France, the capitulation was violated. At the instigation of the pope and the Romish clergy of Scotland, they were detained as prisoners. Knox with some others was sent to the galleys, where they were kept in chains, and treated with much severity. They were continually threatened with torture if they would not join in the popish worship, but they steadfastly refused, and a finely painted wooden image of the virgin being one day forced into the hands of a prisoner, (probably Knox himself,) he threw it into the water, saying, "Let our lady now save herself, she is light enough, let her learn to swim!"

The galleys cruised off the coast of Scotland during the summer of 1548, and Knox's health suffered much from severe treatment, but while lying in a fever, he still expressed his confidence that God would deliver them. Mr. Balfour, a fellow-prisoner, one day pointed out the coast between Dundee and St. Andrew's, asking if he knew it. Knox replied, "Yes, I know it well, I see the steeple of that place where God first opened my mouth in public to his glory; and I am fully persuaded, how weak soever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life, till my tongue shall glorify his name in the same place." Such an event then appeared scarcely possible, but some years afterwards it was literally fulfilled. During this confinement, his mind suffered much as well as his body, but he found relief in earnest supplication, and expressed his feelings at that period in his treatise on Prayer. He also found opportunity to write a confession of his faith, and other pieces, which he conveyed to his friends.

In 1549, Knox was liberated, when he immediately went to England. Edward the VIth was then upon the throne, and Cranmer was most anxious to supply the realm with able preachers of the gospel, the want of whom was greatly felt. Knox was soon stationed at Berwick, and his labours were very successful. This gave umbrage to Tonsal, then bishop of Durham; that prelate had renounced the pope's supremacy, and was exceedingly moderate for a Romanist, yet he could not endure the doctrines taught by the Reformer. As Knox was sanctioned by the government, Tonsal could not prohibit him from preaching, but he listened to, and encouraged the enmity

of the Romanists. Knox was in consequence called upon to defend his tenets, which he did publicly, and completely silenced his adversaries. His confession, or sermon, on that occasion is printed in the present work.

In 1551, Knox was removed to Newcastle, where his opportunities for usefulness were extended, and in December that year, he was appointed one of the king's six chaplains in ordinary; two of whom in turn were to be at court, and four absent, preaching in different parts of the kingdom. In this work Knox laboured indefatigably, frequently preaching every day in the week, besides having numerous conversations with the principal inhabitants of the places he visited. Various documents, noticed by Burnet and Strype, show the importance of his services, and the value placed upon them. His enemies, however, circulated many false and calumnious reports which he was obliged to answer before the council, by whom he was honourably acquitted, and he received fresh marks of the king's favour. Preferment was offered to him, but he declined it, and continued his itinerant labours, occasionally preaching at court, where he discharged the duty of his office with the same bold, uncompromising fidelity as Latimer. In these labours Knox was employed when king Edward died. He foresaw the measures which were soon afterwards adopted, and forewarned the citizens of London what they must shortly expect; however, he preached in Buckinghamshire and in Kent till November 1553, when he returned to London.

At this period Knox considered it his duty to form a union with a young lady named Bowes, of a respectable northern family, to whom he had been engaged for a considerable time; and as the protestants were now in much danger, he withdrew to Northumberland, where he continued to preach the gospel even after the day on which the reformed worship was to cease. Three days subsequent to that period, he wrote thus in a letter, "I may not answer your places of scripture, nor yet write the exposition of the sixth psalm, for every day of this week must I preach if this wicked carcass will permit." But his enemies now sought for him; he found himself closely watched, and his friends urging him to withdraw, he embarked for France, and landed safely at Dieppe on January 28, 1554.

He spoke thus of his flight in a letter to his mother-in-law. "Some will ask, Why did I flee? Assuredly I cannot tell. But of one thing I am sure—the fear of death was not the chief cause of my fleeing. I trust that one cause has been to let me see that all had not a true heart to Christ Jesus, who in the day of rest and peace bare a fair face."—"I would not bow my knee before that most abominable idol (the mass) for all the torments that earthly tyrants can devise, God so assisting me, as his Holy Spirit now moves me to write unfeignedly. And albeit I have in the beginning of this battle appeared to play the faint-

hearted and feeble soldier, (the cause for which I remit to God,) yet my prayer is that I may be restored to the battle again."

While at Dieppe, he wrote and sent to England an exposition of the sixth psalm, and a letter addressed to the Faithful in London, Newcastle, and Berwick, among whom he had laboured, admonishing them of the danger of forsaking true religion.

From thence Knox travelled to Switzerland, and after visiting the different congregations in that country, he returned to Dieppe to obtain information respecting the state of England, and hoping to be able to revisit Scotland. Finding this was impracticable, he went back to Switzerland, and settled at Geneva, where he formed an intimate friendship with Calvin. During his banishment, his afflicted brethren were ever present to his mind, and under the feelings their sufferings excited, he wrote his "Admonition to England." Knox's enemies refer to this tract as manifesting undue bitterness of language;—his expressions certainly are strong, but it must not be forgotten that he was speaking of Gardiner, Bonner, and queen Mary, and of their barbarous persecutions.

In November, 1554, he was called to undertake the charge of the congregation of British exiles then at Frankfort. Disputes, however, shortly after arose, relative to the form of worship; those who opposed Knox had recourse to a most unjustifiable measure to procure his removal; they laid before the magistrates some passages in his writings, which reflected upon the emperor and queen Mary, now daughter-in-law to that prince. These were represented as treasonable; the result was, that the magistrates prohibited the Reformer from preaching, and advised him to leave the city. Knox retired to Geneva.

In August, 1555, Knox returned to Scotland, anxious to see his family; he was also induced to revisit his native country, by learning that a renewed disposition for reformation was beginning to appear, which was promoted by some who had fled from England on account of religion. He conversed with his friends and some of the nobility, and urged them to separate from the Romish church. He even preached and administered the sacrament publicly. The papists summoned Knox to appear before a convention of the clergy, hoping to drive him from the country, but finding that he was resolved to attend, they discharged the summons upon some frivolous pretence. Knox, however, came to Edinburgh, and preached publicly both morning and afternoon, for ten days, no one interrupting him. While thus employed, he wrote to his mother-in-law. "May God, for Christ his Son's sake, grant me to be mindful, that the sobs of my heart have not been in vain nor neglected in the presence of his Majesty. Sweet were the death that should follow forty such days in Edinburgh as I have had three." At the desire of some nobles, he addressed a letter to the queen

regent, urging her to countenance the Reformation, but she treated his counsel with contempt.

At this time Knox received an application from the English church at Geneva, requesting him to return and become their pastor. He complied, and proceeded thither in July 1556, accompanied by his wife and mother-in-law. As soon as he had departed, the Romish clergy, who dared not to meet him face to face, condemned him as a heretic; and as his body was out of their reach, they caused his effigy to be burned at the cross of Edinburgh. Upon hearing of this, Knox drew up an Appellation, with a Supplication and Exhortation, addressed to the nobility and commonalty of Scotland, in which he gave a summary of the doctrines he had taught during his late visit.

Knox abode at Geneva for nearly two years. This was the most quiet period of his life. The greatest cordiality existed between himself, his colleague, and the people under his charge. He also enjoyed the friendship of Calvin and the other Genevese ministers. During this time, he assisted several other exiles from England in preparing a translation of the bible more conformable to the originals than those which had previously appeared. This is commonly called the Geneva bible, and thirty editions of it were printed during the ensuing half century. It was at that period more used in private families than any other, and many strong testimonies have been given of its value.

In 1557, Knox received a letter from the earl of Glencairn, and others who desired to promote the Reformation in Scotland. They stated that the professors of the truth continued steadfast, while the papists declined in credit, and invited him to return to Scotland, where he would find many disposed to receive him and support him with their lives and fortunes. Calvin and other friends advised Knox to comply with this call: he accordingly proceeded to Dieppe, where he received letters, stating that some had already repented of having sent the invitation. He wrote a reply, printed in his history, admonishing the leaders of the importance of their enterprise. Knox was thus compelled to delay his journey; he passed some time in France, and then returned to Geneva, having first written some earnest and heart-searching epistles to his countrymen;—indeed the letters of Knox appear to have had a very considerable influence in effecting the Reformation of Scotland. At this time, in consequence of the bigoted proceedings of Mary queen of England, Knox wrote against females being intrusted with the government of nations; but that work, and the controversy which it occasioned, need not be here noticed.

The protestant nobility of Scotland again took courage. In December 1557, they subscribed a bond of mutual assurance, and again invited Knox to return. Their letters did not reach him till November 1558, by which time they had formed congregations in many parts of the kingdom.

KNOX.

2

The popish clergy now resumed their persecutions, and burned an aged priest of good character, named Walter Mill, which excited universal horror, and stimulated the protestants to avow more openly their resolutions to adhere to their faith. About this time queen Mary of England died, and most of the English exiles prepared to return.

Knox now once more proceeded towards his native country : being refused permission to pass through England, he sailed for Scotland, and landed at Leith, in May, 1559. The Reformer arrived at a critical moment, for the queen regent had summoned all the protestant preachers to appear before her at Stirling, to answer for their conduct. He resolved to join them, and found a large body of the laity assembled to conduct their preachers, but in a peaceable manner. The great body of the Reformers remained at Perth, sending one of their number to court. The queen pretended to be appeased, and authorized their deputy to assure them that she had stopped the trial ; but when the day came, the preachers were summoned and outlawed for non-appearance !

The news of this treachery could not but incense the body of protestants,* many of whom had remained at Perth. On the day when the intelligence was received, Knox preached a sermon, in which he exposed the mass and image worship. Scarcely had he concluded, when a priest exhibited a rich altar-piece decked with images, and prepared to say mass. Some idle persons were loitering in the church, one of whom, a boy, expressed his disapprobation aloud. The priest struck him, and the boy threw a stone in return, which broke one of the images. This excited the bystanders, and in a few minutes the altar, images, and all the trumpery were broken and trampled under foot. A mob then assembled, composed of the lower classes, who, in defiance of the magistrates and reformed preachers, hastened to attack the other strong holds of superstition, and soon laid the monasteries in ruins. But so far from encouraging this attack, Knox exerted himself to the utmost to repress the tumult, which in fact promoted the views of the queen regent rather than those of the reformers, as she was thereby enabled to excite many against the Reformation who hitherto had been indifferent upon the subject.

But the nation was now roused, and several of the nobility determined to exert to the utmost the powers they possessed under the feudal system, rather than allow the Reformation to be suppressed, and their country again to be enslaved beneath the yoke of superstition. It is unnecessary to enter minutely into the details of the proceedings which followed, during which Knox preached in the cathedral of St. Andrew's, agreeably to the confident hope he had expressed when a prisoner on board the galleys. The result of his visit to that city was the removal of

* About this time they were first called The Congregation.

images and pictures from the churches, and the demolition of the monasteries; the example was speedily followed in other parts of the kingdom.*

Many lamentations have been uttered over these proceedings, and it is not Romanists alone who would persuade us that the monastic system was fraught with blessings! Let such persons take up their abode in the countries where popery yet reigns to the exclusion of any other faith, and enjoy the happiness resulting from it! but let them not forget the privileges they enjoy, and insult the religion they profess, by regretting the removal of one of the main supports of antichristian tyranny and bigoted ignorance. It is obvious that where the monastic system prevails, the door is closed against the progress of gospel truth.

While the lords of the congregation, as the protestant leaders were denominated, were able to maintain themselves in opposition to the regent, Knox visited the greater part of Scotland. The attention of the nation was roused; their eyes were opened to the errors by which they had been deluded; and they panted for the word of life which they had once tasted. It soon, however, became apparent that foreign aid was necessary; application being made to England, assistance was given, and in July 1560, a treaty was concluded, by which the French troops were sent home. No settlement of religion being stipulated for by this treaty, the result was, that as soon as the foreign aid had been withdrawn, and the popular feeling in favour of the Reformation was left at liberty, the Romish formularies were every where discontinued.

Knox now resumed his situation as minister of Edinburgh. One of his first labours was to compose a protestant Confession of Faith, which being presented to the parliament, received their sanction, the Romish prelates suffering it to pass without opposition. Knox was also principally concerned in preparing the First book of Discipline, and took an active part in the proceedings of the general assembly of the Scottish reformed church, then first summoned.

In December, 1560, Knox suffered a heavy loss by the death of his first wife, whose affection and piety had been his solace and support in his painful exile; but public duties called for the Reformer's attention, and prevented him from dwelling upon his domestic sorrows. On the 19th of August, 1561, queen Mary returned to Scotland, and assumed the government. The

* Knox is related to have said, "That the best way to keep the rooks from returning, was to pull down their nests!" Public documents show that the Reformers, both laity and clergy, desired to confine this destruction to "idolatrous houses," and that care was taken to remove the images, &c, from the churches without injury to the fabrics. This is stated in a letter written by Cecil at that time, and it appears that scarcely any churches or places for public worship were then destroyed, though afterwards many were suffered to fall into a dilapidated state from the internal troubles and other causes.

reader will recollect that she had been educated in France from the age of six years, and was the widow of Francis II., after whose untimely death her residence in that kingdom was no longer acceptable to those who directed the government, and the state of her paternal inheritance required her presence.

To attempt a particular delineation of the character and conduct of Mary would be quite foreign to the design of these pages, but it is necessary to observe that her residence in France, and her close intimacy with the Guises, who still retained their influence over her, unfitted her for the proper discharge of the important duties she now had to fulfil. She was naturally of a violent temper, and had been too much habituated to flattery, to endure contradiction patiently. The luxury and levities of the French court, in which she delighted, were completely opposed to the habits and manners of Scotland. Arbitrary, and blindly attached to the Romish religion, she could not endure the independence of the nobles, and the general preference for the Reformation evinced by her subjects.* It is not surprising, that as these dispositions became manifest, she lost the affections of the nation at large. Open persecution for conscience sake had been too frequent to render the principles and practice of the Scottish queen, and her bigoted adherence to popery, a matter of indifference. The fires in which the martyrs had been burned, were still fresh in the recollection of the Scottish nation, and the same scenes were still exhibited in other countries. It has been very properly asked, What would have been the treatment a protestant queen would have received in those days, had she succeeded to the throne of a popish nation? Would she have been allowed to reign, even though she had not attempted to interfere with the religion of her subjects?

The prominent station occupied by Knox soon brought him into collision with the queen. Shortly after her arrival she sent for him to the palace, and brought grievous charges against him;—to all these he replied with firmness and courage, and yet with respect; a minute and interesting account of this interview is given by Knox in his history. Being asked what he thought of the queen, he said, "If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, and a hardened heart against God and his truth, my judgment faileth me; and this I say with a grieved heart, for the good I wish unto her, and by her to the church and state." Of the result of this conference Randolph, the English ambassador, wrote, "He (Knox) concluded so in the end with her, that he hath liberty to speak his conscience; and to give unto her

* In a letter to the pope, dated January 31, 1564, Mary laments "the damnable errors" in which, on her return to Scotland, she found her subjects plunged, and assures the pontiff that from the time she left France, her intention uniformly had been to reestablish the ancient religion. See Robertson's History of Scotland.

such reverence as becometh the ministers of God unto the superior powers." Knox certainly endeavoured to unite both. Of the power with which he declared his mind, the ambassador speaks in the same letter to the English secretary of state. "Your honour exhorts us to stoutness—I assure you the voice of one man is able in an hour to put more life in us than six hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears." Such stoutness was indeed needful in those days. Soon afterwards Knox was called to appear before the queen and her counsellors, to answer for a sermon in which he had noticed, in severe terms, the massacre of Vassy in France.* She reproved him sharply, but he denied the exaggerations which were falsely laid to his charge, and said he was willing to do any thing to content her majesty, which was consistent with his office. As he left the room, he heard some of the attendants say, with apparent surprise, "He is not afraid!" Knox promptly replied, "Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman affright me? I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been affrighted above measure."

The extent and importance of the labours of Knox at this time can only be appreciated by those who carefully examine the histories of that period. They were in many instances unavoidably mixed with proceedings of a secular nature. The queen had declared, she "hoped before a year was expired, to have the mass and catholic profession restored through the whole kingdom." The Romanists were encouraged to take up arms, and some of the clergy offered to dispute with the protestant ministers. The first who presented himself was Quintin Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel. A public disputation between this abbot and Knox took place in September, 1562, respecting the sacrifice of the mass. It is unnecessary to say the Reformer had the advantage. An account of the disputation was printed.

In the discharge of his public office, Knox felt it his duty to bear his testimony against the proposed marriage of the queen with Darnley. For this he was again called to answer, when he pleaded respectfully in his own defence, saying, "Out of the pulpit he thought few had occasion to be offended with him; but there he was not master of himself, but bound to obey Him who commanded him to speak plainly, and flatter no flesh on the face of the earth." The details of these and other occasions upon which Knox was brought before the queen and her council will be found in his history. Her tears of disappointed passion, when unable to overawe her counsellors, and induce them to condemn the Reformer, have afforded a copious theme for her advocates, by whom the conduct of Knox has been

* The attendants of the duke of Guise, in March 1562, attacked a protestant congregation while assembled for worship, and killed and wounded nearly three hundred of them, including women and children.

continually misrepresented. The intrigues of the queen's party in the parliament continued to throw many obstacles in the way of the Reformation.

In March, 1564, Knox married the daughter of Lord Ochiltree, an amiable and excellent nobleman. She was an affectionate and attentive wife. In the following year, the earl of Murray and other Scottish nobles resorted to arms against the queen, but Knox took no part in their revolt. It was unsuccessful, and the leaders fled for refuge to England. The Reformer continued to discharge his usual duties, but having preached a sermon on the 19th August, 1565, at which the new king was present, Darnley took umbrage at part of the discourse, although Knox had made no particular application of it to him. The Reformer was taken from his bed the same afternoon, and carried before the privy council, where he defended what he had said, and caused his sermon to be printed. He was, however, forbidden to preach while the king and queen remained at Edinburgh, but as they left before the next sabbath, Knox was allowed to continue his labours without interruption.

Early in 1566, danger to the protestants appeared near at hand: a messenger arrived from the cardinal of Lorraine, with a copy of the league recently formed in France, for the general extirpation of the protestants, to which the queen affixed her signature. She had concerted measures for the restoration of popery, and her preparations for the execution of her project were fully made; but these measures were blasted by Darnley's confederacy with some of the protestant nobles, and the assassination of Rizzio. There are no grounds for supposing that Knox was privy to that deed, although he did not censure it. The anger of the queen being greatly excited, Knox was recommended to withdraw from Edinburgh for a time, and he visited England.

During his absence, the occurrences which excluded Mary from the throne took place. The murder of Darnley, the queen's hasty marriage with Bothwell, and her proceedings against the protestant nobles, excited the Scottish nation so fully against her, that she was speedily obliged to leave her capital—her subsequent surrender and imprisonment are well known, although the circumstances of her conduct which occasioned them are not always remembered.

About this time Knox returned and preached at the coronation of the infant king, James VI., but objected to some of the ceremonies used on that occasion. He urged at this time, that the queen should be judicially proceeded against for the personal crimes of which she was accused. The earl of Murray being settled as regent, the protestant faith became firmly established. The work in which Knox's heart had so long been engaged, and in which he had so ardently laboured, was now

completed, and the Reformer trusted that he should be released from public affairs. He hoped to spend the rest of his life in religious meditation, and in preparation for the event which his infirmities warned him to be at hand. But the partizans of Mary were not subdued—they resolved to murder the regent Murray. He was assassinated by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who had been spared by the regent when condemned and actually brought out for execution. This dreadful act excited much consternation. Many even of Murray's enemies lamented his loss, while those who had sheltered the murderer, soon became anxious to free themselves from the imputation of having been accessory to a deed, which some modern writers have attempted to justify!

The grief with which Knox was afflicted at this event deeply affected his health and spirits. In October following, he had a stroke of apoplexy, from the effects of which he never fully recovered, although he was able to preach on the Lord's day mornings. Still, however, he manifested his ardent desire for the best interests of his country. Shortly afterwards he was placed in a critical situation, for the partisans of the queen obtained possession of Edinburgh. His life was now threatened, and attempts were made to assassinate him, but they failed. His friends were obliged to watch his house at night, and a number of the inhabitants, with his colleague in the ministry, entreated him to remove to some place where he might be in greater safety. He at length consented, though much against his will, lest blood should be shed upon his account, as the queen's party gave many proofs of enmity towards him, and a musket-ball had been fired into the room where he was sitting, which narrowly missed him. He had removed from the place where he usually sat.

Knox retired to St. Andrew's, where he continued to preach, although unable to walk to the pulpit without help, but when warmed by his subject, his weakness disappeared. The following description of his preaching is given by James Melville who attended his ministry during this period. He says, "I heard him teach the prophecies of Daniel that summer, and the winter following. I had my pen and little book, and took away such things as I could comprehend. In the opening up of his text, he was moderate for the space of half an hour, but when he entered on application, he made me so to thrill that I could not hold a pen to write. He was very weak, I saw him every day that he taught go slowly and warily, with a furring of martins about his neck, a staff in the one hand, and good godly Richard Ballenden his servant, holding up his other arm-pit, from the abbey to the parish church, and there, by the same Richard and another, lifted up to the pulpit, where he was obliged to lean at his first entrance; but before he had done his sermon he was so active and vigorous, that he was like to ding the

pulpit in blades,* and fly out of it." The same writer also says, "Mr. Knox would some times come in and amuse himself in our college yard, and call us scholars unto him and bless us, and exhort us to know God and his work in our country, and stand by the good cause; to use our time well, and learn the good instructions, and follow the good example of our masters."

Knox felt an ardent desire to be freed from the trials of this life. This he frequently expressed in his letters, and the dedication prefixed to a vindication of the Reformed religion, published by him at this time in answer to a Jesuit named Tyrie, commences thus, "John Knox, the servant of Jesus Christ, now weary of the world, and daily looking for the dissolution of this my earthly tabernacle, to the faithful that God of his mercy shall appoint to fight after me."

He took his leave of the general assembly shortly after, in a letter transmitting certain matters for their consideration. The last public service he performed at their request, was the examination of a sermon preached by a minister named Ferguson. To this he affixed his approval in these striking terms. "John Knox, with my dead hand but glad heart, praising God that of his mercy he leaves such light to his church in this desolation."

A cessation of arms having been agreed upon, the citizens of Edinburgh sent a deputation to St. Andrew's, requesting Knox to return and resume his ministry among them. He complied, and was received with much joy. Knox preached again in his own pulpit the last sabbath in August, 1572, but his voice had become so weak, that scarcely half the congregation could hear him. He therefore requested that a smaller place might be provided for him; accordingly the Tolbooth church was selected for that purpose. He there delivered to the people some homilies upon the sufferings of Christ, often expressing an ardent desire to finish his life preaching that doctrine.

The citizens had requested his advice in the selection of a minister to assist him, and after some consideration, Mr. James Lawson, sub-principal of King's college at Aberdeen, was appointed;—Knox wrote to him the following letter, which describes his feelings at that period.

DEAR BROTHER,

Seeing God of his mercy, far above my expectation, hath called me once again to Edinburgh, and yet I feel nature so decayed, and daily to decay, that I look not for a long continuance of my battle, I would gladly once discharge my conscience unto your bosom, and unto the bosom of others, in whom I think the fear of God remaineth. If I had the ability of

* "Beat the pulpit to pieces." (Melville's Diary, see M'Crie.) The diary of Richard Bannatyne (here called Ballenden) was published a few years since, and contains much interesting information respecting that period.

body, I should not have put you to the pains to which I require you now, that is, once to visit me, that we may confer together of heavenly things; for in earth there is no stability except the kirk of Jesus Christ, ever fighting under the cross, to whose protection I heartily commit you. From Edinburgh, 7th of September, 1572.

"Haste, brother, or you will come too late."

Mr. Lawson came to Edinburgh, September 15th, and preached on the Friday after, to the great satisfaction of the people, and continued preaching till he was admitted to the charge of the ministry at Edinburgh. Knox preached in the Tolbooth as long as he had strength of body; but his health was greatly impaired by the news of the massacre of the protestants at Paris about this time.* It was brought to Edinburgh about the twelfth of September, by Mr. Killigrew, ambassador from queen Elizabeth. Knox mentioned the event in his next sermon, with a denunciation of God's vengeance thereon, which he desired the French ambassador, monsieur La Croc, might be acquainted with. The denunciation was to this purport, "Sentence is pronounced in Scotland against that murderer, the king of France, and God's vengeance shall never depart from him nor his house: but his name shall remain an execration to posterity; and none that shall come of his loins shall enjoy that kingdom in peace and quietness, unless repentance prevent God's judgment." The ambassador being informed of this, applied to the regent and council, and complained that his master was called a traitor and murderer of his subjects, under a promise and trust; and desired that an edict might be published, prohibiting the subjects of Scotland from speaking any thing to the dishonour of his master, especially the ministers in their sermons. This was declined by the council, and the ambassador was told, that they could not hinder the ministers from speaking even against themselves.

On Sunday, November the 9th, in the year 1572, Knox admitted Mr. Lawson as his colleague and successor: but his voice was so weak, that few could hear him. He declared the mutual duty between a minister and his flock; he praised God, who had given them one in his room, who was now unable to teach, and desired that God might augment his graces to him a thousand fold above that which he had, if it were his pleasure;

* The massacre of St. Bartholomew, in which the admiral de Coligni, and several chiefs of the French protestants, who had been inveigled to Paris by the artifices of Charles IX., were murdered. More than thirty thousand persons were cruelly put to death in a few days, and the streets of Paris literally ran with blood. A public thanksgiving was offered up at Rome on hearing of this massacre.

Of this event De Thou, an historian who lived at that time, and who himself was a Romanist, says, "No similar instance of atrocity can be found in the annals of any nation, in all antiquity."

and ended with pronouncing the blessing. He then came down from the pulpit, leaning upon his staff, and was accompanied by almost the whole assembly to his house. As he walked slowly down the street, it was crowded by people who waited till he had passed, as if they were conscious he would not again appear amongst them. The particulars which follow are chiefly from the life of Knox written by Smeton, principal of the university of Glasgow.

From this day Knox hastened to his end. Upon the 11th, he was seized with a violent cough and great pains of the body; breathing with more and more difficulty, till he breathed his last. When his friends advised him to send for some physicians, he smilingly consented; saying, "I would not either despise or neglect ordinary means; but of this I am certain, that God will shortly put an end to my warfare below."

The day after, he ordered his servants to be paid their wages; whom, at the same time, he earnestly exhorted to walk in the fear of the Lord, and to live so, as became christians educated in that family. His disorder growing worse and worse, he was forced to discontinue his ordinary method of reading; which used to be, every day, some chapters of the new testament, and in the old, particularly the psalms; and some useful portion of ecclesiastical history. In the mean while, he requested his wife, and Richard Bannatyne, his servant, who was always very dear to him for his remarkable piety, that they would take care to read to him every day while he lived, the seventeenth chapter of St. John's gospel, one or other of the chapters of the epistle to the Ephesians, and the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah: which they punctually and diligently performed.

He was always peculiarly fond of the book of Psalms, God having greatly blessed them to his soul. With some select portions of those admirable compositions he was much comforted in life, and strengthened in death. He also had some of Calvin's French sermons on the Ephesians read to him.

On the 14th, he rose from his bed by seven o'clock; and being asked, Why, when he was so weak and sick, he would not rather choose to rest himself, he answered, thinking it was the sabbath, "I have been this whole night taken up with the meditation of the resurrection of Jesus Christ my Lord; and would with joy get into the pulpit, that I might communicate to others, the comfort I have inwardly enjoyed from reflecting on that blessed subject." So intent was he on the work of the Lord, even to his last breath: and when, for want of strength, he could scarcely be lifted out of bed by the assistance of two servants!

A few days after, on the 17th, he sent for all the ministers of the churches in Edinburgh, to whom, being assembled round his bed, he thus addressed himself: "That day is now at hand,

which I have so often and intensely longed for; in which, having finished my heavy labours, and gone through my various sorrows, I shall be dissolved, and be with Christ. And I appeal to God, whom I have served in spirit in the gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrines of his word; having been chiefly desirous, through the whole course of my ministry, to instruct the ignorant; to edify and comfort believers; to lift up and confirm, with the promises of grace, those who were weak, fearful, and doubting, through the fear of wrath and a sense of their sins; and to beat down haughty rebellious sinners with the threatenings and terrors of the Lord. And although many have frequently complained of my harshness in preaching, yet, God knows, that I did not thus deal out thunders and severity from hatred to the persons of any: though this I will acknowledge, that the sins in which they indulged themselves were the objects of my keenest hatred and displeasure; still, however, keeping this as the one thing in view, that if it were possible I might gain over their souls to the Lord. My motive for speaking freely and plainly whatever the Lord gave me to say, without respect of persons, was nothing but reverence to that God who called me by his grace, and made me the dispenser of his divine mysteries; before whose tribunal I knew I must one day stand, to give account for my discharge of that embassy which he had committed unto me, and this had such a powerful effect, as to make me utter so boldly whatever the Lord put in my mouth, without respect of persons. Wherefore I profess, before God and his holy angels, that I have never made gain of his sacred word, never held back any of his counsel from my people; never studied to please men, or gave way to the corrupt affections or worldly interest of myself or others; but have faithfully employed the talents committed to me, for the good of the church over whom I was in the Lord. To the truth of this, my conscience bears testimony; which is a comfort to me, notwithstanding the various slanders which some have cast upon me. And do ye, my dearest brethren in the faith and labour of Jesus, persist in the everlasting truths of his gospel. Look diligently to the flocks, with whose oversight God hath intrusted you; and which he hath redeemed to himself by the blood of his Son. And do you, my brother Lawson, fight the good fight, and finish the work of God, to which you are called, with cheerfulness and confidence. May God shower down his blessing from on high, upon you and your several charges in this city! which, so long as they continue to hold fast those doctrines of truth, which they have heard of me, (God having made me a minister of it,) the gates of hell shall never be able to prevail against. And beware of those, who not only deny the king's authority, but have also forsaken the truth which they once professed. Against whom I denounce, that, unless

they sincerely repent, and return to the good way which they have left, they shall one day miserably perish in soul and body. I would say more; but cannot, as I am scarcely able to draw my breath." With these words he dismissed them, they rejoicing at his constancy, and earnestly praying for him. He afterwards spoke in private to those who attended him, to admonish one Grange, the governor of the castle for the partisans of queen Mary; on whom that judgment afterwards fell which Knox predicted. He was then visited by the chief nobility of the town, among whom was lord Morton, afterwards regent of the kingdom; as also by some pious ladies of the first quality, and many godly men, none of whom he suffered to depart without a word of comfort or exhortation, as their respective cases required.

A religious lady of his acquaintance desired him to praise God for what good he had done, and was beginning to speak in his commendation, when he interrupted her,—“Tongue, tongue, lady—flesh of itself is overproud, and needs no means to esteem itself.” He then exhorted her to humility, and protested, as he had often done before, that he relied wholly on the free mercy of God, manifested to mankind through his dear Son Jesus Christ, whom alone he embraced for wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption.

Perceiving death to approach nearer and nearer, upon Friday the 21st, he gave orders for his coffin to be made. After which he frequently spoke to this effect: “Come, Lord Jesus, sweetest Saviour, into thy hands I commend my spirit. Look I beseech thee, with favour, upon this church which thou hast redeemed, and restore peace to this afflicted commonwealth. Raise up pastors after thine own heart, who may take care of thy church; and grant that we may learn, as well from the blessings as from the chastisements of thy providence, to abhor sin, and love thee with full purpose of heart.” Then, turning to those about him, he would say, “O serve the Lord with fear, and death will not be terrible: Yea, blessed and holy shall death be to those who have felt the power of the death of the only begotten Son of God.” Being asked by Robert Campbell, whether he felt much pain, he replied, “I cannot look upon that as pain which brings on the end of mortality and trouble, and is the beginning of life.”

On the 23d, during the afternoon sermon, after lying quiet a considerable time, he exclaimed, “If any be present, let them come and see the work of God.” His servant thinking his death was at hand, sent to the church for some of his friends. When they came to his bedside, he burst out into these rapturous expressions, “These two last nights I have been in meditation on the troubled state of the church of God, the spouse of Jesus Christ, despised of the world, but precious in the sight of God. I have called to God for her, and have committed her to her

Head, Jesus Christ. I have fought against spiritual wickedness in heavenly things, and have prevailed. I have been in heaven, and have possession. I have tasted of the heavenly joys where at present I am." He repeated the Lord's prayer and the apostles' creed; enlarging, as he went on, most sweetly and spiritually, upon each of the separate petitions and articles, to the great comfort and edification of them that were by. Afterwards, lifting up his hands towards heaven, he cried out, "To thee, Lord, do I commit myself. Thou knowest how intense my pains are; but I do not complain. Yea, Lord, if such be thy will concerning me, I could be content to bear these pains for many years together, which in thy just judgment thou hast laid upon me. Only do thou continue to enlighten my mind through Christ Jesus." He passed that night in suffering, being somewhat worse than usual. The next day it was evident that his end drew near. The fifteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians being repeatedly read to him, at his own desire, he exclaimed, "Oh what sweet and heavenly consolation my Lord affords me, from this blessed chapter!" adding, "Now for the last time I commend my soul, spirit, and body (touching three of his fingers as he spoke) into thy hand O Lord." But, when one of his eyes became blind, and his speech began to fail, he cried faintly, "Turn to the seventeenth of St. John, and read it carefully; for there I cast my first anchor." When that was read, he rested a little; but soon began to utter very heavy groans and deep sighs; so that the by-standers plainly perceived he was grappling with some very great temptation. There were, at this time, present in the room, one John Johnson, a holy man, and Robert Campbell, a great friend to the gospel, Mrs. Knox, and others; who, observing his agonies, thought him to be in the pains of death. At length, however, contrary to their expectation, he recovered, like one awaked from sleep; and being asked how he did, he answered, "Many have been my conflicts with satan, in the course of my frail life, and many the assaults which I have sustained; but that roaring lion never beset me so furiously and forcibly as now. Often has he set my sins in array before me; often has he tempted me to despair; and often strove to ensnare me with the enticements of the world: but, I being enabled to hew his snares in pieces with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, he was not able to prevail against me. But now he has found out a new way. That crafty serpent has endeavoured to persuade me, that, because I have faithfully and successfully discharged my ministerial office, I am on that account deserving of eternal life and a happy immortality. But God was pleased to make me triumphant over this temptation also, by powerfully suggesting to my memory those texts, What hast thou that thou didst not receive? and, By the grace of God, I am what I am: and, Not I, but the grace of God in me:—being thus vanquished, he left me. I thank my God, therefore, through

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Christ, who has vouchsafed me the victory; and I am persuaded, that satan will not be permitted to return, or molest me any more, in my passage to glory; but that I shall, without any pain of body, or agony of soul, sweetly and peacefully exchange this wretched life for that blessed and immortal one, which is through Christ Jesus." He lay quiet for some hours till evening prayers were said; and being asked, whether he could hear them distinctly, he answered, "Would to God you all heard them with such ears, and perceived with the same mind, as I am enabled to do! Lord Jesus receive my spirit." About eleven o'clock he gave a deep sigh, and said, "Now it is come." Bannatyne then drew near the bed, and desired him to think upon the comfortable promises of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which he had so often declared to others; and perceiving he was speechless, requested him to give some sign, whereby they might know that he died in the steadfast belief and enjoyment of those gospel truths; and, likewise, of his comfortable assurance of a blissful immortality through Christ. On which, as if he had received fresh strength, he triumphantly lifted his hand toward heaven, and then quietly departed to the rest which remaineth for the people of God, on November 24, 1572, about eleven o'clock at night, without any convulsion or apparent suffering, but worn out with his extraordinary labours of body and mind.

He was interred on the twenty-sixth, in the church-yard of St. Giles's, the corpse being attended by several lords who were then at Edinburgh. The earl of Morton, that day chosen regent, when Knox was laid in the grave, said, "There lies a man, who in his life never feared the face of a man, who hath been often threatened with dag and dagger, but yet hath ended his days in peace and honour. For God's providence watched over him in a special manner, when his very life was sought."

The reader is now in possession of the principal circumstances in the life and character of the great Scottish Reformer, and he may judge how far the delineation which is given by historians in general is correct. The world cannot love the devoted active followers of Christ, and that Knox was one of them cannot be denied. It is not intended to represent him as a faultless character, but those parts of his conduct which have been most frequently enlarged upon by his enemies, are mainly to be ascribed to the times in which he lived, and the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed. With respect to his temper and language, we may apply to Knox what Seckendorf has said of Luther: "The assertions frequently made respecting him, show that the authors do not write a history, but a satire; and, according to the usual manner of sophists, would deduce most dreadful accusations from trifling and venial circumstances. But enough has been said respecting such charges, the grounds for which these censors think they have discovered in some free expressions;—but neither the

whole nor the greater part of the writings of the Reformer, justify the imputation of excessive bitterness or freedom. Many words and much phraseology, which at this day would be accounted contumelious or objectionable, at that time were in common use, and could be uttered without impropriety, nor were the lighter expressions accounted incorrect." (Seck. iii. p. 643.)

The public conduct of Knox cannot be fairly judged without full consideration of the characters amongst whom his lot was cast. It has been well inquired, what would the individuals who have been most admired in the present day have been able to effect in those times? Would they have done more than Erasmus performed in the days of Luther? And what would have been the state of religion now—as far as human judgment can see—if individuals of a less decided temperament had undertaken the work?

To these observations, some of which have been suggested by Dr. M'Crie, we may add the following extract from his able and interesting life of Knox. "He thought only of advancing the glory of God, and promoting the welfare of his country. Intrepidity, a mind elevated above sordid views, indefatigable activity, and constancy which no disappointments could shake, eminently qualified him for the hazardous and difficult post which he occupied. His integrity was above the suspicion of corruption; his firmness equally proof against the solicitations of friends, and the threats of enemies. The opinion which his countrymen entertained of his sagacity, as well as his honesty, is evident from the confidence which they reposed in him. The measures taken for advancing the Reformation were either adopted at his suggestion, or submitted to his advice, and we must pronounce them to have been as wisely planned as they were boldly executed.

"His ministerial functions were discharged with the greatest assiduity, fidelity, and fervour. No avocation or infirmity prevented him from appearing in the pulpit. Preaching was an employment in which he delighted, and for which he was qualified by an extensive acquaintance with the scriptures, and the happy art of applying them in the most striking manner to the existing circumstances of the church, and of his hearers. His powers of alarming the conscience, and arousing the passions, have been frequently mentioned; but he excelled also in offering up the consolations of the gospel, and calming the breasts of those who were agitated with a sense of their sins. When he discoursed of the griefs and joys, the conflicts and triumphs, of genuine christians, he declared what he himself had known and felt. The letters which he wrote to his familiar acquaintances breathe the most ardent piety. The religious meditations in which he spent his last sickness were not confined to that period of his life; they had been his habitual employment

from the time that he was brought to the knowledge of the truth, and his solace amidst all the hardships and perils through which he passed."

The writings of Knox may be divided into four classes, 1. Historical. This comprises his history of the Reformation in Scotland, which is a very valuable work, being written by one who lived amidst the scenes he describes, and who would not intentionally misrepresent, although, like every other man, he may sometimes have been mistaken.

2. Admonitory. From the peculiar circumstances of the times in which Knox lived, these pieces contain much that has lost its interest at the present day. Only a part of them are included in the present collection. Those which are omitted, have however been frequently reprinted.*

3. Devotional. These are not numerous, but the reader will regret they are not more so. They are among the most valuable productions of the British Reformers; and having been written under severe trials, both mental and bodily, they come from the heart, and powerfully appeal to it. They are now for the first time republished, the former collections of his writings having only contained those which more immediately related to his public life, so that the piety and christian feeling of Knox have been comparatively little known.

4. Letters. Several which are included in the present volume are now printed for the *first* time. For them the reader is indebted to Dr. M'Crie, who kindly furnished copies from the manuscript volume of the Reformer's writings in his possession, which supplied such important materials for his life of Knox.† He also supplied from the same source, transcripts of several tracts now republished, by which many errors which had appeared in the hastily printed editions have been removed. In these letters of Knox, the reader will trace the same mind which actuated Bradford and his other brethren among the English Reformers, and there are few persons, who, after perusing the following pages, will not highly estimate the talents, piety, and christian zeal of this holy Reformer.

* The writings of Knox not included, either wholly or in part in this collection, are, Copy of a letter to the queen regent in 1556.—The first blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment (government) of women.—Appellation of John Knox, with his supplication to the nobility, &c.—Exhortation to England.—To the preceding, which are printed with the editions of Knox's History, may be added, the Form of Excommunication, and the Treatise of Fasting, other pieces written for the general Assembly; also his History of the Reformation of Religion within the realm of Scotland. Many letters written by Knox not included here, have been printed, but they chiefly relate to historical subjects.

† That valuable work has supplied many particulars adverted to in this biographical sketch, but Dr. M'Crie's Life of John Knox is too well known, and too highly valued, to require any detailed notice in this place.



ENGRAVED BY J. SAWYER.

Penn.

SOME PARTICULARS
OF
THE LIFE OF THOMAS BECON.

THOMAS BECON, or Beacon, was one of the most active of the English Reformers; and by his writings he contributed much to the diffusion of the truth. He was born in Suffolk about A. D. 1510, and was educated at Cambridge, where he took his bachelor's degree in 1530. The preaching of Latimer appears to have been very useful to him, and he became a zealous teacher of the gospel. On this account Becon was persecuted by the Romish clergy, and was apprehended by Bonner in 1544, when he was compelled to make a public recantation at Paul's Cross, and to burn his little treatises, which had attracted considerable notice. Some of them had been printed under the name of Theodore Basil,* and were prohibited in the proclamation against heretical books, in July, 1546.

Finding there was no safety for him in London or its vicinity, Becon travelled into Staffordshire and Derbyshire, where he remained in seclusion until the accession of Edward VI. During this interval "he educated children in good literature, and instilled into their minds the principles of christian doctrine." But the account of Becon's proceedings at that period is best given in his own words, as related in his tract, "The Jewel of Joy."

"What gentleness I found for my godly labours at the hands of some men in these parts ye know right well. Therefore when neither by speaking, nor by writing, I could do good, I thought it best not rashly to throw myself into the ravening paws of those greedy wolves, but for a certain space to absent

* Becon had two sons, whom he named Theodore and Basil, probably from his having assumed that appellation.

myself from their tyranny, according to the doctrine of the gospel.—Leaving mine own native country, I travelled into such strange places as were unknown to me, and I to them. And yet, I thank the Lord my God, who never leaveth his servants succourless, I, although an unprofitable servant, in that exile and banishment wanted no good thing. Let the voluptuous worldlings take thought for the belly, and be careful for this present life; I have learned in that my journey to cast my care upon the Lord my God, who abundantly feedeth so many as trust in him, and depend on his liberality and goodness. For one house I found twenty, and for one friend a hundred. I could wish nothing for the provision of this life, but I had it plenteously, God so caring for me, his unprofitable and wretched servant.

“After I had taken leave of my most sweet mother, and my other dear friends, I travelled into Derbyshire, and from thence into the Peak, whither I appointed my books and my clothes to be brought. Mine intent was, by exercising the office of a schoolmaster, to engraft Christ and the knowledge of him, in the breasts of those scholars whom God should appoint unto me to be taught.—I found them of very good wits and apt understandings.—Coming to a little village, called Alsop in the dale, I chanced upon a certain gentleman, called Alsop, lord of that village, a man not only ancient in years, but also ripe in the knowledge of Christ’s doctrine. After we had saluted each other, and taken a sufficient repast, he showed me certain books, which he called his jewels and principal treasures.—To repeat them all by name I am not able, but of this I am sure, that there was the New Testament after the translation of the godly learned man, Miles Coverdale,* which seemed to be as well worn by the diligent reading thereof, as ever was any portass or mass book among the papists.—I remember he had many other godly books, as the Obedience of a Christian man, the Parable of the wicked Mammon, the Revelation of Antichrist, the Sum of Holy Scripture, the book of John Frith against Purgatory,† all the books published in the name of Theodore Basil, with divers other learned men’s works. In these godly treatises this ancient gentleman, among the

* The first testament printed in English, about twenty years before the time here referred to.

† These were writings of Tindal and Frith.

mountains and rocks, occupied himself both diligently and virtuously.—But all the religion of the people consisted in hearing matins and masses, in superstitious worshipping of saints, in hiring soul carriers to sing trentals,* in pattering upon beads, and in such other popish pedlary. Yet the people where I have travelled, for the most part, are reasonable and quiet enough,† yea and very conformable to God's truth. If any be stubbornly obstinate, it is for want of knowledge, and because they have been seduced by blind guides.

“While I was in the Peak I learned that Robert Wysdom was in Staffordshire.‡ He was the same to me as Aristarchus was to Paul. Desiring greatly to see him, I bade my friends in the Peak farewell, and made haste towards him. When I came to him, I not only rejoiced to see him in health, but also gave God thanks that he was so well placed and provided for. I found him in the house of a certain faithful brother, called John Old, a man old in name, yet young in years, and yet ancient in true godliness and christian life. He was to us as Jason was to Paul and Silas. He received us joyfully into his house, and liberally, for the Lord's sake, ministered all good things unto our necessities. And as he began, so he continued, a right hearty friend, and dearly loving brother, so long as we remained in that country. Even as blessed Paul wished to Onesiphorus, (2 Tim. i.) so wish I to him, and with the same words pray for him, The Lord grant to him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day. After we had passed certain days in the house of that most loving brother, refreshing ourselves with the comfort of the holy scriptures after so many grievous tempests, troublous storms, and painful labours, our dear brother Robert Wysdom was called away by letters, which was to us no small pain and grief.

* The Romish priests who repeated masses for thirty days, to deliver souls from purgatory.

† The midland counties were not disturbed by the tumults excited by the Romish priests, in Norfolk and in the west and north of England.

‡ Robert Wysdom, or Wisdom, was minister of St. Catherine's, in Lothbury, and a laborious preacher of the truth; he was compelled to recant, with Becon, in 1544. He wrote an exposition on the ten commandments, for which he was imprisoned in the Lollards' tower. Several of the psalms and hymns of the old version were written by him. On the accession of queen Mary, he escaped to the continent and became archdeacon of Ely in the reign of Elizabeth.

Notwithstanding, we submitted ourselves to the good pleasure of God, with this hope and comfort, that his return to his old familiars should be greatly to the advancement of God's glory, and to the quiet of his christian studies, whereof might spring hereafter no small advantage to the christian public weal. And so we, wishing one another the assistance of God's Spirit, repentance of our former life, strength of faith, and perseverance in all godliness to our last end, departed, yea, and that not without tears.—He was ever virtuously occupied, and suffered no hour to pass away without good fruit. He is a man in whom the fear of God reigneth unfeignedly.

"After his departure, according to my talent, I brought up youth in the knowledge of good literature, and instilled into their breasts the elements and principles of Christ's doctrine, teaching them to know their Lord and God, to believe in him, to fear and love him, and studiously to walk in his holy ways from their cradles, even to the yielding up of their last breath. I doubt not but Christ was so deeply graven in their hearts at that time, that he is not yet worn out, neither as I trust shall be so long as they live.—The people were not in all points commonly so superstitious as the people of the Peak, they savoured somewhat more of pure religion. This I think came to pass through certain English books that were among them, and through travellers to and from London.

"After I had spent a year and somewhat more in that country, in the virtuous education and bringing up of youth, I departed into Warwickshire, where, in like manner as before, I freely enjoyed the liberality of my sweet and dear friend, John Old, who, impelled by urgent causes, had removed into that country. There likewise I taught divers gentlemen's sons, who I trust, if they live, will be ornaments to the public weal of England, both for the preferment of true religion, and for the maintenance of justice.

"I travelled in Derbyshire, in the Peak, in Staffordshire, and in Leicestershire, yet Warwickshire was to me the most dear and pleasant. In Leicestershire—I pass over the other, I had acquaintance only with one learned man, a countryman of ours, called John Aylmer,* a master of arts of the university of

* Aylmer was active in promoting the Reformation. He was tutor in the family of the marquess of Dorset, who was afterwards duke of

Cambridge, a young man singularly well learned both in the Latin and Greek, teacher to the children of my lord marquis Dorset; but Warwickshire ministered unto me the acquaintance and friendship of many learned men.

"First comes to my remembrance master Latimer, a man worthy to be loved and revered by all true-hearted christian men, not only for the pureness of his life, which before the world hath always been innocent and blameless, but for the sincerity and goodness of his evangelical doctrine, which, since the beginning of his preaching, has in all points been so conformable to the teaching of Christ and his apostles, that the very adversaries of God's truth, with all their menacing words, and cruel imprisonments, could not withdraw him from it. But whatsoever he had once preached, he valiantly defended the same before the world, without fear of any mortal creature, although of ever so great power or high authority; wishing and minding rather to suffer, not only loss of worldly possessions, but also of life, than that the glory of God, or the truth of Christ's gospel, should in any point be obscured or defaced through him. His life was not dear unto him, so that he might fulfil his course with joy, and the office that he received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of God's favour. He might well say with the holy psalmist, 'I spake, O Lord, of thy testimonies and ordinances in the presence of kings, princes, and rulers, and I was not ashamed.'

"His noble fame and virtuous renown is well known, not only in this realm of England, but also in foreign countries, among both learned and unlearned. I have known him twenty years ago, in the university of Cambridge; to whom, next to God, I am most specially bound to give most hearty thanks for the knowledge, if I have any, of God and his most blessed word.

"I was sometime a poor scholar of Cambridge; very desirous to have the knowledge of good letters; and in the time of my being there this godly man preached many learned and christian sermons, both in Latin and English, at all of which for the most part I was present; and although at the time I was

Suffolk, the father of Lady Jane Grey. During the Marian persecution he took refuge on the continent, and was afterwards bishop of London. John Old was a teacher of youth, and vicar of Cobington, in Warwickshire. He was afterwards a prebendary of Hereford, and an exile for religion.

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but a child of sixteen years old, yet I noted his doctrine as well as I could, partly reposing it in my memory, partly committing it to writing, as letters are the most faithful treasurers to the memory.

"I was present when, with manifest authorities of God's word, and invincible arguments, besides the allegations of doctors, he proved in his sermons that the holy scriptures ought to be read in the English tongue by all christian people, whether they were priests or laymen, as they are called ; which divers drowsy dunces, with false flattering friars, could not abide, but openly in their unsavoury sermons resisted his godly purpose ; even as Alexander the coppersmith and Elymas the sorcerer, with many others, resisted blessed Paul and his godly doctrine. Notwithstanding this, he, yea rather God in him, whose cause he handled, got the victory, and it came to pass according to his teaching. Neither was I absent when he inveighed against empty works, good intents, blind zeal, superstitious devotion, &c. such as the painting of tabernacles,* gilding of images, setting up of candles, running on pilgrimages, and such other idle inventions of men, whereby the glory of God was obscured, and the works of mercy less regarded. I remember also how he was wont to rebuke the beneficed men with the authority of God's word, for neglecting and not teaching their flock, and for being absent from their cures ; they themselves being idle, and masting themselves† like hogs of Epicurus's flock ; taking no thought though their poor parishioners miserably pine away, starve, perish, and die for hunger. Neither have I forgotten how he, at that time, condemned foolish, ungodly, and impossible vows to be fulfilled, wishing rather that liberty of marriage might be granted to them which have so vowed, than so to continue through single life in all kind of abominable uncleanness. Oh how vehement was he in rebuking all sins, namely, idolatry, false and idle swearing, covetousness, and licentious living ! Again, how sweet and pleasant were his words in exhorting unto virtue ! He spake nothing but it left as it were certain stings in the hearts of the hearers which moved them to consent to his doctrine. None, except they were stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart, went

* Repositories for the consecrated wafers.

† Swinishly filling themselves with acornæ.

away from his sermons who were not led into a faithful repentance of their former lives, affected with high detestation of sin, and moved unto all godliness and virtue. I knew certain men who, by persuasion of their friends, went unto his sermons, swelling, blown full, and puffed up like unto Esop's frogs, with envy and malice against the preacher; but when they returned, the sermon being done, and were asked how they liked him and his doctrine, they answered with the priests and pharisees' servants, (John viii.) 'Never man spake like this man.'

"So sharp a two-edged sword is the word of God, it entereth through, even unto the dividing of the soul and the spirit, and of the joints and the marrow. (Heb. iv.) So God watches over his word, so the Father of heaven causes his word not to return unto him void, but to do whatsoever his good pleasure is, and to take root and bring forth fruit in them that are before ordained unto everlasting life; in some a hundred fold, in some threescore, in some thirty fold. I will not further report his freedom of speech against buying and selling of benefices, against the promoting unto livings of spiritual ministers them which are unlearned and ignorant in the law of God, against popish pardons, against the reposing our hope in our own works or in other men's merits, against false religion, &c. Neither do I here relate how beneficial he was, according to his ability, to poor scholars and other needy people; so conformable was his life to his doctrine, so watered he with good deeds whatsoever he had planted with godly words. He so laboured earnestly both in word and deed to win and allure others unto the love of Christ's doctrine and his holy religion, that there is a common saying which remains unto this day, 'When master Stafford read, and master Latimer preached, then was Cambridge blessed.'

"That master George Stafford was a man whom the unthankful world was unworthy any longer to have.* I pass over

* George Stafford, or Stavert, was fellow of Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, a reader of divinity, who lectured on the scriptures. He was very attentive to his duties as a minister of the gospel. About 1528, there was one of great fame for his skill as a conjuror at Cambridge. This man fell sick of the plague. From compassion to his soul, Stafford ventured his own life by visiting him, and reasoned with him upon his wicked life and practices till he was brought to repentance, and destroyed his books. Thus Stafford endeavoured to save that man's soul, though he lost his own life by it,

the gifts of nature, and such goodly qualities as win unto them that have them the favour and commendation of men ; where-with he was plenteously endued, and this I unfeignedly say unto you : he was a man of a very perfect life, and, if I may so speak, of an angelic conversation, approvedly learned in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, and such a one as had, through his painful labours, obtained singular knowledge in the mysteries of God's most blessed word.

“ By his industry, labour, pains, and diligence, he seemed of a dead man to make blessed Paul alive again ; and putting away all unseemliness, set him forth in his native colours, so that now he is both seen, read, and heard with great pleasure by them that labour in the study of his most godly epistles. And as he beautified the letters of blessed Paul with his godly expositions, so likewise he learnedly set forth in his lectures, the native sense and true understanding of the four evangelists ; restoring unto us in a lively manner the apostle's mind, and the mind of those holy writers, which so many years before had laid unknown and obscured through the darkness and mists of the pharisees and papists.

“ He was a faithful and prudent servant, giving meat to the Lord's household in due time. He cast away profane and old wives' fables, and as the good servant of Jesus Christ, he exercised himself unto godliness. He was an example to the faithful in word, in conversation, in love, in spirit, in faith, in purity. He gave his mind to reading, to exhorting, to doctrine. He studied to show himself unto God a laudable workman that needeth not to be ashamed, dividing the word of truth justly. He was gentle unto every man, and with meekness informed them that resisted the truth, if God at any time would give them repentance for to know the truth, and to turn again from the snare of the devil. He fought a good fight, he fulfilled his course, he kept the faith : therefore is there laid up for him a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give him in that day, and not to him only, but to all them that love His coming.

“ With master Latimer, that true preacher of God's word, I was somewhat acquainted in Warwickshire, which was to me

for he got the infection, went home, and died. Fox relates this on the authority of bishops Ridley and Grindal.

no small comfort; not with him only, but with divers others, whereof some were men of worship, well inclined towards the holy scriptures; some were men very godly learned in the laws of the Most High, and professors of the same. So oft as I was in their company, methought I was clearly delivered from Egypt, and quietly placed in the glorious New Jerusalem, which is described in the revelation of blessed John: so sweet a thing is it to be in the company of godly learned men.

“While I was training up youth, and fashioning their minds unto true godliness in that country, behold, unexpected letters were sent to me from my most dear mother; in which she required me to return to my native country, and to be a staff of her old age, as my father-in-law was departed from this vale of misery. Considering my duty, and the honour which I owe unto her by the manifest commandment of God, I immediately after, not without the friendly consent of my well willers, departed from Warwickshire, and with all haste repaired home.

“In this my long absence I wrote divers treatises, but as yet three only are published. The Governance of Virtue, an Invective against Whoredom, and a Dialogue of Christ’s Nativity, between the angel and the shepherds. The others shall be set forth, if the Lord will, hereafter at a convenient time. I translated out of Latin into English, divers little treatises,—The Shield of Salvation, The Solace of the Soul, The Commendation of Death, &c.”*

This extract is long, but the reader will hardly fail to be interested with its contents, which present some valuable delineations of the state of England in the early days of the Reformation. At that time many of the inland secluded districts were scarcely accessible to travellers, and far less known to the inhabitants of the southern counties than some parts of the continent. We cannot help regretting that the author has not left us a full delineation of his life from his own pen. The particulars respecting himself and his contemporaries which such a

* In the Jewel of Joy, the foregoing particulars are communicated in a dialogue between Philemon, (Becon himself,) and some friends, to whom he relates what had befallen him. A part of Latimer’s character is put into the mouth of one of the other speakers; but it is evident that Becon himself is describing his own personal intercourse with that venerable father. As the dialogue contains much extraneous matter, it seemed desirable to condense the above extract in Becon’s own words.

narrative would have contained, would have made it one of the most valuable pieces of the reformers.

When Edward VI. came to the throne, the people of Canterbury were particularly opposed to the Reformation. This induced Cranmer to place in that city six preachers, distinguished for their piety and learning. Becon was one of them, and from the numerous sufferers for the truth among the inhabitants during the reign of queen Mary, their labours appear to have been made useful to many. Becon was also chaplain to the protector Somerset, and for some time an inmate in his family at Sheen. Of the death of this distinguished nobleman, and some other events of that period, Becon spoke thus in his epistle to the persecuted sufferers for the gospel in England; "We had divers signs long before, besides the godly admonitions of the faithful preachers, which plainly declared unto us an utter subversion of the true christian religion to be at hand, except it were prevented by speedy and hearty repentance. What shall I speak of that godly and mighty prince, Edward, duke of Somerset, who, in the time of his protectorship, so banished idolatry out of this our realm, and brought in again God's true religion, that it was wonder so mighty a matter should have been brought to pass in so short a time. Was not the ungentle handling of him, and the unrighteous thrusting him out of office, and afterwards the cruel murdering of him, a man, yea, a mirror of true innocence and christian patience, an evident token of God's anger against us? The sudden taking away of those most godly and virtuous youths, the duke of Suffolk and his brother, by the sweating sickness, was it not also a manifest token of God's heavy displeasure toward us? The death of those two most worthy and godly learned men, I speak of Paulus Fagius and Martin Bucer, was it not a sure prognostication of some great mishap concerning the christian religion to be at hand? But I may pass over many others and at the last come unto that which is most lamentable, and can never be remembered by any true English heart without large tears; I mean the death of our most godly prince and christian king, Edward the sixth; that true Josiah, that earnest destroyer of false religion, that fervent setter up of God's true honour, that most bounteous patron of the godly learned, that most worthy maintainer of good letters and virtue, and that

perfect and lively mirror of true nobility and sincere godliness—was not the taking away of him (alas for sorrow!) a sure sign and an evident token that some great evil hung over this realm of England?"

That Becon was an eminent preacher of the reformed doctrines appears from his having been committed to the Tower, with Bradford and Veron, within a fortnight after the accession of queen Mary. He was at that time rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, in the city of London. After a severe imprisonment of seven months, he was released, but was deprived of his living by the early proceedings of the queen against the married clergy; it is indeed most surprising that he should have been liberated, while many persons far less distinguished as preachers of the truth, were detained in prison under different pretences until popery was fully restored, when they were burned. These early proceedings, however, warned him of his danger, and after remaining in concealment for some time, he escaped to the continent, where he continued till the death of queen Mary—he was, to use Strype's expression, "a man mightily tossed about."

Becon's writings were included by name in the proclamation of Philip and Mary against the writings of the principal reformers, and many copies doubtless were destroyed. While upon the continent he was not idle, but wrote several of his tracts. In an epistle to the persecuted brethren in England, he directed them to their only refuge and deliverer; it was read in the private meetings of the protestants, and, with similar writings of other reformers, imparted edification and comfort to many.

In the preface written in 1563, Becon says, "The cross of Christ was laid upon the true christians of this realm not many years past, so that divers of our countrymen were most grievously persecuted, most cruelly apprehended, imprisoned, stocked, chained, manacled, brought forth, accused, condemned, and burnt to ashes. Divers were secretly famished, and murdered in prison, spoiled of all their goods, exiled and banished into strange countries.—I, at that time being partaker of exile and banishment, after long and that most miserable imprisonment, (to let pass my other afflictions, wherewith I was daily encumbered, besides the deceitful assaults of satan and his ministers, wherewith I was without ceasing troubled and disquieted, not only outwardly, but also inwardly,) oftentimes called unto

remembrance the most wretched and pitiful state of England, sometime flowing with the knowledge of God's word, as the sea with waters, but then wrapped full of blind ignorance and ignorant blindness, I considered with myself what I might do to help the miseries of my poor countrymen, especially such as were afflicted for the gospel's sake. Not knowing how otherwise to gratify them, I wrote an epistle and sent it to certain godly brethren, declaring in it the causes of all the miseries and calamities which were fallen upon England: again, how they might be redressed; and finally, what a merciful Lord our God is to all faithful penitent sinners that unfeignedly turn unto him. This epistle was not read of the brethren without fruit. I added a humble supplication unto God for the restoring of his holy word unto the church of England, wherein the devout christian complains his grief and sorrow unto the Lord for taking away the light of Christ's gospel, and most humbly acknowledging his fault and deserved punishment, most heartily wishes for the subversion of Antichrist's kingdom, and the restitution of Christ's most glorious kingdom to the realm of England."

At this period several of Becon's tracts relative to the Romish controversy were written; among them an epistle to the popish priests, showing the difference between the Lord's Supper and the mass, which he declares to be "a wicked idol."

When queen Elizabeth came to the throne, Becon returned to England, and again laboured zealously and successfully to promote the truth. In 1560, he was appointed to the rectory of Buckland, in Hertfordshire, and subsequently to that of Christ Church, Newgate, which he afterwards resigned; and in 1563, was appointed to the living of Dionis Backchurch, in London. Like many of the exiles and most excellent characters of that day, he desired that greater liberty as to uniformity should be permitted than was then allowed; and he was one of the large minority in the convocation, which supported a petition for greater freedom with respect to some rites and ceremonies.*

In January 1564—5, the clergy of London attended at Lambeth: they were required to subscribe to the recent ecclesiastical regulations, but several declined. Strype relates in his

* See Strype's Annals. Fifty-eight, including proxies, supported the petition, fifty-nine opposed it; the majority of the individuals present voted for it.

life of Grindal, "Many upon this were sequestered, and afterwards some deposed and deprived—Whittingham and Becon refused at first, but afterwards subscribed and were preferred." It does not clearly appear what preferment he obtained after this; but he was appointed to preach at Paul's cross in the following year, and the lord mayor petitioned archbishop Parker, requesting his grace to prevail upon Becon to preach one of the Spital Sermons. After this time he seems to have resided chiefly at Canterbury, where he held a prebend, and from whence he dated the preface to his collected works, and to his Postills, or plain sermons upon the gospels appointed to be read throughout the year. In that city he died about 1567..

Becon was one of the most laborious and useful writers and preachers among the British reformers. His publications exceed forty in number; some are of considerable length. The earliest was printed in 1541, and the latest in 1566. They embrace a much wider range of subjects than the works of any other writer of that day. Several of them are upon the Romish controversy, and manifest a thorough knowledge of the subject, but the greater part of them do not directly relate thereto. Their contents are also exceedingly scriptural; frequently for pages together, they exhibit a collection of passages from holy writ, illustrating in a very striking manner the subjects upon which the author is treating. All the reformers were "mighty in the scriptures," but Becon, especially, "abounded" therein.

Most of his publications were originally printed as separate tracts, and widely circulated in that form. Day, the printer, in 1549, applied for a license, which was granted, authorizing him to reprint all the writings of Becon, which evidently shows that the demand for them was considerable. A uniform and corrected edition of his works was printed in 1564 under his own superintendence, dedicated to the archbishops and bishops of the realm. They form three volumes in folio, and are now among the scarcest of the writings of the Elizabethan reformers. Few of them have been reprinted since that time; and the numerous and excellent writings of this pious and learned divine have been suffered to fall into unmerited oblivion, although highly commended by archbishop Parker and other writers.

The most complete list of Becon's works which can be ascertained, is as follows :—

1. News from Heaven. 2. The Christmas Banquet. 3. A Potation for Lent. 4. The pathway to Prayer. 5. A pleasant Nosegay. 6. The Policy of War. 7. David's Harp newly stringed; an exposition on Psalm cxv. 8. A New Year's Gift. 9. An Invective against Swearing. 10. The Governance of Virtue. 11. A new Catechism. 12. Preface to the book of Christian Matrimony. 13. The Jewel of Joy. 14. The Principles of the Christian Religion. 15. A Treatise of Fasting. 16. The Castle of Comfort. 17. The Solace of the Soul. 18. The Fortress of the Faithful. 19. The Christian Knight. 20. Homily against Whoredom. 21. The Flower of godly Prayers. 22. The Pomander of Prayer. 23. The Sick Man's Salve. 24. Dialogue between the Angel and the Shepherds. 25. An Invective against Whoredom. 26. A comfortable Epistle to the afflicted People of God. 27. A Supplication unto God for restoring of his holy Word. 28. The displaying of the Popish Mass. 29. Common-places of the Holy Scripture. 30. Comparison between the Lord's Supper and the Pope's Mass. 31. Proofs from the Fathers against the popish errors relative to the Sacrament. 32. The monstrous Merchandise of the Romish Bishops. 33. The Reliques of Rome. 34. The diversity between God's word and man's invention. 35. The Acts of Christ and antichrist. 36. Christ's Chronicle. 37. The Summary of the New Testament. 38. The Demands of the Holy Scripture. 39. The glorious Triumph of God's blessed Word. 40. The praise of Death. 41. Postilla, or Sermons upon the Gospels for the Sundays and Holy Days throughout the year. There are a few other pieces ascribed to Becon, and some translations. He also assisted in the Bishop's Bible.

Only a small part of Becon's writings could be included in the present collection—a preference therefore has been given to those which are upon the subjects the least noticed by other reformers. Some omissions have been made where Becon was unnecessarily diffuse. To each of his tracts is prefixed a short preface or epistle, addressed to some individual of note at that period; a few of these have been retained.

Such is a brief sketch of this excellent reformer, who was “justly celebrated for his great learning, his frequent preaching, his manifold sermons and excellent writings”—WHEREBY HE BEING DEAD YET SPEAKETH.



Engraved by J. Warren.

Jewell.

LIFE OF JOHN JEWELL,

Bishop of Salisbury.

JOHN JEWELL was born May 24th, 1522, at Buden, in the parish of Berry Nerber, in the north of Devonshire. His father was of an ancient family, but not wealthy, and having ten children, John, the youngest son, was indebted in early life to some benevolent friends for the assistance which enabled him to pursue his studies. He received the rudiments of education at several schools; in the last of these, Barnstaple, he had for his school-fellow Harding, who afterwards was his most zealous and bitter antagonist.

Jewell was of an amiable disposition; at an early age he gave indications of great talent, and an earnest desire for knowledge. When thirteen, he was entered at Merton college in Oxford, where his first tutor was a Mr. Burrey, "a man meanly learned, and somewhat tainted with popery." This tutor having another pupil, committed Jewell to the care of Parkhurst, afterwards bishop of Norwich, then of Merton college, "who being desirous, with all other wholesome learning, to season his tender years with pure religion, took occasion often before him to dispute with Burrey about controverted points; and intending to compare the translations of the bible by Coverdale and Tindal, gave him Tindal's to read, himself overlooking Coverdale's. Thus he early brought his pupil to a close acquaintance with the scriptures. During this collation, Parkhurst observed such indication of talent in Jewell, that he exclaimed, "Surely, Paul's cross will one day ring of this boy," a presage which was fully realized in the event.

While Jewell was at Merton college the plague broke out at Oxford, in consequence of which he removed to Croxham, where, by lodging in a low, damp room, and pursuing his studies in the night with too much ardour, he caught a cold, which settled in his limbs, and affected him with a lameness that attended him to his grave. In August, 1539, by the interest of his friends, he was removed to Corpus Christi college, where he met with encouragement, but also experienced the effects of envy from some of his fellows, who often suppressed his exercises, substituting others more resembling their own. In October 1540, Jewell took his first degree with very great applause. He continued to prosecute his studies with increased vigour, beginning at four in the morning, and continuing 'till ten at night, needing some person to remind him of his necessary food. His reputation for learning was such, that Mr. Parkhurst committed his own son to the care of his former pupil for a time, till Serles, vicar of St. Peter's, Oxford, a

zealous enemy to all innovation, succeeded in separating them. We are told that he was alarmed at Jewell's design to instruct his pupil in Greek, the study of which was then considered almost a certain proof of heresy. The college appointed Jewell reader of humanity and rhetoric, which duty he discharged with much ability; but his example taught far more than any precept. He read many ancient authors, and was accustomed to write something every day, often saying, "Men acquired learning more by frequently exercising their pens, than by reading many books." He endeavoured to express himself with fluency, neatness, and force of argument, rather than by flowery expressions, or well turned periods. "His only recreations from study were studious," his time being spent either in giving instruction, disputations, or in meditating upon what he had learned.

In 1544, Jewell commenced master of arts, the expense being defrayed by Parkhurst who then held the valuable rectory of Cleve, in Gloucestershire. He often invited Jewell and other scholars to his house, where he entertained them liberally, and seldom dismissed them without presents. One time especially, he came into their chamber early in the morning, and seizing their purses said, "What money, I wonder, have these miserable beggarly Oxonians." Finding them "pitifully lean and empty, he stuffed them with money till they became both fat and weighty."

After the accession of Edward VI. the Reformation proceeded more regularly, and with greater rapidity. Peter Martyr was invited from Germany, and settled as professor of divinity at Oxford. Jewell profited much by this appointment, and with the help of short-hand characters, which he invented, was able to take down nearly the whole of the lectures. In May, 1549, Martyr was interrupted in his lectures by Dr. Smith, a bigoted papist; a tumult arose, and Martyr challenged Smith to a regular public disputation. Smith, however, fled to Scotland, but some other popish doctors accepted the challenge, and a sharp disputation ensued respecting the Lord's Supper. It was conducted with some regularity; being committed to writing by Jewell, it was afterwards published, and is appended to the English translation of Martyr's *Common Places*. It has also been printed by Fox, and in other forms.

In 1551, Jewell took his degree of bachelor of divinity, when he preached a Latin sermon, from 1 Peter, iv. 11. "If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God," &c. At this time he took a small living near Oxford, called Sunningwell, more from a desire to do good than for the salary, which was but small. He walked thither once a fortnight, on foot, though with some difficulty, from his lameness. He also preached publicly and privately, both in his own college and in the university. His abilities now procured him many friends, one of whom named Curtop, a fellow of his own college, allowed him forty shillings a year, then a considerable sum. Another

person named Chambers, who was intrusted with the distribution of moneys collected in London to assist poor scholars allowed him six pounds a year for the purchase of books.

These "halcyon days of peace" were soon terminated. Jewell was one of the first who felt the effects of the accession of Queen Mary, being expelled from his college by the fellows, upon their own authority, before the laws were passed for the restoration of popery. The charges against him were, 1. That he was a follower of Peter Martyr. 2. That he had preached contrary to popery. 3. That he had taken orders according to the recent laws; which, however, still remained in force. His principal offence in reality appears to have been, his refusal to be present at the mass. That Jewell's character and conduct were blameless appears from the testimony of Morwen, the president of the college, who said, "I should love thee, Jewell, if thou wert not a Zuinglian. In thy faith I hold thee a heretic, but surely in thy life thou art an angel! Thou art very good and honest, but a Lutheran!" A stronger commendation cannot be desired. It is probable that some personal feeling occasioned this prompt expulsion of Jewell. Dr. Morwen, and two of the fellows, had been suspended and imprisoned for a short time in 1552, by order of the council, for not using the protestant service book. During their suspension Jewell was appointed to govern the college.

The following is a translation of Jewell's farewell:—

"In my last lectures I have imitated the custom of famished men, who when they see their meat likely to be suddenly and unexpectedly snatched from them, devour it with the greater haste and greediness. For whereas I intended thus to put an end to my lectures, and perceived that I was like forthwith to be silenced, I made no scruple to entertain you, contrary to my former usage, with much unpleasant and ill prepared discourse; for I have incurred, I see, the displeasure and hatred of some, but whether deservedly or no, I leave to their consideration. This I am sure of, that those who have driven me from hence, would not suffer me to live any where if it were in their power. But as for me, I yield to the times, and if they can derive any delight to themselves from my calamity, I hinder them not from it. But as Aristides, when he went into exile and forsook his country, prayed that they might nevermore think of him; so I beseech God to grant the same to my fellow-collegians, and what can they wish for more? Pardon me, my hearers, if it grieve me thus to be torn against my will from that place, where I have passed the first part of my life, where I have lived pleasantly, and have been in some honour and employment. But why do I thus delay to put an end to my misery by one word? Wo is me,—with my extreme sorrow I at last speak it—that I must say, Farewell my studies, farewell to these houses, farewell thou pleasant seat of learning, farewell to delightful conversation with you, farewell young men, farewell lads, fare-

well fellows, farewell brethren, farewell ye beloved as my own eyesight, farewell all—Farewell.”

Jewell was now reduced to poverty and distress, but for a time found shelter in Broadgate Hall, where many scholars resorted to him, and the society, by which he had been expelled, began to lament his loss. Of this they were reminded by Dr. Wright, archdeacon of Oxford, who when the deacon bragged that their college alone had kept their treasure and Romish ornaments during the late reigns, told them they had done so indeed, but, they had lost a *jewel* far more precious than any they had preserved.

By the influence of some friends, Jewell was appointed orator to the university. In this capacity he was soon after called to write a congratulatory address to the new queen. In expressing it he imitated the sentiments of the Roman Senators on the death of Augustus, and the accession of Tiberius.* He managed this with much ability, alluding also to the queen's promise to the men of Norfolk and Suffolk, that she would not change the religion established by the late king. It is recorded, that while Jewell was reciting this address to Dr. Tresham, the vice chancellor, the great bell of Christ Church, which the latter had caused to be re-cast, and had christened a few days before, according to the popish ritual, by the name of Mary, began to toll. Hearing this call to his beloved mass, the doctor exclaimed, “O delicate and sweet harmony, O beautiful Mary, how musically she sounds, how strangely she pleases my ears!” and Jewell's pen was forced to give place to the tinkling of this new lady.† Jewell, about this time, was one of the notaries appointed to assist Cranmer at his trial.

In these difficulties, Jewell went on foot to Cleve, to obtain Parkhurst's advice and assistance, but found he had left the country on the restoration of the mass. Poor Jewell was forced to return to Oxford, where he arrived almost dead from the fatigue of a long journey on foot, in bitter cold and snowy weather.

Two short letters, written by Jewell to his tutor Parkhurst, soon after the accession of Queen Mary, when the latter had been deprived of his benefice, and was in concealment, may interest the reader. The originals are in Latin; the first was dated October 15. “My Parkhurst, mine own Parkhurst, what may I suppose that you are doing at the present time. Are you dead or alive? Are you weeping (in fletu) or in the Fleet (fle:o.)‡

* Skilfully uniting congratulations with expressions of regret.

† We learn from Fox that among other inducements to persuade his students to return to popery, Tresham promised them a valuable set of popish vestments, and “the lady bell of Bampton, which should make the sweetest ring in England.”

‡ The Fleet prison, where many of the protestant ministers already were confined. This sort of play upon words was then common, even in the most serious compositions.

Assuredly, the equanimity of your mind ever was such that I cannot doubt but you account all these afflictions, whatever they are, as for good.—News with us there is none. Of old things there is too much. Unless it be troublesome to you, write I beseech you what is become of Harley,* how your own affairs stand, what you hope, and what you fear."

In another letter, dated 22d October, he writes, "Parkhurst, what shall I now write to you, or rather why should I be silent? I have now for a considerable time desired to know what you are doing, what you have done, and where you are. Although Cleve be taken from you, and all other matters are changed, yet I trust that your mind can neither be taken away nor changed."

Jewell's adversaries now combined to effect his destruction. Marshall, dean of Christ Church, who had changed his religion twice already, and did so again afterwards, felt Jewell's conduct to be a reproof to himself, and by the newly appointed inquisitors, sent a list of popish doctrines to which he was commanded to subscribe, upon pain of suffering the penalties of heresy. Jewell, "brought into such straits, having no other counsellors in this heavy encounter than horror without, and frailty within," being allowed no time or opportunity to consult his friends, or to consider the subject, took the pen, and saying, "Have you a mind to see how well I can write?" hastily subscribed his name in St. Mary's Church. But this did not mitigate the rage of his enemies. They knew his affection for Peter Martyr, and would be satisfied by nothing but his life. Jewell's case was now most lamentable, his friends forsook him on account of his sinful compliance, while his enemies pursued him like a wounded deer. In a critical moment he resolved to flee for his life. This resolution was taken just in time. Had he remained in Oxford another night, he would not have been suffered to escape, or had he followed the direct road to London, he would have been overtaken and brought back! But he missed his road, so that the pursuers were disappointed. He was found by Augustine Bernher, Latimer's faithful friend and attendant, lying upon the ground, almost dead with vexation, weariness, and cold. Bernher set him upon his own horse, and conveyed him to Mrs. Warcup, who was a zealous friend to the protestants, and to whom several of the letters of the martyrs are addressed. She entertained Jewell for a time, and then had him conducted in safety to London, where he lay concealed until he escaped to the continent by the assistance of sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who supplied him with money, and procured him a passage.

Jewell arrived in safety at Frankfort, where he found several of his former friends, and other protestant exiles, by whom he

* Bishop of Hereford; he was deprived, and lived in concealment. He died near the end of Queen Mary's reign.

was received with much kindness. They rejoiced at his coming, which was unlooked for on account of his subscription to the doctrines of popery. They advised him publicly to confess his error; this he did openly before the congregation on the next Lord's day, after preaching a most excellent sermon, saying, "It was my abject and cowardly mind, and faint heart, that made my weak hand commit this wickedness." Having uttered these words with many tears, he offered up a fervent prayer to God almighty for his pardon, and afterwards besought the forgiveness of the church. All present were deeply affected, and ever afterwards esteemed him the more for his ingenuous repentance.

His biographer observes, "It is an easy thing for those that were never tried, to censure the frailty of those who have truckled for some time under the shock of a mighty temptation; but let such remember St. Paul's advice, 'Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall.' This great man's fall shall ever be my lesson, and if this glistening *jewel* were thus clouded and foiled, God be merciful to me a sinner."

Jewell had not been long at Frankfort when he was invited by Peter Martyr to come to him at Strasburg. Martyr was then settled there, having with some difficulty obtained permission to withdraw to the continent. Many at Oxford desired to proceed against him, but he had been invited to England upon the public faith. The restoration of popery pained him very deeply; hearing the students called to mass, and the tinkling of the sacring bell, used in that service, he exclaimed, with a sigh "That little bell overturns all my instructions." Four years afterwards the remains of Martyr's wife were taken from the grave by order of Cardinal Pole, at the procurement of Dr. Marshall, and buried in a dunghill!*

Martyr felt much esteem for Jewell, and, having persuaded him to come to Strasburg, kept him as an inmate in his family. Jewell was serviceable in the preparation of Martyr's comment on the book of Judges, and was accustomed to read to him every day from the fathers, particularly Augustine, with whose works they both were much delighted. Grindal, Ponet, Sandys, and other eminent English protestant divines, then resided at Strasburg.

At this time Martyr was invited by the senate of Zurich to fill the office of Hebrew professor and expositor of scripture. He was accompanied by Jewell, who found Pilkington and several more of his exiled countrymen residing there. These exiles found a kinder reception among the Helvetian divines than among the Lutherans. The painful disputes respecting the sacrament had so embittered the minds of the latter, that

* After the accession of Queen Elizabeth, they were restored to a more honorable place of sepulture, and mixed with the remains of St. Frideswide, that if popery were again restored, they might be secure from insult.

they treated the English exiles with much harshness, notwithstanding the interference of Melancthon in their favor. Those in Switzerland were chiefly supported by some London merchants, till Gardiner discovered their benefactors, whom he fined and punished, threatening that he would soon "make the exiles eat their fingers' ends for hunger;" this fate was, however, averted by the liberality of those who had afforded them protection. At this time Jewell appears to have visited Italy, and at Padua he contracted a friendship with Scipio, a gentleman of Venice, to whom he afterwards wrote respecting the council of Trent. During the four years of his exile, Jewell studied diligently, and consoled his companions; often saying, that while their brethren at home endured such bitter tortures and horrid martyrdoms, they could not reasonably expect to be at ease: but concluding always, "These things will not last for an age." When the troubles arose at Frankfort respecting the use of the English liturgy, Jewell endeavored to promote peace, though without success.

Queen Mary died on the 17th November, 1558, when Jewell and other English exiles hastened home. On their arrival they found affairs in much disorder, but tending rapidly to a revival of the reformation.

Without entering minutely into the history of that period, it may be stated, that during the life of her sister, Elizabeth had conformed outwardly to the Romish religion: but her attachment to the protestant faith was so well known that several attempts had been made by the bigoted Romanists to procure her death. She was preserved chiefly by the interference of king Philip, actuated by political considerations. The tidings of Mary's death, and the accession of Elizabeth, were received with a general demonstration of joy. On her approach to London she was met by the Romish bishops, whom she received with courtesy, excepting Bonner, from whom she turned with disgust. Elizabeth's situation was difficult. In natural disposition she resembled her father in many points, and would have been unwilling to submit to the usurpations of the popedom, even if the fate of her mother, and her own sufferings from the papists, had not been sufficient to give her an abhorrence of popery. But her feelings on the subject of religion were different from those of her pious brother. Elizabeth's judgment gave preference to the reformed faith, but she does not appear to have experienced that change of heart which he manifested. Her views therefore, were not so simple, nor her proceedings so decided, as the real followers of the truth desired. She had a strong regard for many points of a ceremonial nature maintained by the church of Rome, and she might have inclined to favour its principles still more, had not the pope expressed himself with much violence on being informed of her accession. He told the English resident at Rome that England was a dependence upon the Romish see; that, being illegitimate, Eliza-

beth could not succeed to the crown, that she deserved no favour from him ; but if she would renounce her pretensions and refer the matter wholly to him, he would act towards her with fatherly affection, and would be as favorable as the dignity of the apostolic see permitted ! Elizabeth and her councillors immediately broke off all intercourse with the court of Rome. In this affair, as in the papal proceedings towards Henry VIII., the reformation was facilitated by the conduct of the pontiffs themselves. Neither Elizabeth nor her father could brook the papal usurpations.

The persecutions were stopped immediately after the accession of Elizabeth, and the prisoners in confinement were speedily released. The exiles soon began to arrive, their brethren who had remained concealed came forward, and the doctrines of truth were again publicly set forth. But as the Romanists did not willingly relinquish their power much confusion prevailed. To prevent evil consequences, silence was imposed for a short time upon the divines of both parties, and some of the most bigoted papists, who endeavored to excite tumults, were imprisoned. The reformation now proceeded under the direction of the queen and the parliament ; the authority of the pope was renounced, the persecuting statutes were repealed, and protestantism again became the religion of the land, for which succeeding generations are indebted to Elizabeth as the instrument. Many circumstances made it easier for her to pursue a different course ; and, though she cannot be delineated as a follower of Christ, there is much cause for thankfulness that she was a protestant upon principle. As such, she afforded protection to the reformers, and was raised up to be "a nursing mother" to the protestant churches of England.

For farther general details of the English reformation, the reader must be referred to the histories of that period. Many events, however, are noticed in a valuable collection of letters from Jewell to Martyr and other continental reformers, preserved at Zurich. These were printed by Burnet, from authenticated copies, sent to him by the public authorities of that city. Some account of this correspondence may be here introduced, as the letters present a lively delineation of the difficulties with which the reformers had to contend in the early part of the reign of queen Elizabeth, and exhibit Jewell's sentiments and views upon many points.

In a letter written by Jewell, January 26th, 1559, while on his journey homewards, he states that Sandys and others had arrived in England, where they were well received by the new queen, and that several bishoprics were void.* He mentions bishop White's funeral sermon for queen Mary, from the text "I praised the dead more than the living," and says he had

* Several Romish bishops died about the same time as queen Mary.

therein represented that it would be a good deal to kill the exiles. The queen had prohibited both parties from preaching ; which some accounted for because at the time there was only one protestant preacher in London, others said that it was to prevent disputes about ceremonies. He adds, "Whatever it be, I wish that our people may not proceed with too much prudence and policy in the cause of God."

On March the 20th, Jewell writes that he arrived in England on the fifty-seventh day after he left Zurich, which appears to have been about the middle of January. He had not found matters in so good a state as he expected. As yet the pope's authority was not cast off ; as yet true religion was not restored ; masses were still said ; the Romish bishops displayed the same pomp and insolence, and were a great hinderance to the reformation. The queen openly favoured their cause ; but was deterred from any innovations by the leaders of her council and the Spanish ambassador ; however, she proceeded with prudence, courage, and piety, though slower than they could wish. A public disputation was to be held between the leading protestant clergy and the papists, in which the former intended to maintain that it is contrary to the word of God, for the public prayers and administration of the sacrament to be in a tongue unknown to the people. He mentions that the queen spoke with much esteem of Martyr, and read his letters repeatedly with much pleasure. Brooks, the popish bishop of Gloucester, a man of impure life, had lately died, and when dying exclaimed that he was damned.

On Friday, 31st March, the disputation was held. It had been previously settled that all the arguments should be in writing. This the Romanists evaded ; and being permitted to state their reasons orally, Dr. Cole spoke at considerable length, with much vehemence and gesticulation, and was continually prompted by his associates. Dr. Horne, afterwards bishop of Winchester, then read the document he had prepared on the part of the protestants ; it was temperate, able, and convincing. The conference was then adjourned till the following Monday, when the Romanists desired again to go over the subject already discussed, and did every thing in their power to cause irritation and delay. They refused to proceed in the regular course which had been agreed, and finally broke up the conference. By this conduct they much injured their cause in the public estimation.

On the 6th of April, Jewell sent Martyr an account of this public disputation, full particulars of which are given by Fox. Jewell was one of the persons appointed to take a part in the discussion, and earnestly desired that such conferences might be continued, in order that the truth should clearly appear. He describes Dr. Cole as reproaching the protestants in the most abusive manner. The subject first in dispute was respecting prayers in an unknown tongue. With much solemnity, Cole

asserted that the apostles had divided their work into the eastern and western churches. The first, he said, was assigned to Peter and Paul, who directed that all belonging to the Roman church, that is nearly the whole of Europe, should be taught in Latin. The eastern churches were assigned to the other apostles, and there all was to be taught in Greek. He was not afraid to urge one of the most obnoxious dogmas of popery, declaring that it was not expedient that the people should understand the public worship. Ignorance, he said, was the mother of real piety! At such arguments, Jewell rightly supposed that Martyr would smile.

On April the 28th, Jewell wrote again to his beloved friend. He speaks of the earnestness with which the bishops contended in support of popery, whereby the progress of truth was delayed, and the cause of religion hindered. Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, had openly contended in parliament that the Nazarites, the prophets, the apostles, and Christ himself, were monks! There was a design for seizing the bishops' manors, and endowing them instead with the impropriations formerly belonging to the monasteries. Schools, and matters connected with learning, were neglected. Some much desired to unite more closely with the Lutherans; but they had exhibited their articles of religion and doctrine to the queen, and had not in the least departed from the Strasburg confession.*

The painful feelings under which Jewell wrote these letters, doubtless were rendered more severe by the earnestness with which Romish principles had been defended in the house of commons during this session of parliament, which terminated by dissolution on the 8th of May. It is true that much was effected towards the re-establishment of the reformation; but not without considerable difficulty. The unblushing effrontery with which the Romish members justified their proceedings considerably injured their cause. Among others, Dr. Story openly avowed the active part he had taken in persecuting the protestants, expressing his regret that he had not done much more! He told the house that he threw a fagot at the face of one of the martyrs, whom he called earwigs, when singing a psalm at the stake at Uxbridge, and set a bush of thorns under his feet. He added, that he saw nothing to be ashamed or sorry for, but that it grieved him they had laboured only about the young and little twigs, whereas they should have struck at the root. By this, it was well known, he meant the queen herself! In the convocation, also, strong efforts were made to support the Romish faith.

On May the 15th, after the dissolution of the parliament, the bishops were summoned to attend the council, and admonished to obey the acts recently passed. On this occasion archbishop

* Or the Tetrapolitan Confession.

Heath reminded the queen of her sister's submission to the see of Rome, and her engagement, in consequence, to suppress heresy; from which he asserted Elizabeth could not recede. Queen Elizabeth made a memorable and spirited reply, which is given by Strype from the authority of sir Henry Sidney. She told the papal prelates that as Joshua declared, "I and my house will serve the Lord," so she and her realm were determined to serve Him, and added a full declaration of her firm resolve not to submit to the usurpation of the bishop of Rome. This much encouraged the supporters of the reformation, and justifies Jewell's statements respecting the queen. The Romish bishops shortly after were deprived, but were suffered to live in retirement. Even Bonner was only imprisoned in the Marshalsea, where he lived till his death in 1569, abhorred and execrated by all good men, but indulging in gluttony and libertinism. The popular indignation at his cruelties was so great, that his body was committed to the grave by night, lest his remains should be insulted by some whose friends or relatives he had caused to be burned.

In one of his letters Jewell writes that Bonner, when imprisoned in the Tower, addressed some criminals also confined there, as "friends and neighbors," upon which one of them called him a beast, and told him to go to the place he deserved, and find his friends there; adding, "I killed but one man, upon a provocation, and do truly repent of it; but you have killed many holy persons, of all sorts, without any provocation from them, and are hardened in your impenitence."

Of the whole number of the Romish clergy in England, fourteen bishops, thirty-four other dignitaries, fifteen heads of colleges, and less than two hundred priests and other ecclesiastics refused their assent to the measures of reformation; the rest all complied, at least outwardly. The few monastic establishments which had been refounded were now broken up. The Spanish ambassador obtained permission to transfer the inmates of three of them to the continent, where they afterwards assisted the conspirators against Elizabeth. On the 21st of June the English liturgy was again restored. Shortly after, the vacant sees were filled by protestants.

On his arrival in England, Jewell was received by Nicholas Culverwell, a citizen of London, residing in Thames-street, with whom he abode three months. The lord Williams, of Thame, being ill, then sent for him, and with him he stayed some time, during which he probably visited Oxford.

On May 22d, Jewell wrote to Bullinger. He was encouraged by the queen's recent proceedings, and says, "That you exhort us to proceed with activity and courage is a spur not only acceptable, but also almost necessary. For we now have to do, not only with adversaries, but also with friends who fell from us in late years, and united with the enemy, and who now oppose us much more strongly and obstinately." The Spaniards

had much corrupted the morals of the nation; but the protestant clergy did and would do what they could. God would bless their efforts, and give increase; but as yet they hardly appeared to be returned from exile. He adds, "We have a prudent and pious queen who favours us. Religion is restored to the same state as in king Edward's time; to which I doubt not your letters and exhortations, and those of your state, have much contributed." He then mentions that the queen did not wish to be styled or addressed as head of the English church. He laments the state to which the universities had been brought. At Oxford there were hardly two persons of their sentiments: Soto and the other Spanish friar had so completely rooted up all that Martyr had so well planted. It seemed scarcely possible that such devastation could have been made in so short a period. He adds, "Wherefore, although it would give me great pleasure to see in England even a dog belonging to Zurich, I cannot at this time wish you to send your young people to us, either for learning or religion, unless you desire to have them returned wicked and barbarians."

Lord Russell was exerting himself to promote religion. He was sensible of the kindness the exiles had experienced at Zurich, and anxiously inquired how he could send their benefactors a grateful acknowledgement. Jewell replied that nothing would be more acceptable to them than for his lordship studiously to endeavor to propagate Christ's religion; which lord Russell promised to do.

In another letter, written about the same period, Jewell laments the indifference of the protestants when compared with the recent zeal of the papists. He says, "Christ was then expelled by his enemies; he is now kept out by his friends." He regretted the queen's retaining a crucifix in her chapel.

In August, 1559, he wrote with better expectations; the queen was well animated, the people everywhere "thirsting for religion." He was about to commence a visitation of the western counties. In this letter he also mentions the probability of his being appointed bishop of Salisbury. The visitation here referred to was general throughout England; its objects were the reforming many abuses which still remained, and promoting the knowledge of true religion.

From this visitation Jewell returned on the 1st of November, and wrote to Martyr the day following. He says, "We found everywhere the minds of the people well inclined towards religion, even where least expected. The manner in which the harvest and forests of superstition sprung up in the dark Marian days is beyond belief. We found everywhere superstitious relics of saints, the nails with which in their folly they believe Christ was fastened, and I know not how many pieces of the holy cross! The number of witches and sorcerers is increased everywhere. The cathedrals are mere dens of robbers; or any worse or fouler appellation may be given them.

If there be any obstinate malice, it is among the priests; those especially who were formerly of our opinions." Many such ministers were deprived. He adds, "The papal army has fallen almost of itself; unless help be wanting, we cannot be apprehensive as to religion." On the same day he wrote to another correspondent, who had congratulated him on his appointment. He says, that as yet he was only nominated; and expresses his hope that the bishops would be pastors, labourers, and watchmen. To promote this the larger revenues were to be reduced, so that they would not be expected to live with such pomp as formerly, but might have more leisure to attend to Christ's flock.

On the 5th of November he wrote again, lamenting the earnestness of some about certain rituals and vestments, which he wishes were prohibited. He regrets the little care taken with respect to education. There was much talk that Martyr would again be invited over; but Jewell feared that the Saxon, or Lutheran influence would prevail.

On the 16th of the same month he wrote in a more gloomy strain. Differences had begun to prevail on the subject of ceremonies. He says, that foolish ceremonies still abounded. The silver crucifix remained in the queen's chapel.* The universities, Oxford especially, where Martyr had taught, still lay desolate, without piety, without religion, without teachers, or any attempt to promote literature. Many persons desired that Martyr should come over; Jewell wished it, but such was the uncertain, fluctuating, unstable, "island-like" state of affairs, that he would rather hear of Martyr's safety at a distance than see him present and in danger. At that time the state of political affairs was very threatening; an invasion from France being expected.

After his return from the visitation, Jewell was consecrated bishop of Salisbury. He had not sought this promotion. Being deeply impressed with a sense of the importance of the office, he often repeated the words, "He that desireth a bishopric, desireth a work." (1 Tim. iii. 1.) "And surely," adds his biographer, "if ever to any, to him his bishopric was a continual 'work' of ruling and governing; not merely by the pastoral staff of his jurisdiction in his consistory, but also in the court of men's consciences, by the golden sceptre of God's word preached." He found his diocese in a most disordered state. The revenues had been so miserably impoverished by the conduct of his popish predecessor, bishop Capon, that he complained he could not have the assistance he needed: "There was never a good living left him that would maintain a learned man. For the *Capon* has devoured all; because he hath either given away or sold all the ecclesiastical dignities and livings."

* This crucifix occasioned many apprehensions to the reformers. See Tracy's letter respecting it. Tindal, p. 348

The additional labour which in consequence fell upon Jewell hastened him to the grave.

His next letter to Martyr is dated 4th February, 1560. The controversy about crucifixes was very bitter. Many good men were inclined to favour them. The following day there was to be a conference on the subject. He expected not to be a bishop when he wrote again, being informed that none would be allowed to retain that office who did not consent to crucifixes being set up in all the churches.

March the 5th, Jewell wrote that a change appeared visible among the people. This had been much promoted by inviting the congregations to sing psalms in public worship, according to the plan generally adopted upon the continent. It began at one church in London, St. Antholin's, and the example was soon adopted in others. At Paul's cross sometimes there were six thousand persons singing together. The Romish priests were become objects of derision, and the popish bishops were called executioners to their faces.

From the time of the conference being broken off by the Romanists, Jewell had been anxious publicly to expose the errors of popery, and in November 1559, he preached at Paul's cross, when he boldly attacked the pretensions of the Romish church, respecting the antiquity of its doctrines. He spoke against these claims in a manner which even many protestants apprehended he would hardly be able to support. But Jewell well knew the ground he had taken. On the Sunday before Easter, March 30, 1560, he again preached at Paul's cross, to an immense congregation. His text was 1 Cor. xi. 23. "For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, &c." when he referred to his former sermon, and repeated his arguments, complaining that although many had spoken against them in private, no scholar had come forward to meet him publicly. He summed up, by giving his adversaries a challenge in twenty-seven particulars, which he had a short time previously stated in a sermon at court. They are as follows:—

"If any learned man of our adversaries, or all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old catholic doctor, or father, or general council, or holy scripture, or any one example in the primitive church during the first six hundred years, whereby it may clearly and plainly be proved—1. That there was at any time any private masses in the world. 2. Or that there was then any communion ministered unto the people under one kind. 3. Or that the people had their common-prayer in a strange tongue that the people understood not. 4. Or that the bishop of Rome was then called an universal bishop, or the head of the universal church. 5. Or that the people were then taught to believe that Christ's body is really, substantially, corporeally, carnally, or naturally in the sacrament. 6. Or that his body is or may be

in a thousand places or more at one time. 7. Or that the priest did then hold up the sacrament over his head. 8. Or that the people did then fall down and worship it with godly honour. 9. Or that the sacrament was then, or now ought to be, hanged up under a canopy. 10. Or that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, there remained only the accidents and shows, without the substance of bread and wine. 11. Or that then the priest divided the sacrament into three parts, and afterwards received himself alone. 12. Or that whosoever had said the sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of Christ's body, had therefore been adjudged for an heretic. 13. Or that it was lawful then to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five masses said in the same church in one day. 14. Or that images were then set up in the churches, to the intent the people might worship them. 15. Or that the lay-people were then forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue. 16. Or that it was then lawful for the priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely, or in private to himself. 17. Or that the priest had then authority to offer up Christ unto his Father. 18. Or to communicate and receive the sacrament for another, as they do. 19. Or to apply the virtue of Christ's death and passion to any man by the means of the mass. 20. Or that it was then thought a sound doctrine to teach the people that the mass, 'ex opere operato,' (that is, even for that it is said and done) is able to remove any part of our sin. 21. Or that any Christian man called the sacrament his Lord, and God. 22. Or that the people were then taught to believe, that the body of Christ remaineth in the sacrament, as long as the accidents of bread and wine remain there without corruption. 23. Or that a mouse or any other worm or beast may eat the body of Christ, (for so some of our adversaries have said and taught.) 24. Or that when Christ said, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' the word, 'hoc' pointed not to the bread, but to an individuum vagum, (or an unascertained quality,) as some of them say. 25. Or that the accidents, or forms, or shows of bread and wine are the sacraments of Christ's body and blood, and not rather the very bread and wine itself. 26. Or that the sacrament is a sign or token of the body of Christ, that lieth hidden underneath it. 27. Or that ignorance is the mother and cause of true devotion and obedience. The conclusion is, that I shall THEN be content to hold and subscribe."

This sermon gave a most severe blow to the popish religion in England. Popery was generally odious for the barbarous cruelties so recently committed by the professors of that faith upon persons of all ranks, however excellent in character, who had differed from the church of Rome during the late reign, but its claims to antiquity, although unfounded, were still credited by many. These claims bishop Jewell now disputed, and a memorable controversy ensued.

This challenge, says his biographer, being thus published in so great an auditory, startled the English papists both at home and abroad, none more than such of our fugitives as had retired to Louvain, Douay, or St. Omer, in the Low-Country provinces belonging to the king of Spain. The business was first agitated by the exchange of friendly letters betwixt bishop Jewell and Dr. Henry Cole, the late dean of St. Paul's; more violence followed in a book of Rastal's, who first appeared in the lists against the challenger, followed by Dorman and Marshall, who severally took up the argument to as little purpose; the first being well beaten by Nowell, and the last by Calphill; but these were only preparatory skirmishes in reference to the main encounter, which was reserved for the reverend challenger himself, and Dr. John Harding, one of the divines of Louvain, and the most learned of the college. The combatants were born in the same county, bred up in the same grammar school, and studied in the same university; both were zealous protestants in the time of king Edward, and both relapsed to popery in the time of queen Mary; Jewell for fear, and Harding upon hope of favour and preferment by it. Jewell's fall may be compared to that of St. Peter, which was short and sudden, he rising again by his repentance, and fortified more strongly in his faith than he was before; but Harding's was like to that of the other Simon, premeditated and resolved on, never to be restored again to his former standing, so much was there within him of the gall of bitterness. Some former differences had been between them in the church of Salisbury, whereof the one was prebendary, and the other bishop, occasioned by the bishop's visitation of that cathedral, in which Harding had the worst, and it was a presage of a second foil which he was to have in this encounter.

Harding's first work in answer to this challenge was printed in 1564. Jewell replied again to Harding in 1565, to which Harding wrote a rejoinder in 1566, and another in 1567. The bishop made a further reply in 1567, showing how abundantly he was able to make good his challenge. Several others zealously wrote against Jewell's book besides those already mentioned. Saunders discoursed upon some detached passages, and Stapleton wrote a great volume upon Jewell's marginal notes. Harding's language often was abusive; in a letter written to Jewell in 1565, he thus writes:—"Make ye not ministers of tag and rag for the Spirit's sake? Clap me not they the bare bible upon the desk, and preach thereupon after their own sense?" But such expressions are as nothing compared with much of his railing against Jewell and the reformation.*

* During the reign of Edward VI. Harding was chaplain in the family of the duke of Suffolk, and very zealous against popery. Previously to the accession of queen Mary he earnestly exhorted a congregation in London, to continue steadfast in the truth, if persecution should arise. But

Another and more important branch of this controversy arose from a work which will ever remain as one of the records of the English reformation. In the year 1562 bishop Jewell published, *The Apology of the Church of England*, in Latin, which was sent forth with the queen's authority, and by the advice of some of the bishops, as a public confession of the catholic and christian faith of the English church, and to give an account of the reasons of our departure from the see of Rome. Also as an answer to the calumnies which were raised against the English church and nation, for not submitting to the pretended general council of Trent then sitting.

This apology being published during the time of the last meeting of the council of Trent, it was read there, and seriously considered. Great threats were made that it should be answered; and accordingly two learned bishops, one a Spaniard and the other an Italian, undertook the task, but neither of them proceeded therein.

The book rapidly spread into all the countries in Europe, and was much applauded. It found a passage into Rome itself; and was translated into the German, Italian, French, Spanish, and Dutch languages, and into Greek. It was translated into English by the lady Bacon, wife of sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seal of England.

The apology well deserves the character Humfrey has given of it,—his words are these: "It is so drawn, that the first part of it is an illustration, and as it were a paraphrase of the twelve articles of the christian faith (or creed,) the second is a short and solid confutation of whatever is objected against the English church. If the order be considered, nothing can be better arranged; if the perspicuity, nothing can be more clear; if the style, nothing more terse; if the words, nothing more select; if the arguments, nothing stronger."

Bishop Jewell was especially encouraged to publish this apology by Peter Martyr, with whom he had spent the greatest part of his time when in exile. Martyr lived to see the book which he so much desired; he died at Zurich, on the twelfth day of November following, after he had expressed his esteem of this work in a letter which is subjoined to the book in the subsequent editions. In 1564 the university of Oxford conferred upon Jewell, though absent, the degree of doctor of divinity; and certainly he well deserved to have that extraordinary respect

he quickly recanted, and a letter addressed to him by lady Jane Grey, still remains a testimony against him. The triumph of popery was short, but Harding was one who preferred adhering to his new principles, rather than becoming an outcast from both parties. He retired to Louvain, where he prepared replies to bishop Jewell's challenge and apology. He was the principal writer on the part of the Romanists, but his misrepresentations, appeals to spurious works, and his mere assertions in the place of arguments, must be evident to every candid examiner and lover of the truth.

and honour shown him, who was so eminently employed then in the service and defence of the church.

The apology engaged Harding's attention even earlier than the challenge. In 1564 he printed what he called a confutation of Jewell's book, a defence of which the bishop forthwith began, and it was finished on the 27th of October, 1567, as appears from the epistle to Harding at the conclusion.

Harding also put out another piece, which he entitled, *A Detection of sundry foul Errors, &c.*; this was a cavilling reply to some passages in the Defence of the apology. As it did not deserve an answer by itself, Jewell replied to it by a preface to a new impression of his former defence, which he finished the 11th of December 1569, and at the same time dedicated his works to the queen; Harding having declared that she was offended with bishop Jewell for thus troubling the world.

It may be further remarked, that this apology was accounted as the public confession of the catholic and christian faith of all Englishmen. It shows their agreement in doctrine with the other reformed churches, and is printed as such in the *Harmony and Sylloge of the Confessions*. Although the work of one person, it was referred to by English protestants as a public summary and statement of their doctrines.

We now have to notice bishop Jewell's epistle to Scipio, respecting the council of Trent. The conduct of pope Paul IV. has been already mentioned. He was succeeded by Pius IV., who determined to try gentler methods. He sent an abbot named Parapaglia with courteous letters, and directions to make large offers to the queen if she would be reconciled to the see of Rome. If she would have yielded the supremacy the pope would have given way on other points. Elizabeth was not inclined to listen to any such proposals; the question was already decided, and the pope's authority rejected. She would not suffer Parapaglia even to land in England. A similar refusal was given in the following year to a nuncio sent by the pope to invite Elizabeth and the English bishops to the council of Trent. The emperor Ferdinand also in vain exhorted her to return to "the old religion," as he termed the doctrines of popery. Scipio, a native of Venice, having heard of the nuncio's ill success, wrote to Jewell, whom he had known when in exile, complaining of the neglect shown by England towards the council. Jewell well knew how little the council of Trent resembled the general councils of the early centuries, and replied, so ably exposing the proceedings of that assembly, that no Romanist attempted an answer.

Another subject connected with the English reformation, and in which Jewell took considerable interest, must now be noticed. By the commencement of 1561 the reformation was brought back to the state wherein it was in the latter years of king Edward; for a more minute description Strype refers to

the account of the former period written by Ridley.* Burnet, however, considers that it had rather retrograded, and certainly on some points the errors of popery were not so decidedly pointed out, and the more zealous protestants had cause for dissatisfaction. There evidently had been a desire to avoid giving offence to the Romanists, some expressions in the litany had been omitted from a desire to retain them in conformity, and this succeeded to a great extent, till the pope absolutely forbade them to continue to worship with protestants. But the queen on New year's day took occasion to express her detestation of Romish pictures and images of saints, by a severe rebuke to the dean of St. Paul's, who had caused a new prayer-book with beautiful engravings and pictures to be laid for her majesty's use. It is not improbable that Elizabeth, aware that many of the reformers were dissatisfied with her for not having proceeded far enough in the work of reformation, took the opportunity to express her disapproval of Romish superstitions. Strype relates the good effects of this public rebuke. The clergy and churchwardens of the parishes in and about London, caused all paintings that seemed Romish and idolatrous, to be washed from the church walls, and suitable texts taken from the holy scriptures to be written in their stead.

In January 1562, a memorable convocation assembled. The thirty-nine articles were agreed to, and unanimously decreed. Then followed a discussion respecting certain rites and ceremonies. On the 13th of February six articles were proposed to the lower house of convocation. 1. That only the Sundays and principal feasts of Christ, should be kept as holydays. 2. That the minister in time of prayer turn his face to the people and read distinctly.† 3. That it should be optional whether the cross in baptism should be used. 4. That kneeling at the sacrament might be left to the discretion of the ordinaries within their respective jurisdictions. 5. That it be sufficient for the minister in time of saying divine service and ministering of the sacraments, to use a surplice, but that no minister should say service, or minister the sacraments, unless in a comely garment or habit. 6. That the use of organs be removed. Forty-three persons approved these articles, who with proxies made fifty-eight votes; those who opposed were thirty-five persons, making with proxies, fifty nine votes, consequently the articles were rejected. Those who opposed were unwilling that any changes should be made in the rites and appointments of king Edward's liturgy. The fourth article was particularly debated. Among the approvers of these articles were some of the most distinguished divines of the English church.

* See Ridley's last farewell, p. 141.

† This was particularly opposed to the practice of the Romish mass, where the officiating priest is rather a performer before the assembly present, than a leader and director of their devotions.

Various other suggestions were made by the lower house of convocation, which are given in Strype's annals, but although these requests were not considerable, much importance was attached to them, and they were not acceded to.

The want of sufficient ministers was so much felt, that persons were selected from the laity to read the service and the homilies, and to promote the welfare of the parishes where they officiated, till "learned ministers" should be placed there. Orders for their guidance were drawn up and signed by several of the bishops; among them was bishop Jewell.* Dean Nowell's catechism was allowed for the use of schools, as a brief summary of the doctrine owned and professed in the reformed church of England. Some acts were also prepared for the due observance of public worship, and the Lord's day. The proceedings of this convocation induced several leading ecclesiastics to be more strict in their requirements of conformity, while the rejection of all the propositions of those who now began to be distinguished by the honourable appellation of puritans, excited considerable dissatisfaction, and serious differences speedily prevailed. But to pursue these details would lead us from the more immediate subject of these pages.†

That Jewell disapproved the conduct of the prevailing party is evident from his writings, while from the same authority we find he considered that their opponents went too far. He was, however, too fully occupied to take any prominent part in these discussions; while his christian and kindly feelings rendered him unwilling to join in the harsh measures then adopted. It certainly appears that the line of conduct pursued by the leading protestant clergy in the reign of Elizabeth, evidently tended to reduce every sort of public or social worship of God to one precise form of expression.‡ In this they adopted a different course from that which the church of Rome had hitherto pur-

* The papists endeavoured to cast a reproach upon the reformation by alleging the secular occupations of these teachers. Calfhill well replied, "Grant that the inferior sort of our ministers were such as these men in spite imagine—such as came from the shop, from the forge, from the wherry, from the loom;—should ye not find more sincerity and learning in them, than in all the rabble of popish chaplains, their mass-mongers, and their soul-priests? I lament that there are not as many good preachers as parishes. I am sorry that some so unskilful are preferred, but I never saw a simple reader admitted into our church, but in the time of popery you should have found in every diocese forty sir Johns (romish priests) in every respect worse."

† The reader may be referred to Strype's Annals, and Neal's History of the Puritans.

‡ This appears the more evident from the disuse into which the protestant primer then began to fall. The primer is a small work containing prayers and devotional pieces suited for various occasions. It had been reformed in the reign of Edward VI., but after the accession of Elizabeth began to be laid aside, although it contained many valuable prayers suited for social and private use.

sued, which allowed the use of various formularies; every religious order had its peculiar rites and services, and even now the Romish authorized books contain a considerable variety of offices of devotion.* Had more latitude in matters professedly indifferent been allowed to some of the most valuable characters amongst the reformers, such as Coverdale, Fox, Turner, and others, spiritual religion doubtless would have been promoted.

Another letter written by Jewell to Martyr, on the 7th of February, 1562, deserves attention. Speaking of the temporizing course adopted by some who were in authority on the continent, and of their inclination to the Interim,† he adds, "Now that the perfect light of the gospel has burst forth, the vestiges of former errors, with the rubbish, and even the dust which remained, should as much as possible, be taken away. How I wish that we could have obtained this with respect to the linen stole. For in doctrines we have gone to the quick, and are not a nail's breadth from you therein."‡ The Marian bishops were

* Their error was a mistake common in that day. As it has been expressed by Dr. Chalmers, "The theologians of that day supposed that christianity could not flourish, nay, that it could not exist, save in the one framework of one certain and defined ecclesiastical constitution, and hence with us (in Scotland) that there would be no light and no efficacy in the ministrations of the gospel, unless they were conducted according to the forms, and in the strict model and framework of the presbytery!" The Rev. E. Bickersteth, quoting the above remark, adds, "The same thing was seen among episcopalians. There has now surely been ample experience in the history of the church, to raise us above this littleness of the carnal mind, to those higher regions which show us the true character and glory of the christian church."—*Christian Student*, p. 279,

† A formulary of doctrine set forth by the imperial authority, in the vain hope of reconciling protestantism and popery.

‡ Strype says, "The first bishops that were made, and who were but newly returned out of exile, as Cox, Grindal, Horne, Sandys, Jewell, Parkhurst, Bentham, upon their first return, before they entered upon their ministry, laboured all they could against receiving into the church the papistical habits, and that all the ceremonies should be clean laid aside. But they could not obtain it from the queen and parliament, and the habits were enacted. Then they consulted together what to do, being in some doubt whether to enter upon their functions. But they concluded unanimously not to desert their ministry for some rites, which, as they considered, were but few, and not evil in themselves, especially since the doctrine of the gospel remained pure and entire. And in this counsel, which they had at first taken, they continued still well satisfied; and also upon consideration that by filling these rooms in the church, they might keep out Lutherans, and such as were suspected papists; which was an argument the learned foreigners, their friends, suggested to them." *Annals*, I. i. p. 263.

Beza, however, considered that the evil was greater than the Swiss divines apprehended. In a letter to Bullinger, the substance of which is given by Strype (*Annals*, I. ii. p. 171,) he says, that he thought "that the business had been about caps, and such external matters; but he afterwards understood that the controversy was much different." He urged that Gualther should be sent by the divines at Zurich, personally to sue the queen and the bishops to remedy these evils. The Swiss divines did indeed interpose by letters, several of which are given by Strype and

then in the Tower; he speaks of them as a contumacious and untameable race, only to be restrained by force. He mentions his apology as lately published. He adds that the queen had determined not to send any one to the council of Trent; and speaks of a design to publish the reasons why none attended from England. He says, that, in his opinion, at that time no good could be promoted by those assemblies, nor would God make use of such means to diffuse the gospel. He also adverts to the affairs of Scotland, then a subject of much importance to England on account of the uncertainty respecting the succession.

Martyr died in the same year, and but few of Jewell's letters to the other reformers appear. He was now deeply occupied by his laborious writings, and in the care of his diocese. The differences at home continued and increased. They are noticed by Jewell in his letters to Bullinger.

But Jewell was not unmindful of his former friends at Zurich. He continued to correspond with them, and Strype mentions that in the year 1565, having received from Bullinger a copy of his comment upon Daniel, and a work upon Joshua, from Lavater, he sent them a present of twenty crowns to be disposed of as they thought fit. He also sent annually the same sum to Julius, who had been Martyr's friend and assistant. Soon afterwards, many foreigners, exiles for religion, took shelter in this country, and were assisted by Jewell and others.

In a letter to Bullinger, dated January 1566, Jewell attributes his less frequent correspondence to his numerous occupations, particularly the controversies with their foreign enemies, with whom he had to contend almost alone. The refugees at Louvain in particular, wrote most bitterly against himself. He then enters more particularly into the history of these controversies as already given. The distance of their respective dioceses, had so separated him from some of his former fellow exiles that he had not seen them for three years.

In another letter, dated February 1566, he thus expresses himself:—"The contention respecting the ecclesiastical linen garment is not yet at rest. It disturbs weak minds not a little. And I wish that all, even the slightest, vestiges of popery could be removed from the churches, and much more from the minds of all men. But at this time the queen cannot bear my change with respect to religion." Elizabeth's situation was one of great political difficulty. The pope had openly denounced her as a heretic, the Romanists in England were engaging in conspiracies against her life, and she was very apprehensive of evil consequences from any measures which should displease that large number of her subjects, who were not disposed to adopt the views either of the papists or the puritans. In the

Burnet, and although their advice was not followed by either party, their interference probably was in some degree beneficial.

following month, Jewell wrote again to Bullinger respecting some points to be noticed in his defence of the apology.

In another letter of Jewell's to Bullinger, February 29, 1567, he mentions that the Romish divines of Louvain were very clamorous, and that, he knew not why, they all attacked him, so that while engaged in answering them he must not be accounted idle. He then speaks of the debates respecting the succession which caused much discussion, and adds, "As to religion, the matter respecting vestments excites considerable disturbances. It is certain that the queen will not give way. Some of our brethren, indeed, contend respecting this matter as if all our religion turned upon that one point. So that they prefer to renounce their offices, and to leave the churches vacant, rather than to depart a very little from their opinions. Nor are they willing to be influenced by your writings, or those of Gualther, or other pious men. Let us, however, thank God that he has not suffered us to be agitated at this time by more important discussions. One only of our number, the bishop of Gloucester, (Cheyney,) openly and boldly declares his approbation of the Lutheran opinions respecting the eucharist." Although the subjects which then interested the puritans cannot be considered as trivial, yet any one who is acquainted with the painful results of the differences in Germany on the sacramental question, will fully enter into this expression of thankfulness on the part of Jewell, that the English reformation was not agitated or impeded by the disputes on that subject.*

In addition to Jewell's controversies with the Romanists already mentioned, his attention about this time was engaged by the bull of pope Pius V. lately sent into England, in which a curse was pronounced against the queen, her authority declared null and void, her subjects absolved from their allegiance and exhorted to rise in rebellion against her. Jewell replied to these doctrines in a series of sermons preached in his cathedral, the substance of which was printed under the title of *A View of a seditious Bull, &c.* This bull plainly showed to Elizabeth that she could not hope to reign in England but as a protestant queen, unless she would submit to all the doctrines of the church of Rome. The efforts of the papal court were directed to place a popish sovereign on the English throne, and the English papists were divided into two parties, which still

* Some of the English jesuits afterwards assumed the character of puritan ministers, that they might promote these differences. One, named Heath, a jesuit, was detected by a letter which he dropped while preaching in Rochester cathedral, in 1568. Amongst his papers was found a license from the pope to preach what doctrine the jesuits pleased, for the dividing of protestants. He was brother to Heath archbishop of York in the reign of queen Mary, and after preaching in various parts of England for six years, had applied to the dean of Rochester for preferment, who gave him a turn of preaching in the cathedral.

continue. One of these followed the papal mandates as blindly as any of the nations on the continent; the other admitted the secular jurisdiction of their sovereign, independent of papal authority.*

Jewell's last public labours appear to have been in the convocation, which met in the spring of 1571. It was then ordered, that the book of articles agreed upon in 1562 should be subscribed by all the clergy, and that the articles now again approved, should be printed under the superintendence of bishop Jewell. In this year also he preached a sermon at Paul's cross, in which he referred to the ceremonies and state of the church, and blamed the spirit in which some among the separatists acted. He mentioned this sermon when upon his death-bed.

His life now drew near to its close. He was naturally of a spare and thin habit of body, which he wore still further by his labours in study, writing, preaching, and travelling. He thus apparently hastened his death, before he was fifty years of age.

Bishop Jewell appears to have had a presentiment of his approaching departure. In the year 1570, in his letters to the bishop of Norwich, after he had certified him of the death of Dr. Alley, bishop of Exeter, he added these words, "And I must follow him;" and in another letter he said: "I would to God we might meet and talk together; but now it is too late, it makes not much matter; I hope we shall see one the other in heaven. Flux, flux, that is, in the German tongue, quick, quick, make haste; if you make any delay, I shall prevent you."

The same year that he died, February 3, he postscripted another letter thus: "There is a rumour of the calling a parliament, which if it be true, then perhaps we shall embrace one the other before death; my death, I say, not yours; for you shall yet in this life sing, the strong and immortal God."

The following account of the last days of bishop Jewell, is given by his biographer:—"The supernatural motions of God's Spirit within him in the end, became, as it were, naturally more effectual in the conclusion; and the last endeavours of grace in him were most vehement. For, after his return from a conference at London. he began a new and more severe visitation through his whole diocese than ever before, correcting the vices of the clergy and laity more sharply, enjoining them in some places tasks of holy tracts to be learned by heart, conferring orders more circumspectly, and preaching oftener.

* These proceedings of the pope caused insurrections of the Romanists and continual conspiracies against Elizabeth during the remainder of her reign, which led to severe enactments against popish recusants and the missionaries sent to England from Rome to advocate these treasonable doctrines. It has been justly observed by Mr. Townsend, that, "When the bull of deposition can be called a religious action, then may the self-defence of Elizabeth be denominated persecution—then only may the defenders of the bull be justly said to suffer for religion."

"By which restless labour and watchful cares he brought his feeble body so low, that as he rode to preach at Lacock, in Wiltshire, a gentleman friendly admonished him to return home for his health and strength's sake; saying, that such straining his body in riding and preaching, he being so exceedingly weak and ill affected, might bring him in danger of his life; assuring him, that it was better the people should want one sermon, than be altogether deprived of such a preacher. To whom he replied, 'It becometh best a bishop to die preaching in the pulpit;' seriously thinking upon the comfortable eulogy of his master, 'Happy art thou, my servant, if, when I come, I find thee so doing.' Wherefore, that he might not deceive the people's expectation, he ascended the pulpit; and now nothing but spirit, his flesh being pined away and exhausted, read his text out of the fifth to the Galatians, 'Walk in the spirit;' and with much pains made an end of it.

"Presently after his sermon, his disease growing more upon him, forced him to take to his bed, and to think of his dissolution, as now not far off.* In the beginning of his extreme fits, he made his will, considering therein his brother and his friends with some kind remembrances, but bestowing the rest more liberally upon his servants, scholars, and the poor of Sarum. The Saturday following, nature with all her forces, being able no longer to hold fight with the disease, shrinking and failing, he called all his household about him, and, after an exposition of the Lord's prayer, thus began his sweet song:—

" 'I see I am now to go the way of all flesh, and I feel the arrows of death already fastened in my body; wherefore I am desirous, in few words, while yet my most merciful God vouchsafeth me the use of my tongue, to speak unto you all. It was my prayer always unto Almighty God, since I had any understanding, that I might honour his name with the sacrifice of my flesh, and confirm his truth with the oblation of this my body unto death in the defence thereof; which, seeing he hath not granted me in this, yet I somewhat rejoice and solace myself, that it is worn away and exhausted in the labours of my holy calling. For while I visit the people of God, God my God hath visited me. With Mr. Harding, who provoked me first, I have contended in my writings, not to detract from his credit and estimation, nor, to my knowledge, to patronize any error, nor to gain the vain applause of the world, but, according to my poor ability, to do my best services to God and his church. My last sermon at Paul's cross, and conference about the ceremonies

* Strype says, that bishop Jewell died while on a journey to visit the diocese of Bristol, by direction of the primate. That diocese was then vacant; a former commission to bishop Cheyney, authorizing him to hold it in commendam with Gloucester, having been withdrawn in consequence of Cheyney's attachment to some of the tenets of the Lutherans, which had a tendency to popery.

and state of our church, were not to please any man living, nor to grieve any of my brethren, who are of a contrary opinion, but only to this end, that neither part might prejudice the other, and that the love of God might be shed in the hearts of all the brethren, through the Spirit that is given us. And I beseech almighty God, of his infinite mercy, to convert or confound the head of all these evils, and ringleader of all rebellions, disorders, and schism, the bishop of Rome, who, wheresoever he setteth foot, soweth seeds of strife and contention. I beseech him also long to preserve the queen's majesty, to direct and protect her council, to maintain and increase godly pastors, and to grant to his whole church unity and godly peace. Also, I beseech you all that are about me, and all others whom I ever offended, to forgive me. And now that my hour is at hand, and all my moisture dried up, I most earnestly desire of you all this last duty of love, to pray for me, and to help me with the ardency of your affection, when you perceive me, through the infirmity of my flesh, to languish and wax cold in my prayers. Hitherto I have taught you and many others; now the time is come wherein I may, and desire, to be taught and strengthened by every one of you.'

"Having thus spoken, and something more to the like purpose with much pain and interruption, he desired them to sing the 71st psalm, which begins thus: In thee, O Lord, I put my trust, let me never be confounded; himself joining, as well as he could, with them; and when they recited those words, Thou art my hope, O Lord God, my trust even from my youth, he added, Thou only wast my whole hope; and as they went forward saying, Cast me not off in time of age, forsake me not when my strength faileth me; yea even to mine old age and gray head, forsake me not, O God; he made this application to himself: He is an old man; he is truly gray-headed, and his strength faileth him, who lieth on his death-bed. To which he added other thick and short prayers, as it were pulses, so moved by the power of God's Spirit, saying, 'Lord, take from me my spirit; Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace. Break off all delays; suffer thy servant to come unto thee; command him to be with thee; Lord, receive my spirit.'

"Here, when one of those who stood by prayed with tears that if it might stand with God's good pleasure, he would restore him to former health, Jewell, overhearing him, turned his eyes, as it were offended, and spake to him in the words of Ambrose: 'I have not lived so that I am ashamed to live longer; neither do I fear to die, because we have a merciful Lord. A crown of righteousness is laid up for me; Christ is my righteousness. Father, let thy will be done; thy will, I say, and not my will, which is imperfect and depraved. O Lord, confound me not. This is my to-day; this day quickly let me come unto thee; this day let me see the Lord Jesus.'

“With these words the door was shut by the base sound of the grinding, and the daughters of singing were abased, the silver cord lengthened no more; the golden ewer was cracked, and the pitcher broken at the well; yet the keepers, though with much trembling, stood erect, and they that looked out of the windows, though dark, yet were fixed towards heaven, till after a few fervent, inward prayers of devotion, and sighs of longing desire, the soul returned to God that gave it.* M. Ridley, the steward of his house, shut his eyes in the year of our Lord 1571, September 22, about three of the clock in the afternoon, when he was almost fifty years of age.

“Such was the life and death of bishop Jewell, a most worthy trumpet of Christ’s glorious gospel. What now remains, but that we mournfully complain, in the words of Jerome, concerning the death of Fabiola: ‘The spouse of Christ hath lost a most precious jewel.’ Or rather, because he shined so bright in divine virtues, both in his life and death, we are to rejoice for his happy translation. This jewel is not lost, which Christ hath taken from off the ring of his spouse, which is his church, and set it in a crown of purest gold upon her head, which is himself the Saviour of his elect, where he shineth in glory for evermore. Lord, adorn and enrich continually thy church with such **JEWELS**; deck her cheeks with rows of such rubies, and her neck with chains; make her borders of gold, with studs of silver. Amen.”

Some other interesting particulars respecting bishop Jewell may now be inserted.

His memory was raised by art to the highest pitch of human possibility; for he could repeat faithfully any thing he had penned, as he had penned it, after once reading. By art his memory was made so firm in keeping things committed unto it, that he was wont to say that if he were to make a premeditated speech before a thousand auditors, shouting or fighting all the while, yet he could say all that he had provided to speak.

And so quick also was he in receiving, that when Parkhurst proposed unto him many barbarous and hard names out of a calendar, and Hooper forty strange words, Welsh, Irish, and outlandish terms, he, after once or twice reading at the most, and short meditating, repeated them all by heart, backward and forward. What is yet more strange, when the lord keeper Bacon before the bishop of Norwich and others, at his own table, read only unto him the last clause of ten lines in Erasmus’s paraphrase, confused and dismembered of set purpose, he, sitting silent for a while, and covering his face with his hand, on the sudden rehearsed all those broken parcels of sentences, the right way and the contrary, without any stay or stumbling.

He professed to teach others this skill, and taught it to his tutor, Parkhurst, beyond the sea, insomuch that, spending but

* Ecclesiastes xii.

one hour in the day in it, in a very short time he learned all the gospels backward and forward, by the benefit of this artificial memory, setting his places and images in clue. Jewell placed a high value on the Institutions of Calvin, which he was accustomed to recommend to his friends—by industrious application, he had it almost entirely by heart.

Though his memory were so great and so improved, yet he would not entirely rely upon it, but entered in common-place books whatever he thought he might afterwards have occasion to use; which, as the author of his life informs us, were many in number and great in quantity, being a vast treasure of learning and a rich repository of knowledge, into which he had collected sacred, profane, poetic, philosophic, and divine notes of all sorts; and all these he had again reduced into a small piece or two, which were a kind of general indexes. These he made use of at all times when he was to speak or write any thing; but they were drawn up in characters for brevity, and thereby so obscure that they were not of any use, after his death, to any other person. And besides these, he always kept a diary, in which he entered whatever he heard or saw that was remarkable; which once a year he perused, and extracted whatever was most important.

From hence it came to pass that when Harding, in their great controversy, abounded only in words, Jewell overwhelmed him with a cloud of witnesses and citations out of the ancient fathers, councils, and church historians; confirming every thing with so great a number of incontestable authorities, that Harding durst never after pretend to a second perfect and full answer; but contented himself with snarling at some small pieces. The truth is, as Dr. Heylin observes, that all the controversialists that followed were beholden to the indefatigable industry of this great leader. Yet he was so careful in the use of his own common-place books, that when he was to write his Defence of the Apology, and his Reply, he would not trust entirely to his own excerpts or transcriptions. Having first carefully read Harding's books, and marked what he thought deserved an answer, he in the next place drew up the heads of his intended answer, and resolved what authorities he would make use of upon each head, and then, by the directions of his common-place book, read and marked all those passages he had occasion to make use of, and delivered them to some scholars to be transcribed under their proper heads, that he might have them together under his eye, when he came to write. This shows at once both his industry, fidelity, and modesty, in that he would not trust his own transcripts; and is a just reprehension of the falsehood of those who knowingly make false citations, and of the supine negligence of those who take them up upon trust from other men, and use them without any examination; by which means great mistakes are made, and controversies have

sprung up to the disturbance of the world. The truth is, a man ought to re-examine his own thoughts, for what may seem very pertinent to any purpose at a first reading, may prove otherwise upon second thoughts, and a close observation of what goes before or follows after in the author. And few men are so exact in their first extracts, but through haste, inadvertence, or mistake, they may more or less err and be deceived. Mental exertion is also increased by fixing it upon one particular object, and the expectation of a conviction from an adversary, if the least mistake be made.

Bishop Jewell was an excellent Grecian, and not unacquainted with the Italian tongue. As to the Latin, he wrote and spoke it with such elegance, politeness, purity, and fluency, that it might very well have been taken for his mother tongue. He took the right course to be master of it, having made himself in his youth perfectly master of Horace, upon whom he wrote a large commentary, also Cicero, and Erasmus, whose voluminous and excellent works he read over, made extracts from, and imitated every day he lived, especially during his continuance at Oxford, and he was then wont also to declaim extempore to himself in Latin as he walked in the woods of Shotover or other secluded places. And when lady Bacon wrote him a letter in Greek, he replied in the same language. He was excellently read in all the Greek poets, orators, and historians, especially in the ecclesiastical historians; above all others he esteemed Gregory Nazianzen, and quoted him on all occasions.

His learning was much improved by his exile; in which, besides his conversation with Peter Martyr, and the other learned men at Strasburg and Zurich, and his society with Sandya, afterwards archbishop of York, who was his intimate companion almost all the time they were in exile, his curiosity led him over the Alps into Italy, and he studied some time in Padua. By the acquaintance he contracted with signor Scipio, a person of note, with whom he afterwards corresponded respecting the council of Trent, he seems to have been very much esteemed there.

He was of a pleasant, cheerful humour, extremely civil and obliging to all; but withal of great gravity, and of such strict probity and virtue that he extorted from his bitterest enemies a confession that he lived the life of an angel. Though he was lame, yet till he became a bishop he travelled for the most part on foot, both at home and beyond the seas. He was contented in every condition; and endeavoured to make all others so, by telling them when he was in exile, that neither would their calamity last an age, neither was it reasonable they should bear no share of the cross of Christ, when their brethren in England fared so much worse.

He was so extremely grateful to all that had done him good that when he could not express his gratitude to Mr. Bowen his

schoolmaster, he paid it to his name, and did good to all so called, for his sake, though they were not related to him.

Bishop Jewell was a most laborious preacher, always travelling about his diocese, and preaching wherever he came. He laboured to speak to the apprehensions of the people, hating all light, trifling discourses and phrases, as beneath the dignity of that sacred place.* Yet he was careful in the choice of his words, and endeavoured to move the affections of his auditory by pathetic and zealous applications, avoiding all high-flown expressions, and using a grave and sedate rather than a sweet way of speaking.

In his sermon before the university, preached in the reign of king Edward VI., Jewell explained what he considered to be the office and duty of a minister of God's word, and in after life he manifested the same by his own example. In that discourse he showed, 1. That a preacher should speak. He enforced this from the words of scripture, and added, Let us do our endeavour, and leave the success unto the Lord. Then shall they if they die of so froward a mind that they will not hear, die in their own sin. Let us give the word, and God will give the Spirit. Let us plant and water, and in due time God will give the increase. For as it is our duty to instruct the people with words, so it belongeth to God to join unto his words faith and power. Such is the strength of the word of God, that to work nothing or to profit none is not possible. 2. He showed what was to be spoken, The truth, not lies; the scriptures, not fables; the precepts of the highest God, not the dreams of men. He referred to the words of St. Paul, "I know nothing but Jesus Christ, and him crucified."—Our heavenly Father would have his Son and his word to be taught. This is that river of water flowing abroad into life everlasting. This is that flesh, this is that blood of Jesus Christ, this is the only wholesome food of our souls, with this sword only the devil is overcome, with this stone only Goliath is laid along, with this maul alone the roughness and hardness of hearts is softened and overcome. Were it not for this, neither could religion flourish, nor faith be confirmed, nor the church kept within the limits of her duty. After showing the insufficiency of any other ground of confidence, he added, When we shall be placed before that dreadful judgment-seat, when all things shall burn—we shall then have refuge in Christ alone, then shall we use the aid and word of Christ alone. Our life, our soul, our salvation, is the matter in hand. The heavenly Father offereth himself unto us, and of his own accord meeteth us. Jesus Christ calleth every one of us, "Come unto me all ye that are grieved and I will refresh you." How blind are we if we see not, how blockish if we hear not, how miserable if we run from this! Jewell concluded

* A very affected style began to prevail about that time, by which sense was frequently sacrificed to sound.

by showing, 3. How the scriptures should be taught. Here he urged upon them, that pastors should have in mind that they represented the person of Christ; that being induced through the greatness and worthiness of the thing itself, they might so reverently do their office, that all men should perceive that it is a heavenly business which they have taken upon them. For the image of God must shine in him that is the minister of God. And if the apostles had not so used themselves, they had never laid again the foundations of religion; there never would have been any have left their altars, their sacrifices, their fires, and their gods themselves, to be of the opinion of a few fishers. They counted all they had as nothing in comparison of Christ Jesus. Jewell then enlarged upon the example left by the apostles, adding, That the word of the Lord may be set forth worthily, two things are principally to be taken heed of, one, that we be not weakened nor enfeebled by fear; the other, that out of the gospel we reap not a jot or piece of praise unto ourselves. A preacher's mind must be prepared and diligently fenced against either of these. After exhorting to courage, he added, A preacher should not have too great a conceit of himself, but that he think that function and office hath happened to him from above, from God; that he discharge his duty diligently, and with very great fear, remembering that he is occupied, not in his own business, but in God's business. In the holy scriptures they are called, not princes, nor magistrates, nor rulers, nor kings, but stewards, preachers or criers, ministers, servants; that as we do this in behalf of another, we should not grow proud for another's praise. God would not have us preachers and criers of our own art and skill, but of his will: neither do we for any other cause carry about this treasure in earthen vessels, than for that it should be the brightness and clear light of the power of God. Such a minister of Christ was bishop Jewell, and there were many such among the British Reformers.

He was a man of great moderation; as appears by his letter to Dr. Parthurst, when bishop of Norwich. "Let your chancellor, said he, be harder, but you easier; let him wound, but do you heal; let him lance, do you plaster: wise clemency will do more good than rigid severity; one man may move more with an engine, than six with the force of their hands. And accordingly he would often sit in his own consistory with his chancellor, hearing, considering, and sometimes determining causes, not thinking it safe to commit all to the sole care and fidelity of his chancellor and officials. But though as a justice of peace he often sate in the courts of quarter sessions, yet there he very rarely interposed, except his judgment were desired concerning some scruple of religion, or some such like difficulty. So exact was his care, not to entangle himself with secular affairs; and yet not to be wanting to his duty in any case.

He was extremely careful of the revenues of the church, not caring whom he offended to preserve it from being impoverished, in an age when the greatest men, finding the queen not over liberal to her courtiers and servants, too often paid themselves out of the church patrimony for the services they had done the crown, till they ruined some bishoprics entirely, and left others so very poor, that they were scarcely able to maintain a prelate. A courtier having obtained a prebend in the church of Salisbury, and intending to let it to another lay-person for his best advantage, acquainted bishop Jewell with the conditions between them, and some lawyer's opinion about them. To which the bishop replied, "What your lawyers may answer I know not; but for my part, to my power, I will take care that my church shall sustain no loss whilst I live."

Though he came to a bishopric miserably impoverished and wasted, yet he found means to exercise a prodigious liberality and hospitality. For the first, his great expense in the building a fair library for his cathedral church, may be an instance. This his successor, Dr. Gheast, furnished with books.

His doors stood always open to the poor, and he would frequently send charitable relief to prisoners. Nor did he confine his bounty to Englishmen only, but was liberal to foreigners, and especially to those of Zurich, and the friends of Peter Martyr. Perceiving the great want of learned men in his times, his greatest care was to have ever with him in his house several poor lads whom he brought up in learning. He took much delight to hear them dispute points of grammar-learning in Latin at his table when he was at his meal, improving them and pleasing himself at the same time. Besides these, he maintained in the university several young students, allowing them yearly pensions; and whenever they came to visit him, rarely dismissing them without liberal gratuities. Amongst these was the famous Richard Hooker his countryman, whose parents being poor, he must have been bound apprentice to a trade but for the bounty of this good bishop, who allowed his parents a yearly pension towards his maintenance, near seven years before he was fit for the university. In the year 1567 he appointed him to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Dr. Cole, then president of Corpus Christi college, who, according to his promise to the bishop, provided him a tutor, and a clerk's place in that college; which, with a contribution from his uncle John Hooker, and the continued pension of his patron the bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence. In the last year of the bishop's life, Hooker making this his patron a visit at his palace, the good bishop made him, and a companion he had with him, dine at his own table, which Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude, when he saw his mother and friends, to whom he was then travelling on foot. The bishop when he parted with him, gave him good counsel and his blessing, but forgot to give him money

which when he bethought himself of, he sent a servant to call him back again, and then told him, "I sent for you, Richard, to lend you a horse which hath carried me many a mile, and I thank God with much ease." And presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled many parts of Germany. He then went on and said, "Richard, I do not give, but lend you my horse; be sure you are honest and bring my horse back to me at your return this way to Oxford. And I do now give you ten groats to bear your charges to Exeter; and here is ten groats more which I charge you to deliver to your mother. Tell her, I send her a bishop's blessing with it, and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. If you bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten more to carry you on foot to the college; and so God bless you good Richard." Not long after this, the good bishop died, but before his death he had so effectually recommended Hooker to Edwin Sandys then bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of York, that he put his son under the tutelage of Hooker, and was so liberal to him, that he became one of the most learned men of the age.

To return to bishop Jewell; he had collected an excellent library of books of all sorts, not excepting the most impertinent of the popish authors. Here he spent the greatest and the best part of his time, rarely appearing abroad, especially in a morning, till eight o'clock; so that till that time it was not easy to speak with him; when commonly he ate some slight thing for the support of his thin body; and then, if no business diverted him, retired to his study again till dinner.

He maintained a plentiful, but sober table, and though at it he ate very little himself, yet he took care his guests might be well supplied, entertaining them in the mean time with much pleasant and useful discourse, telling and hearing any kind of innocent and diverting stories. For though he was a man great and exact, both in piety and virtue, yet he was not of a morose, sullen, unsociable temper, and his hospitality was equally bestowed upon both foreigners and Englishmen. After dinner he heard causes, if any came in; and dispatched any business that belonged to him, though he would sometimes do this at dinner also; and answered any questions, and very often arbitrated and composed differences betwixt his people, who knowing his great wisdom and integrity, did very often refer themselves to him as the sole arbitrator, where they met with speedy, impartial, and unchargeable justice. At nine at night he called all his servants about him, examined how they had spent their time that day, commended some, and reproved others, as occasion served, and then closed the day with prayers, as he began it. The time of his public morning prayers seems to have been eight o'clock.

After this, he commonly went to his study again, and from thence to bed, his gentlemen reading some part of an author to

him, to compose his mind, and then committing himself to his God and Saviour, he betook himself to his rest.

Jewell's principal writings have been noticed in the preceding pages. In the present day we cannot form an adequate idea of the importance of his controversial works against the papists at that period, when the whole of Europe was agitated by warfare, caused by the intrigues of the papacy, and promoted by the industrious defence of its principles. His work, the defence of the apology, in particular, should be studied by all who wish to become acquainted with this important subject. A copy of that work was ordered by queen Elizabeth, king James I., Charles I., and four archbishops, to be chained in every parish church, with a large bible, and Fox's Acts and Monuments, so that the people might read them at all convenient times.

Some others of Jewell's works will be found more generally interesting at the present day; among these the principal is the Exposition of the Epistles to the Thessalonians, which has been justly characterized as "worth its weight in gold." It was, however, a posthumous publication, having been edited by Dr. John Garbrand, a divine whom he much esteemed, to whom he left his unpublished papers and manuscripts. Garbrand published from them the Exposition of the Epistles to the Thessalonians—the View of a seditious Bull—A short Treatise of the Holy Scriptures—Six Sermons preached at Paul's cross, before the queen—and a Treatise of the Sacraments. These, with Jewell's other works, were collected and published in a folio volume in 1609 and 1611, and are now reprinting (1830) by the university of Oxford. Some other pieces were left in manuscript by bishop Jewell. Among them are enumerated the following,—An Exposition of the Epistles and Gospels throughout the year—An Exposition of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments—A Comment on the Epistles of St. Peter, and on the Epistle to the Galatians.*

* Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, states that all books and papers left by bishop Jewell to Dr. Garbrand were given by the latter to Dr. R. Chaloner and Dr. John Rainolds. Diligent inquiry has been made for these comments on the epistles of Peter and to the Galatians, in the hope of adding them to this collection, but without success.



Engraved by J. Sartain.

John Foxe.

SOME ACCOUNT

OF

JOHN FOX,

The Martyrologist.

JOHN FOX, or FOXE, was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, A. D. 1517, the year wherein Luther began publicly to oppose the errors of popery in Germany. While Fox was very young his father died and his mother married again. He remained under the care of his father-in-law till the age of sixteen, when he was entered of Brazen-Nose College, Oxford. where Dr. Nowell, afterwards dean of St. Paul's, was his chamber-fellow. There Fox studied with much assiduity, and showed his abilities especially in Latin poetry. In 1538 he took the degree of bachelor of arts, and of master in 1543, which year he was chosen fellow of Magdalen college. From early youth Fox had been strongly attached to popish superstitions, but was ever remarkable for a regular and moral life. He strongly opposed the doctrine of justification by faith in the imputed righteousness of Christ, thinking himself secure enough by the imaginary merits of his own self-denial, penances, almsdeeds, and strict attention to the rites of the church.

But he was not permitted long to remain in this state. He was naturally of an inquiring disposition; by such a character the gross impositions then common in the Romish church could not long be approved. His son states he had often heard his father affirm, that the first matter which occasioned him to search respecting popish doctrine was, perceiving divers things, in their own nature most repugnant to one another, thrust upon men at one time, both to be believed—as that the same man might be superior in matters of faith, and yet his life and manners inferior to all the world beside. This and other inconsistencies shook the blind obedience of Fox to the church of Rome.

He now began to study ecclesiastical history, both ancient and modern; to consider the reasons for the increase and decline of the church; what causes promoted the first, and what errors occasioned the latter; diligently examining the controversies which had sprung up in successive ages.

Fox was an indefatigable student; when his mind was bent to any subject he pursued it with uncommon ardour and patient perseverance. By the time he was thirty years of age he had

read the writings of the Greek and Latin fathers, the disputations of the schoolmen, the acts of the councils and decrees of the consistories. These, but especially a thorough acquaintance with the scriptures in the original tongues, led him to discern the errors of popery and to seek the only way of salvation.

This change appears to have taken place about the time when Fox removed to Magdalen college. His son relates, "By the report of some who were fellow students with him, he used, besides his day's exercises, to bestow whole nights at his study, or not to betake himself to rest till very late. Near the college was a grove where for the pleasantness of the place the students used to walk, and spend some hours in recreation. This place, and the dead time of night, master Fox chose, with the solemnity of darkness and solitude, to confirm his mind, which, as a newly enlisted soldier, trembled at the guilt of a new imagination." To forsake the errors of popery then was no light affair. It involved many dangers; the loss of friends and preferment, nay death itself, might almost be reckoned a certain consequence.

The son proceeds:—"How many nights he watched in these solitary walks, what combats and wrestlings he suffered within himself, how many heavy sighs, sobs, and tears, he poured forth with his prayers to almighty God, I had rather be spared, lest it savour of ostentation. But of necessity it was to be remembered, because from thence sprang the first suspicion of his alienated affections. For no sooner was the fame spread of his nightiy retirements, but the more understanding sort out of their own wisdom, others according as they stood inclined towards him, interpreted all to the worst sense. At length some were employed, who under pretence to admonish him, might observe his walks, and pry into his words and actions. These wanted not others to aggravate the facts. Why should he not come to church so often as he had been accustomed? Why should he shun the company of his equals, and refuse to recreate himself in his accustomed manner?"

Having thus fallen under suspicion of heresy, and his singular openness and sincerity disdaining to attempt any hypocritical concealment, Fox was removed from his fellowship, or found it advisable to resign and leave Oxford. But farther troubles awaited him. The profession of the gospel at that time, usually excited those discordant feelings in families spoken of by our Lord, Matt. x. 34—36. When the rage of bigotry was stirred up it often proceeded to the most unwarrantable lengths. It did so in this case. The father-in-law of Fox, enraged at the change in his views, and knowing that one reputed a heretic then had no remedy against injustice, withheld his patrimony.

The events recorded of the history of the next few years in the life of Fox are not very clearly arranged as to dates, but it appears that being driven from his natural home, he found a refuge in the family of sir Thomas Lucy, a respectable knight of Warwickshire, by whom he was employed as tutor. During his

abode there, he married the daughter of a citizen of Coventry. His departure from this situation was hastened by the inquisitions which the papists began to make into private families. For a time he seems to have found shelter with his wife's father, and also with his mother's husband; but the assistance rendered him was small. His son states that by these means he kept himself concealed, but that he always forbore to speak of this part of his story, not wishing to notice the lack of kindness from his relatives as their conduct deserved.

About the end of the reign of Henry VIII. or the commencement of that of Edward VI. Fox removed to London. The rage of persecution was then abated, but having no regular employment, his scanty means were soon exhausted. His biographer relates a singular incident which befell him at this time.

"As master Fox one day sat in Paul's church,* spent with long fasting, his countenance thin and eyes hollow, after the ghastful manner of dying men; every one shunning a spectacle of so much horror, there came to him one whom he never remembered to have seen before; who sitting by him and saluting him with much familiarity, thrust an untold sum of money into his hand, bidding him be of good cheer; adding that he knew not how great were the misfortunes which oppressed him, but suspected it was no light calamity. He should, therefore, accept in good part from his countryman that small gift which courtesy enforced him to offer; he should go and make much of himself, and take all occasions to prolong his life; adding, that within a few days new hopes were at hand, and a more certain condition of livelihood." Fox never could learn to whom he was indebted for this relief, though he earnestly endeavoured to ascertain. Some believed that the bearer was sent by others who were anxious for the welfare of Fox. However that might be, in a few days he was invited to reside with the duchess of Richmond, to become tutor to the grandsons of the duke of Norfolk, then a prisoner in the Tower. With this family Fox lived at Ryegate till after the death of Edward VI. having under his charge Thomas, afterwards duke of Norfolk, Henry, afterwards earl of Northampton, and Jane, countess of Westmoreland; all of whom made considerable progress under his tuition. Herein was a remarkable instance of the interference of divine providence; the old duke of Norfolk was a papist, but the duchess of

* The body of St. Paul's church at that period, and long after, was the daily resort of great numbers of people, especially of those who had business to transact, or were in search of employment. Crowds of idlers of every description were also seen there, and the buzz of conversation, according to the descriptions given by contemporary writers, seems to have exceeded that of the Royal Exchange when fullest at the present day. "He is as well known as the middle walk in Paul's," was a common proverb. A description of London by Lupton in the following century, contains an allusion to "the dinnerless pedestrians" who frequented St. Paul's church, in the hope of finding some one who would invite them to a dinner.

Richmond, the aunt to the late earl of Surrey, was favourably inclined to the truth. During his residence at Ryegate, Fox did not confine his labours to the family wherein he was tutor. On June 24, 1550, he received ordination from bishop Ridley; at that time he was living with the duchess of Suffolk. From a dedication to the translation of his Christ Triumphant, by Richard Day, afterwards himself minister of Ryegate, it also appears that Fox preached the gospel in that neighbourhood, and was instrumental to the removal of popish idolatries. Day, addressing himself to the earl of Northampton, son of one of Fox's pupils, says,

"In the time of his youth, and under the wings of that great lord of Reigate, Thomas duke of Norfolk, he may be truly said to plant the gospel of Jesus Christ there; to that work he was encouraged and maintained, without fee or salary from any other than of your honourable house of Howard. To their great honour be it spoken, he was the first man that ever preached the gospel in that place, even when idolatry was yet in great strength. Exceedingly did his free and voluntary labours fructify among them, for many were there converted from darkness to the light, and from the power of Satan unto God; witness thereof, the old superstitious and idolatrous lady of Ouldsworth, an image, or idol saint, who was worshipped at Reigate, in place of God, for her miraculous power of saving health. Ouldsworth was an honourable name among the old English Saxons: there are of the name in London to this hour; but this old saint lost her name, her place, her power, and friarly false miracles there, through the ministry of this good man."

That any one instrumental to such a work should have been patronised by the ducal family of Norfolk is surprising, but we may remember that the Reformation was then countenanced by authority, and the family appear to have entertained a strong personal regard for Fox.

An undeniable proof of this regard was manifested soon after the accession of queen Mary. The measures in progress for the restoration of popery and the persecution of the protestants, caused Fox to think of following his friends into exile, but the young duke was unwilling that Fox should leave him, thinking his honour was concerned to protect his tutor. Fox knew this proceeded from sincere feelings of regard, and said it was indeed for the duke's honour so to act, but it was his duty to take care that the duke should not be involved in trouble on his account. The matter did not remain long in suspense. One so active against image worship, in the diocese of Gardiner, could not escape the notice of that bigoted papist, who was intimate with the family, and several times requested to see the tutor. His designs were suspected. The old duke died September, 1554, and had been succeeded by his grandson, the pupil of Fox, who being

anxious for the safety of his preceptor, made excuses to keep him from the sight of Gardiner. But one day Fox, not knowing Gardiner was at the house, entered the room. On seeing the bishop he quickly withdrew; Gardiner inquired who that was, the duke said it was his physician, who being newly come from the university, was somewhat uncourtly. "I like his countenance and aspect well," said the bishop, "and when occasion shall be, will make use of him." The duke knew what that occasion would be, and concluded it was no longer safe for Fox to remain in England. He sent a servant to Ipswich to hire a bark, while a retreat was provided for Fox, accompanied by his wife, at a farmer's house near the sea-shore, till all was ready. They had scarcely put to sea when a contrary wind arose; after beating about the next night and the following day, in the evening they regained the port they had left. As soon as Fox landed he was informed that a pursuivant from the bishop of Winchester had searched the farmer's house for him, but after following him to the port, and finding the vessel was out of sight, he had departed. Upon this Fox took horse and left the town, but returning in the night he persuaded the pilot again to set sail, and after a rough passage of two days was landed safely at Nieuport in Flanders. "An evident argument," as Samuel Fox observes, "of the certain course of providence and the uncertainty of all human forecast."

From Nieuport Fox proceeded to Antwerp, and from thence to Basle, where at that time many of the English refugees were kindly received. The city of Basle was celebrated for superiority in the art of printing. Fox, and some of his countrymen found employment in correcting the press, and other literary labours connected therewith.

Here Fox engaged with Oporinus, a celebrated printer, to whom he presented the first sketch of his history of the church. It was written in Latin, and accompanied by a letter to Oporinus, in which he desired to be received into his service, and that Oporinus would vouchsafe to be his learned patron, under whom he might pursue his studies, being one that would be content with a small salary; and if he would employ him there, or at Strasburg, or at some university, which latter he would prefer, "either," added he, "I will be destitute of all things, or, by the help of Christ, I will cause that all men of literature shall know how much they are indebted to the name and to the press of Oporinus."

While employed as corrector of the press, Fox continued his studies; he especially laboured at his great work on ecclesiastical history, which he compiled at first in Latin. Several publications containing parts of it, were set forth by him, among them were Philpot's examinations. He wrote an earnest address to the nobility of England, beseeching them to desist from the cruelties then practised towards the protestants. He also translated Cranmer's answer to Gardiner on the sacrament. The printing

of this was begun in 1557, but upon consideration it was thought more advisable to stop the progress of the work on account of the bitterness with which the sacramental controversy at that time raged in Germany and Switzerland. In a letter to Peter Martyr, Fox complains much of the difficulty he experienced from the studied obscurity of Gardiner's style. He says, "I never saw any thing more unpleasant, rough, and entangled, than Winchester's discourse; wherein sometimes he is so full of depths that he needs some sibyl rather than an interpreter. - In the third book there are one or two places where you may sooner extract water from a pumice-stone than find light from the sentence." An instance of the craft for which Gardiner was so remarkable.

In this work, Grindal, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, gave Fox considerable assistance, also in the more important labour of his Martyrology. Grindal then resided principally at Strasburg, and was able to maintain a constant correspondence with England, by which means he obtained many accounts of the examinations and sufferings of the martyrs. These he conveyed to Fox, to arrange and insert in his work. Many letters which passed between them are extant: they show, as Strype observes, "a most tender regard to truth and suspending upon common reports and relations brought over, till more satisfactory evidence came from good hands." With one letter Grindal sent Fox two dollars, from the monies remitted out of England to assist for supporting the martyrs. In these works Fox was also assisted and encouraged by Aylmer, tutor to Lady Jane Grey, afterwards bishop of London, and by other English divines.

Fox was engaged in more painful transactions while on the continent, namely, the disputes which arose among the exiles, respecting certain matters of ecclesiastical discipline and the use of the English liturgy. The particulars of these differences need not be entered into here: they are to be found in the work entitled the Troubles of Frankfort, and in Strype.

Fox deeply regretted the lengths to which matters proceeded. In a letter to Peter Martyr, written from Frankfort, he says that these disputes had made them unfruitful nearly the whole winter; he attributes much to the youth and inexperience of some who engaged in the controversies. "I have discovered what otherwise I could not have believed, how much bitterness is to be found among those whom continual acquaintance with the sacred volume ought to render gentle, and incline to all kindness. As far as in me lies, I persuade parties to concord." After stating the substance of the advice he had given, he adds, "Our last anchor is cast upon Christ himself, who for his mercy's sake will deign to turn our hearts to those things which make for peace and real tranquillity." His main endeavour was to be a peace maker, and to persuade both parties to concord. In this he appears to have partly prevailed, so far as to induce them to debate the matter more mildly by letter and conference. He

also urged Peter Martyr to settle at Frankfort, as lecturer on divinity to the English, which might induce them to collect there.

Part of a letter written by Fox about this period, to a person and his wife that left England under queen Mary,* is as follows:

"The grace of God in Jesus Christ, which aideth, governeth, and conducteth all such in truth as put their confidence in him, be multiplied upon you and your virtuous yokefellow, that as by the holy institution of the Lord, ye are called to be one flesh, so, by faith you being one in mind, may, in the unity of Christ's spirit, like true yokefellows, bear the cross with patience, and follow our guide and fore-leader, Christ Jesus. Amen.

"When I understood, by your friendly letters sent to my brother, what our good God and most sweet Father hath done for you and other members of his mystical body, in delivering you out of that miserable land, from the danger of idolatry and fearful company of Herodians; I was compelled, with a glad heart, to render unto his Divine Majesty most humble thanks, beseeching him that as he hath delivered you from their contagious venom and deathly sting with a safe conscience, so he will vouchsafe to protect and preserve it still undefiled. To forsake your country, to despise your commodities at home, to contemn riches, and to set naught by honours which the whole world hath in great veneration, for the love of the sweet gospel of Christ, are not works of the flesh, but the most assured fruits of the Holy Ghost, and undeceivable arguments of your regeneration, or new birth, whereby God certifieth you that ye are justified in him, and sealed to eternal life. And therefore ye have great cause to be thankful; first that he hath chosen you to life, and, secondly, that he hath given you his Holy Spirit, which hath altered and changed you into a new creature, working in you through the word such a mind, that these things are not painful but pleasant unto you. Again, to be delivered from the bondage of conscience, from the——"

The labours of Fox while in exile were very severe; his son speaks of him "as having been inured to hardness from his youth, therefore labour, and what to others seemed the greatest misery, to suffer want, to sit up late, and to keep hard diet, gave him no concern." He adds, "This may appear strange to many who remember master Fox to have been all his life long but a slender bodied man, and in his elder years somewhat sickly. But let no man compare his old age, worn out and eaten up with cares, and even by the course of nature ruinous, with the flourish-

* This fragment of a letter is among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum. It does not show to whom the letter was addressed, but as it was to a person and his wife who are described as setting honours at naught for the sake of religion, it may have been the Hon. Robert Bertie and his wife the duchess of Suffolk, whose escape is narrated by Fox in the Acts and Monuments.

ing prime of his youth, which by so many of his works appears to have been most healthful.”*

The time for the deliverance of England at length came. Queen Mary died in November 1558. Of this event Fox had a remarkable preintimation. On the day previous to that of her decease he was preaching to his fellow exiles at Basle, when he told them to be of good comfort; for the time drew near when they should be restored to their own country, and said that he told them this, being warned of God to do so. Some of the elder divines reproved Fox for speaking thus, but the event showed that he was justified. Aylmer was among the persons present on this occasion.

Most of the exiles hastened home, but Fox remained at Basle till the following year; this delay seems to have been partly caused by the difficulty of his removing his family, a wife and two children, in his low circumstances; and having a settled employment he was unwilling to quit it until there appeared a good prospect of matters being settled at home. Also, during a part of the time he was engaged in superintending the early Latin edition of his *Acts and Monuments*. Grindal and Sampson considered this his best course. The former, when setting out for England on the 19th of December, 1558, wrote to Fox that he had better, for a short time, suspend the further preparation of the great work he had in hand, as many additional materials would now come to light.

Fox rejoiced at the important change. He was the author of an elegant Latin address to queen Elizabeth, printed at Basle by Oporinus, in 1559, where, in the name of the German nation, the queen is congratulated on her accession to the throne; and after speaking of the refuge afforded to the English exiles on the continent, good counsel is given to her majesty and her court, with good advice to the preachers. Another tract, an expression of thanksgiving on the part of the English exiles, was printed about the same time. Fox also wrote and printed a letter to the duke of Norfolk, his former pupil, full of excellent counsel relative to the hopeful prospect of religion, and congratulated him on his own good fortune in the recovery of his title and estates.

We find, however, that Fox had returned to London in October, 1559; and from a Latin letter he then wrote to the duke of Norfolk, printed by Strype, the copy of which is still extant among the Foxian manuscripts in the British Museum, he evidently was in the same distressed state with many of his brethren. From this letter it would appear that it was as yet hardly safe for men of rank to notice the poor exiles. The letter is as follows:

“I have so often written to your highness, that I am ashamed to trouble you with more letters. Yet I so well know the inge-

* The extracts from the life of Fox, by his son Samuel, given in these pages, are slightly condensed, as that work, though containing much valuable matter, is written in the verbose and generalizing style then prevalent, so as to be wearisome to the reader.

nuous kindness of your disposition, that I am persuaded there would be no necessity for my petition, if will only was needful. But perhaps these times present impediments, hindering you from sending to us, and me from venturing to urge my requests to you. I cannot think that it is from forgetfulness of us, or from any undue feelings of your own importance, that for so long a period you have not sent assistance to us. But whatever may be the cause why your liberality has thus ceased, this I know, my beloved Thomas, that it is most easy for you, possessing such abundance of all things, to impart some small pension to us from your large expenditure. More earnest intreaties would be needful where there was less disposition to confer benefits, but you always appeared more ready to bestow of your own accord, than on account of the prayers of others. And I think that my disposition is well known to you, as so averse to importunate craving, that I would sooner perish with hunger.

"That I have not yet dedicated any work to you, has proceeded rather from fear of endangering you, than from my own will, as, if God permit, you shall hereafter perceive.

"Concerning religion, I need not admonish you where the truth stands; God grant that you may stand manfully with the truth. Have respect thereunto in the first place, and if at this juncture you cannot help Christ, let no mortal ever prevail on you to be an adversary against him in any thing, for at length he will prevail, though all should oppose. You will do wisely if you employ that time in the reading of the scriptures, which others bestow on pomps and pastimes of the court."

The duke's reply, dated 30th October, 1559, also written in Latin, was as follows: "I have received your letters, my excellent preceptor, from whence I learn your affection towards me, and prize it highly. If the return of my servants had not preceded my letters, you should have been with me long since. For I wrote to them that they should so provide you with all things, that you might speedily come to me, and this would have been done had they not returned sooner than I expected. Now, since I shall myself soon be in London, I would that you should await me there, when, as I desire and as I ought, I shall look to you. In the mean time farewell.

"To my right loving schoolmaster, John Fox."

The duke appears to have fulfilled his promises; he took Fox into his house in London, where the martyrologist resided for some time; probably till the duke was involved in troubles from those secret negotiations with Mary queen of Scots, which brought him to the scaffold in 1572. Fox and Nowell attended him at the place of execution, where he confessed that he had acted contrary to his duty and allegiance. The duke had been suspected of an inclination to popery; this he disavowed, and at the solemn hour of his departure he expressly declared, "As touching my religion I have been suspected to be a papist. I must confess that divers of my familiar friends, and divers of

my servants and officers under me, were papists. But what meaning I had in it, God, who seeth above, knoweth it. For myself, God is my witness, I have always been a protestant, and never did allow of their blind and fond ceremonies. And now, before God and you all I utterly renounce the pope and his popedom, which I have always done, and will do to my life's end. And as to that which is the chiefest point of our belief—I believe and trust to be saved by faith in Jesus Christ only, and by none other means. For if I did, I should be greatly deceived at this instant."

There appears every reason to believe that the duke was opposed to popery; even so far as to be inclined to favour the puritans. He cared anxiously for the religious education of his children, as appears from an epistle of Dering and Hansby, two of his chaplains, prefixed to a book of prayers composed for their use, by his command. He was at that time one of the most powerful noblemen in England, and in high favour with queen Elizabeth. These things render his attachment to Mary queen of Scots the more extraordinary, but the influence of many of his near kinsmen, who were bigoted papists, probably assisted this infatuation towards that accomplished but infamous woman.*

Queen Elizabeth was very unwilling that the duke should suffer; she caused him to be respited for several months, but the state of political affairs, and the designs of the papists against her, caused her counsellors to be urgent in pressing his execution. Fox had faithfully warned the duke of the dangers which were likely to result from this correspondence, as appears by a letter from him to his former pupil,† extant in the British Museum. The duke left Fox a small pension.

Richard Day, son of the printer, speaks thus of the shelter afforded to Fox by the duke: "When he returned he found succour from his most bounteous, most charitable, and most princely lord, who gave him free and present entertainment and dwelling for him and his, at his manor-place of Christ's Church, by Aldgate. From that his house, he travelled weekly every Monday, to the printing house of John Day. In that, my father's house, many days and years, and infinite sums of money, were spent to accomplish and consummate his English Monuments, and other many excellent works in English and Latin."

These writings will be noticed on a future page, but the important results to Fox himself, from his intimate connexion with John Day, and the still more important influence on the cause

* The reader will find an account of the duke's correspondence with Mary queen of Scots in many historians. It is necessary, however, to warn him against those who manifest a partiality for that wretched female. Of late it has become too common to cast a veil over the crimes of Mary, and to call her vices by gentle names, but no one can become fully acquainted with the history of the Reformation, without feeling deep regret that her character is not more correctly estimated by historians in general.

† "Dissuading him from marrying Mary queen of Scots."

of truth and the gospel, requires a distinct notice of that extraordinary printer, whose proceedings were exceedingly beneficial in forwarding the English Reformation.

John Day was a native of Suffolk, and commenced business as a printer in London, probably in 1547. About 1549, he removed to Aldersgate, where, as Stow relates, he built much upon the wall of the city towards St. Ann's church. He had also shops for the sale of his books in other parts of the town, particularly at the little conduit, which was in Cheapside, just at the end of Paternoster-row. During the reign of Edward VI. his press was actively employed in printing the scriptures, and many writings of the British reformers. Herein he showed his zeal against popery, even then at considerable hazard to himself.* When queen Mary came to the throne, Day's labours of course were suspended. He appears to have spent this reign partly as a prisoner in Newgate,† partly as an exile, and partly in retirement, employing himself in bringing his art to greater perfection. He was the first printer in the Saxon character, and much improved English typography.‡ His books in particular display a great variety of devices of wood and metal. After the accession of queen Elizabeth, Day resumed his operations with increased activity. The catalogue of books printed by him include the most extensive and valuable publications of that period in general literature and science, as well as history and theology. Many of them were costly and splendid specimens of typography. The unceasing kindness and attention Day received from archbishop Parker, is decisive evidence to his character and abilities.

* In the commencement of this reign, Day printed Luke's poetical dialogue between John Boon and Master Person, written against the popish sacrament, and exposing the ignorance and superstition of the priests. The papists made such representations of this book, that the mayor sent for Day, and was about to treat him with severity, when Underhill, one of the king's guard, came to the mayor upon business. The mayor kept Underhill to dinner, when speaking about the book, the latter told him it was a good book, that he had a copy, and there were many others in the court. He gave it the mayor, who being thus better informed of the contents allowed poor Day, then sitting at a side board, to return home instead of committing him to prison as he had intended.

† See Rogers, p. 35.

‡ The importance of the increased attention Day bestowed upon the execution of the works committed to his press, may appear from the words of Bale, in the preface to the second part of his *Image of both Churches*, printed about 1550, who stating his reasons for discontinuing the marginal references to the scriptures and authors which he had given in his first part, assigns as the first, "the printers, whose heady haste, negligence, and covetousness, usually corrupts all books. These have both displaced them, and also changed their numbers to the derogation of the truth, though they had at their hands two learned correctors who took all pains possible to preserve them." In looking at most of the early printed editions of the writings of the Reformers, the number of typographical errors, often affecting the sense, will be found very considerable: they make reprints literally conformable to those editions far from desirable.

For the valuable history of Hollinshed, the Acts and Monuments, the collected editions of Becon, the writings of Tindal, and many others, we are indebted to this printer, whose enterprising spirit was united with earnest desire to diffuse gospel light and truth. The list of books printed by Day, as given by Ames and Herbert, contains almost all the valuable literature of that age. Day possessed in Fox an invaluable assistant to edit the principal works he published, while Fox had in Day a printer anxious to encourage his exertions to the utmost.

Strype relates that Day found himself the object of envy to his fraternity, who hindered what they could the sale of his books. In 1572 he had a considerable quantity on hand, whereupon his friends procured for him the lease of a small shop to be set up near the west end of St Paul's cathedral. But, as Strype proceeds, "his brethren the booksellers envied him, and by their interest got the mayor and aldermen to forbid him from setting it up, though they had nothing to do there but by power." Upon this the archbishop interceded with the lord treasurer for the queen's letters, that Day might go forward with his building, whereby, he said, his honour would deserve well of Christ's church, and of the prince and state. The archbishop also urged that the privy council had lately written to him and the other ecclesiastical commissioners, to help Day, perhaps in vending his books, and encouraging the clergy to buy them.

After this, Day seems to have continued his exertions with success till his death in 1584. If much of the progress of the Reformation is to be attributed, as means, to the art of printing, assuredly Day must not be forgotten as one to whom we are deeply indebted for the right application of that invaluable discovery in our own land.*

To return to our immediate subject :

Part of the early period after Fox's return to England seems to have been passed at Norwich, where his son Samuel was born in 1560. The friendship of Parkhurst, then bishop of that see, doubtless occasioned his residence there. It is, however, but too evident, that for some time after his return Fox remained in a very destitute condition. When Humphrey, his fellow collegian, was appointed president of Magdalen college, Fox began a congratulatory letter to him, which, however, he cancelled, probably from unwillingness to describe his own wants, or to

* The homely lines on his monument may be added,
 Here lyes the Daye that darkness could not blind,
 When popish fogges had overcaste the sunne ;
 This Daye the cruell nighte did leave behind,
 To view, and show what blodi acts were donne ;
 He set a Fox to wright how martyrs runne
 By deeth to lyfe. Fox ventured paynes and health
 To give them light ; Daye spent in print his wealth.
 But God with gayne returned his wealth agayne,
 And gave to him, as he gave to the poore.

The reader should here be reminded of Fox's own remarks on the value of the art of printing.

address any one in a tone of levity on such a subject. He there called Humphrey to account for leaving "their mendicant order." He says, "Are you not ashamed of being such a fugitive? You ought to have taken example of greater constancy by me, who still wear the same clothes, and remain in the same sordid condition as when I first returned to England from Germany;" about two years before.

From the time of his return to England, Fox requires our attention in various characters. The first and principal is, as the hard student—the author, translator, and editor of numerous works printed by Day; which will be noticed as we proceed. To this he gave himself up in a manner which with most men would have absorbed all their time and attention. After he left the duke of Norfolk's house he resided nearer to his printer, as appears from many letters yet extant, addressed to "Master John Fox, at his house in Grubbe Street," or as "dwelling with master Daye, the printer, at Aldersgate." The extent of his studies is shown by the number of his works, their effects are well described by his son, and should serve as a warning to those who are tempted to overstrain their mental powers by studious application: "In a student, the mind, when it is overstrained, stoppeth not at weariness or pain, but rather proceedeth to the ruin of that whereon even the life of men dependeth. For in the evils of the mind, he who is once tired, cannot by giving over his work for a while, or abating some part of his diligence in labour, recover again his former strength, nor overcome the discommodities he shall thereby endure, though with ever so great abundance of other contentments. The truth of this was by M. Foxe's example confirmed, who, when he had for many years, left no time free from thought of his study, either not at all, or not seasonably affording himself what nature required, was at length brought to that pass, that his natural liveliness and vigour being spent, neither friends nor kindred could by sight remember him. By this means he first fell into that withered leanness of body in which many afterwards saw him; never again returning to that pleasing and cheerful countenance which he had before, but when he would by no means be persuaded to lessen his accustomed labours, or to lay aside his study to recreate himself, the signs thereof did likewise remain."*

The studies to which Fox thus earnestly applied, did not, however, prevent him from fulfilling the public duties of the ministry. The regard and esteem felt for him by many persons then in power, would have been exerted to procure him preferment in the church, but he accepted none, saving a prebend at Salisbury, to which he was appointed in 1564, after some endeavours had been made to obtain him one at Norwich with his fellow exile, bishop Parkhurst. He objected to some of the canons and ceremonies retained by the settlement of ecclesiastical

* See p. vii.

affairs under queen Elizabeth, as savouring too much of popery, and this disqualified him from accepting any parochial charge.* We are told that archbishop Parker summoned Fox to subscribe, "hoping that the general reputation of his piety might give the greater countenance to conformity." Fox, as a reply, took from his pocket the New Testament in Greek, and holding it up said "To this I will subscribe." He said, that he had nothing in the church but a prebend at Salisbury, adding, "and if you take it away from me, much good may it do you." But he was permitted to retain it. His fellow sufferers, however different their opinions on those subjects might be, did not desire to deprive such a character of his humble preferment.† Neither was he silenced; we find him continuing to preach, and that on public occasions. This led to his powerful discourse on Christ crucified, preached at Paul's cross in 1570, and afterwards enlarged for the press. It will be found in the present volume. Two Latin letters addressed to bishop Grindal, among the Foxian papers in the British Museum, appear to relate to this discourse,

In the first letter he inquires, "who could have instigated Grindal thus to think of crucifying him at Paul's cross?" After urging his own incapacity, and many like excuses, he adds, "Also in fairness consider how unequally this will press upon me, when, as I believe, there never was ass or mule who was so weighed down, and overdone by carrying burdens, as I have long been by literary labours, every day employed investigating and drawing forth the contents of writers, reading copies, and reading them again, and putting together materials which may be of public benefit to the church. By these labours I am almost worn out, not to speak of ill health and want of books. Yet amidst all these labours and defects which I have narrated, I am summoned in addition, to St. Paul's cross, that celebrated spot, where, like an ape among cardinals, I shall be received with derision or driven away by the hisses of the auditory!"

*It is said that he was rector of Cripplegate for a short time, but resigned it on account of the subscription to the canons, and that he held a prebend at Durham for about a year.

† Archbishop Parker gave Fox a dispensation to eat flesh in Lent, on account of his health. In the commencement of queen Elizabeth's reign, orders were issued to enforce the observance of fish diet at that season, and on every Wednesday through the year. This popish custom was not retained on account of religion, but from an idea of its beneficial effects on the fisheries, which induced secretary Cecil to encourage the plan very warmly. Licences to eat flesh in Lent were frequently given. In 1564 we find them granted to the universities and to Winchester school. In the licence for the latter Cecil expressly states that "the observance of fish days was a politic constitution." It is, however, possible that the government may have been the rather disposed to make this regulation, from a wish to retain the Romanists within the pale of the national church. Several sacrifices were made with this view, and it was successful for a time, till the pope issued bulls forbidding the Romanists to unite in any manner with protestant worship.

The second letter is as follows :

"Yesterday, when too late, I heard that your servant had been with Day, the printer. Had I seen him, perhaps I might have sent a different answer from the present. But although I saw him not, I now see there are friends who by no means will suffer me to refuse, what by all means I had determined to deny. I find that they will not rest till they have thrust me forward, most unwillingly, at Paul's cross. By every means, by intreaties, threats, upbraidings, they urge, press, and solicit me. What is more painful, they pretend that you are displeased with my last letter. In addition, they solemnly adjure me in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ—this indeed, more than all besides, induces me not to refuse. Pray for me again and again. I entreat you, beloved prelate, who have laid this burden upon me, help me to sustain it. And I cannot but express a pleasing surprise that in your letters, where by virtue of your authority this burden is laid upon me, your piety has kindly suggested a subject—that I preach Christ Jesus, and him crucified. May the Lord Jesus, crucified for us, keep your mind in perfect humility amidst the honours of your calling, and with that humility of mind may he also preserve you in your present dignity, for the lasting welfare of his church."

The views of Fox relative to the differences just noticed, may be stated from his "Letter to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners concerning the present controversies." He says, "the more earnestly I desire the peace and tranquillity of the church, the more I am tortured by these internal differences of opinions and controversies, arisen I know not whence. Yet had they sprung from unavoidable causes they would have troubled me less. But while from light matters occasions are drawn for grievous contentions, and we agitate unnecessary questions, not only is the fruit of brotherly communion lost, but the forces of our enemies are strengthened against us, to whom this our quarrel exhibits a joyful spectacle.

"How much preferable would it be, that, uniting our strength, we should do the work of Christ, and diffuse his faith, as widely as possible, in the minds of the faithful, contending with the sworn enemies of our salvation rather than with the friends of the faith. I know that much remains to be done among us if we seek for a perfect church. But herein we should imitate prudent physicians, whose first care is, that the body live, then that it should flourish as well as possible. But we, by a misplaced anxiety, while we strive so earnestly to bring the church to a most perfect rule of reformation, do indeed, by our contentions, cause that it is scarcely to be perceived, or at best very deformed. For what church can be discerned when we have peace neither with friends nor enemies? What peace with God we can have, things plainly enough declare. Atheism prevails, lust is unpunished, avarice overcomes, benefices are bought and sold, priests are cold—would that they were cold indeed! The pulpits are

silenced. Christ's sheep are fleeced, not fed, his harvest is despised. That it is so may be learned from the labourers themselves, who are either few in number, or for the most part are those who sedulously care for the things which are their own, while scarcely any one thinks seriously respecting Christ." Fox then urges the importance of attending to the more important points of religion, and when these are settled, to build thereon, if it is desirable, those things which pertain to outward reformation, but if this might not be, still not to excite any schism. It had been well for the church, had all parties been as thoroughly imbued with the spirit of peace as Jewell and Fox.*

The situation of Fox with regard to these differences, appears to have been peculiarly unpleasant. While he felt it necessary, even with personal sacrifices, to testify against the requisitions then made as to ecclesiastical affairs, he also objected to many proceedings of those who openly opposed the ceremonies and canons then adopted. His views were not those of either party to their full extent. Fox, though most zealous where he considered essentials to be involved, would not be induced by any personal regard to become a partisan.

The kindness and moderation of Fox's disposition further appears from his letter to the queen in behalf of two Hollanders, who were condemned in 1575, to be burned for doctrines held to be contrary to the christian faith. This was a painful instance that the persecuting spirit of popery was not yet eradicated from the minds of those who had shaken off the papal yoke, and that the right principles of religious toleration were not correctly understood. Fox does not appear to have had clear views on this subject, but like Luther, he could not approve the putting men to death for matters of opinion. He was very unwilling that the fires of Smithfield should be rekindled; he pleaded earnestly with the queen, that the cruel practices introduced by the popes might be laid aside, and that if punishment must be inflicted, it should not affect life.

But his supplications were of no avail; though the queen continually termed him "her father Fox," yet she refused his request. The painful subject need not be here pursued, excepting to lay this cruelty to its right cause—to popery. Strange to say, this proceeding arose mainly from mistaken anxiety to vindicate the protestant churches in the eyes of papists, from the imputation of fostering principles alleged to be heretical! So liable are we to be deceived into the practice of these things which we have seen to be wrong. Political reasons, and the dangers by which the government was then surrounded, also doubtless had their share in this matter, which however can neither be excused nor palliated. But the advocates of popery never can point to this painful event as a blemish in the history of the protestant churches, while history exposes their own conduct.

* See *Life of Jewell*, p. 19.

In reference to the public life of Fox, it should be mentioned that his intimacy with the highest and most respected characters of the day appears from his correspondence. Among these may be enumerated Cecil lord Burleigh, Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state, the Duke of Bedford, sir Francis Drake, many of the nobility and gentry, archbishops Grindal and Parker, Aylmer, bishop of London, Dr. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, Pilkington, Lever, and all the leading ecclesiastics of that day. Nor was he less esteemed by sir Thomas Gresham, and the citizens of London. We find him also in correspondence with Bullinger, Martyr, and other foreign Reformers. By the influence of these friends, as already remarked, he might easily have attained to considerable preferment.

We have to notice Fox in another point of view. His son states that he was "one, for his friendliness useful, by a natural inclination to be useful to others.—By good advice, comfortable persuasions, or a charitable hand, he relieved the wants, or satisfied the desires of innumerable persons, whereupon no man's house was in those times thronged with more clients than his. There repaired to him both citizens and strangers, noblemen and common persons of all degrees, and almost all for the same cause—to seek some salve for a wounded conscience."

Herein the labours of Fox were abundant and exceedingly blessed. Some interesting proofs are yet extant among his papers in the British Museum, where we find a letter to him "from one under temptations to blaspheme, requesting counsel," with other remains, either of letters addressed to him, or rough drafts of his replies to those who, weary and heavy laden, sought advice from him, and whom he pointed to that rest which is in Christ Jesus.

Nor were his efforts wanting in behalf of others—there is the draft of a letter to a noble person, exhorting him to forgive his wife; with others which show how ready he was on all occasions to promote peace and good will. It is indeed interesting to see the grave historian, the undaunted champion of the protestant faith, one who was engaged in severe studies to an extent whereby most would have been overwhelmed, ever prompt to discharge all the private offices of kindness which came before him, yet with the strictest secrecy, so as to avoid all unnecessary exposure of private affairs. A few specimens may be given; the first of the following letters is so characteristic of this feature in Fox, and so valuable for the counsel it gives upon a most important subject, that its insertion will not be considered unsuitable to the present work.

To a Gentlewoman, recommending a friend of his.

"As your discreet circumspection is not unprovided of sufficient counsel what you have best to do in your own affairs, to
Fox.

yourself best known, to me nothing appertaining ; so neither do I enterprise so boldly to write to you, as having any need to be advertised by others. Yet, notwithstanding, forsomuch as we are so willed by the apostle to exhort one another, I trust you will not be offended, if I shall write unto you by way of persuasion, in the behalf of a certain godly gentleman, and dear friend of mine. The same gentleman, I mean, whom you did see not long ago with me at the Moultons, whose sincere integrity, virtuous life, mild and soft conditions, stayed and settled discretion, his amiable lovingness, loved of all men that know him, with no less singular affection working in his heart, especially towards you, if they were so well known to you as they are to me, and others which have experience of him, I should not need to bestow this labour herein, either in exhorting of you, or commending of him ; you would soon understand yourself what ye had to do best for yourself.

“ But because the party as yet as unacquainted, is not so well known unto you, to the intent, therefore, by report of others ye should not want some intelligence hereof, I thought thus much to write in his behalf, who neither writeth for himself, neither is privy, I assure you, of my writing for him ; testifying to you simply what I do think, and not only what I think myself, but hear also testified by some others, which know you both better than I do, that if the favour of your mind could be no less inclined to him, than the Lord hath wrought in his heart toward you, verily it is supposed a meeter match could not be formed for you, nor wished unto you, all things on both parts considered, both that I know of you, and know by him. Thus much have I signified to you what I thought, and know of him to be true. You, for your part, do what you think good ; better in my mind ye cannot do, than to counsel in this matter with the Lord, who, as he hath ordained marriage between man and wife, so giveth husbands as he pleaseth. Neither am I ignorant, but there may be that come to you with greater offers ; which indeed might be something for you to hearken to, if your case stood in any such need of worldly goods ; but now you having enough, and, blessed be God, abundance, what can you desire more now, than a quiet life with that which God hath sent you ? And let the offers be ever so great, ye shall find at length, true godliness, joined with stayed temperance, more fitter for your condition, as it standeth, than greater superfluity of worldly substance. And furthermore, when all your counters shall be cast, ye shall prove it true, and so count with yourself, that an hundred pounds by year, with thrifty and prudent guiding, will go further at the year's end, than five or six hundreds with wasteful spending. I say no more, but as I said, I repeat again, you are wise enough, ye know herein what ye have to do. The Lord almighty, Disposer of all things, direct your ways and counsels to that which best shall be to your quietness and commodity, for Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen.

“ JOHN FOX.”

The following is a letter in behalf of a poor man wronged.

"Blessed are the peace makers. Grace in Christ. Master Boyne, Peter Woodgate, and Thomas Petter; if it shall please you concerning the case of this poor man, as I understand it, the matter is plain, his vexation great, his injury intolerable, and such as none of you would ever suffer to be done to yourselves. If the world be so, that evil persons, by fraud and injury, may oppress and circumvent the simple, and no redress in such wrongful sufferings, then the Lord give us patience, and be merciful to this realm. But if it be the part of godly and christian men to help in such wrongs and injuries, and to set peace where disquietness is, and to do for others as they would to be done to themselves; then I pray you aforementioned, joining also Edward Barcock with you, in the zeal of the Lord, to work in this matter what ye can, to talk earnestly with Stephen Beching, and to require him in the name of the Lord Jesus, to defraud this poor man no longer from his right, to the great disquieting of his mind, and undoing of his wife and her children. If he do, let him understand, blessed be the Lord, there are laws in the realm, justice is not all asleep, there is also a court of conscience, and a godly overseer of the same, the lord-keeper, who both by his wisdom will soon find out the matter, and upon his lawful authority will see the wrong to be redressed. And if there were no right at all here to be had in earth, yet let the said Stephen Beching this understand, that the Lord Jesus is alive in heaven, whose hand he cannot escape, nor yet is able to abide if it fall. But best is that your wisdoms gently and quietly compose the matter at home; wherein I beseech you, as a peace maker, to do in the matter what ye can. The zeal of the Lord Jesus dwell in you. Amen."

The following letter written by Fox to the magistrates of the city of London during a time of pestilence, shows the christian courage with which he continued to assist the needy, when others had forsaken their duties; also the influence which he possessed, and the laudable manner wherein he exercised it; while it illustrates his desire to alleviate the sufferings of the poor.

"Grace and joy in the Holy Ghost, with increase of all felicity, through Christ our only Saviour. To the dispersed company of Londoners, as well aldermen, merchants, and other rich and wealthy members of the same city, with all other well-disposed persons wheresoever, hearty greeting in the Lord.

"If we, the poor servants of Christ, and ministers of his word, within the city of London, now here remaining and sustaining the affliction of this dangerous and infectious time,* shall seem

* In 1563, London suffered much from pestilence. Stow says it was so infected the whole year, that there died 20,136 of the plague only in the city and out-parishes. He adds, "The plague of pestilence

in this our writing to you, something more plain and bold than we should, humbly we crave of your wisdom wisely to construe the cause thereof, imputing it not to any inconsiderate suggestion, or pretended device conceived of our parts; but rather to the serious and earnest necessity of this present calamitous time; thus much signifying to you before, that if the cause were ours only, privately to us belonging, who write to you, we would never so far embolden ourselves. For as we, for our parts, have learned not to shrink away from our charge committed to us of the Lord; for we have learned also to stand content, whatsoever it is we have of him—but now, hearing as we hear, and seeing as we see, the piteous cry of the poor and desolate flock of Christ, some in lanes, some in houses, some in ditches, some harbourless, some clotheless, some meatless, some friendless, all succourless; being their pastors, and the mouth of the flock, we cannot but both tender their pitiful lamentation, and also certify the same to you; desiring you in the Lord, to extend your tender and christian compassion upon them, in helping them in this infectious air, with some good odour of sweet savour from you. So that though your bodily comfort be absent from them, yet your charitable sustentation may be present with them. As members together of one mystical body, so we beseech you, utterly forsake not your fellow members. And though God hath set you in a more safe state of life, yet neglect not them who bear the cross, that God might, or yet may lay upon yourselves.

“It is the point of an honest mind, and a christian heart, that though he be in ease that he need not for himself fear, yet to lament and sorrow with them that lie in misery. Wherefore, being thereunto necessarily constrained by the pitiful cry and exclamation of the poor people of Christ, here left in London, we are forced to write to you, speaking for them that cannot help themselves, that you, of your clemency and christian duty, (whereby you are borne not only yourselves, but also to your country and neighbours,) will bestow some comfort upon your fellow members and poor brethren, miserably here oppressed and consumed, as well with penury as with pestilence; of which two, the one is the hand of God only to stop, the other partly under God lieth in your hands to relieve. Extend therefore, we beseech you, your helping hand, and in case you will not or dare not visit them with your presence, yet visit them with your purses, that the Lord, who peradventure doth this to try you, what you will do, may say to you, I was sick, and you visited me, I was hungry, and you, &c. For else, how this flying and departing from your needy neighbours, which neither with your

was so hot in the city of London that there was no term kept at Michaelmas. To be short, the poor citizens of London were this year plagued with a threefold plague; pestilence, scarcity of money, and dearth of victuals; the misery whereof were too long here to write, no doubt the poor remember it; the rich by flight into the country made shift for themselves,

visitation nor provision you will help, will be allowed before God, we cannot see; especially such of you as by charge of office are obliged to your companies. For why is not the alderman, being magistrate of his ward, as well bound in conscience to them as the minister to his parish? Or what mean their robes of scarlet, but to declare themselves ready with their blood to defend the safeguard of their people? And how are they ready to the shedding of their blood to defend, who with every slight occasion do shrink away, leaving them in danger whom they should succour with their provision? And what is then to be said, whereas neither with their blood, nor yet with their goods, will minister any supportation?"—(*Some part appears to be wanting.*)

Nor was Fox unmindful, that when in exile he had received much kindness from the followers of Christ in foreign parts. Accordingly, after his return, he was ever ready to assist those who took refuge in England from persecutions at home. By his request the duke of Norfolk wrote to Peter Martyr, urging him again to shelter himself in England. Other instances might be mentioned, but the following letter written by him to some person in authority, "in behalf of two learned and godly strangers," must suffice.

"Health and grace in Christ. By the occasion of these two learned and godly strangers resorting to your country, I am willed, and also willing myself, to write unto you, that you will extend your favourable protection not only to them, but also to the rest of the same country of Flanders, now miserably afflicted; who, in so doing, in my mind, shall do a gracious good deed, and a sacrifice very acceptable unto the Lord. Knowing your godly disposition, I shall not need to spend many persuasions to exhort you, only it shall suffice to recite the example of Job, of whom it is thus written, chap. xxix. The poor man crying unto me I delivered, and the fatherless which had no helper. I helped the man which was ready to perish, and he blessed me, the heart of the widow I comforted. I was an eye to the blind, and a foot to the lame; I was a father to the poor, and the cause which I understood not, diligently I inquired out," &c.

Fox appears to have entered into cases of deep distress with the same ardent faith and spirit of prayer as Elijah and Elisha of old, when pleading for the bereaved parents who had ministered unto them. He was not, like those prophets, made the means of working miraculous cures, but he was enabled to show that the prayer of a righteous man availeth much, and the gracious purposes of the Lord seem to have been revealed unto him in an unusual manner.

We may here refer to the account of his life by his son, who describing the manner in which he sat loose to the world, says, "that he ever showed a deliberate and resolved contempt of all things which are in greatest esteem among men, and especially of pleasures; which gave him great ability to perform with

commendation whatsoever he took in hand. For that things which were in themselves innocent, grow hurtful when they are over-valued, and pursued with avaricious desire. He never declined the friendship of illustrious personages; not to gain honour to himself, but because his commendation would thereby be more acceptable when used on behalf of others. The money which rich men sometimes offered him, he accepted, returning it back to the poor." After other remarks, the biographer proceeds, "The cause, wherefore he thought all other things so contemptible, especially as it arose not from disdain nor from sluggishness of mind, was only the love of God; wherewith his mind was so filled, and so much delighted, that he left no room, nor any affection free for other pleasures, of his own accord separating himself from the fashions of the world, and devoting himself only to this care. Like one who had found an invaluable treasure, he bent his eyes and mind upon this only, neither hoping nor expecting any thing besides, but resolved to make this the scope of all his wishes and desires. They who observed him, saw his mind steadfastly fixed upon God, and that he spoke and did many things beyond the opinion of ordinary good men, both in comforting the afflicted, and in terrifying those who were stubborn."

His son then relates two instances, one in reference to lady Ann Heneage, who being sick of a violent fever, when the disease had so far increased that the physicians pronounced it deadly, master Fox was called to be present at her ending, whose counsel and fidelity she had often made use of in relation to her soul's health. After Fox had performed what he came for, he added, "Well have you done, and according to your duty to prepare yourself for all events, but know this from me, that of this sickness ye shall not die." Sir Moyle Finch, her son-in-law, called Fox aside, and said, he could not but wonder that he should thus presume to determine the end of the disease, contrary to the opinion of the physicians, and by so doing he would bring the sick woman, hitherto undismayed, to an impatience of dying. That he should indeed rejoice if his mother-in-law were likely to live, but if her death were near, it befitted not Fox to dissemble it, who especially ought to provide for the good of her soul, and that he feared his untimely words might destroy men's opinion of his truth and modesty. Fox replied, that he desired not to hinder others from thinking of him as they pleased, but that, concerning the lady, his full belief was, it seemed good to God that she should recover of the disease, and that he said no more than was commanded of him. The lady recovered.

The other was the case of mistress Honiwood, an honourable matron, who had long followed the truth, and who, in the days of queen Mary, used to visit the prisons, and comfort, and relieve the distressed confessors.* Afterwards she was under most

* She was present at the burning of John Bradford, and related that the crowd was so great, that her shoes were trodden from her feet; she

distressing fears and doubts respecting the salvation of her soul : her sorrow was such that she sunk in despair. Her health became affected ; she appeared to be in a deep consumption ; even on the brink of the grave. In this state she had been for twenty years, and neither physicians nor divines were able to benefit her, either as to her body or her soul. At length she sent for Fox. They who went with him, said that they never entered a more sorrowful or afflicted house. Several friends, relatives, and servants sat by the sick woman, some on seats, some on the chamber floor, not weeping as in a common case of sorrow, but absolutely silent, as though their tears were all spent, scarcely noticing any that entered. The sick woman lay upon her bed, apparently near her end, faintly breathing forth a few words, which were in effect a desire to end her days. Fox did not attempt the ordinary methods of consolation, but prayed earnestly, pleading the faithfulness of God's promises, and Christ's sufferings. This course he pursued for some days, though with but little effect. At length he told her, that she should not only recover from that disease, but also live to a great age, and what was far better, that she had an interest in Christ, and should go to heaven. She, moved at his words, and earnestly beholding him, exclaimed that she should surely be damned, adding, "As well might you say, that if I should throw this glass against the wall, I might expect that it should not be broken in pieces." And immediately dashed down a Venice glass* she had in her hand. It struck a chest, from whence it fell to the ground, without receiving the smallest injury ! The event proved according to the words of Fox. Mrs. Honiwood, who was then sixty years of age, recovered and lived till she was ninety, in peace and comfort, being able to reckon up three hundred and sixty-seven descendants.

Samuel Fox refers to a person alive when he wrote this in 1641, who had been present at the above conversation, and says he could relate other similar accounts, but declined doing so, as those who could have witnessed their truth were dead.

In reference to these and some similar circumstances, he observes that he does not presume to attempt any explanation, "whether it was that the mind, by how much the purer, and more sublime it is, seeth so much the farther ; or whether there is some hidden cause, why God may be pleased sometimes to declare his purposes by men, not speaking out of their own knowledge but as they are moved."

A few anecdotes of Fox may be given, illustrative of his

was obliged to go barefoot from Smithfield to St. Martin's, before she could buy another pair.

* A slight sort of drinking glass made at Venice. At Mark's Hall, near Coggeshall, an ancient seat of the Honiwood family, the glass thrown down by Mrs. Honiwood is still preserved, and a place pointed out as the spot where it fell.

character. One day he met a woman he knew, who showing him a book she carried, said, "See you not that I am going to a sermon!" He answered, "If you will be ruled by me, go home, for you will do little good to-day at church." Whereupon she asked, "when he would counsel her to go?" "Then," replied he, "when you tell no one beforehand."

A gentleman, dining with Fox, spoke very freely against the earl of Leicester, whose conduct was much canvassed. Fox commanded a certain cup to be filled with wine, and brought to him. "This cup," said he, "was given me by the earl of Leicester." The gentleman immediately ceased. This is characteristic of Fox's quiet, but effectual method of repressing what was wrong, without exciting needless debate.

A young man, inclined to be too forward in company, said, that while studying the old authors, he saw no reason why men should so greatly admire them. Fox observed, "No marvel indeed, for if you could conceive the reason, you would admire them yourself."

One having inquired whether he recollected a certain poor man whom he used to relieve. "Yes," answered Fox, "I remember him well. And I willingly forget lords and ladies, to remember such as he."

At another time, when leaving the palace of Aylmer, bishop of London, a company of poor people begged of him importunately. Fox, having no money, returned to the bishop, and asked the loan of five pounds, which was readily granted; then going forth, he distributed it among that retinue, by which, as Fuller observes, he ever might be traced. Some months after, Aylmer asked Fox for the money he had borrowed. "I have laid it out for you," was the answer, "and paid it where you owed it, to the poor people who lay at your gate." Far from being offended, Aylmer thanked Fox for thus being his steward.

His course of life during his later years is thus described by his son. "Spending the day at home in conference with those who resorted to him, frequently preaching abroad, and going to visit those who were not able themselves to come to him, he both fulfilled that, which by the courtesy of his own disposition was enjoined him, and neglected not the performance of that duty which the office of his ministry imposed on him. The little time which was left free to his own disposal, he bestowed not in sleeping or taking pleasure, but in prayer or study; in both which he always retired to some private place, or made use of the silence of night for secrecy, unless sometimes the vehement groans, mingled with his prayers, being heard by some near the place, gave notice how earnest he was in his devotions. For at no time of the night could any man come to find his labours ended, but often hath the next morning's light seen the last of his night's care dispatched."

Yet Fox was no ascetic; his voluntary abstinence from the ensnaring pleasures of life has been mentioned, but as he knew that this victory was not obtained in his own strength, so he

desired that the fruits thereof might appear to the glory of his master. We learn, "that he frequented the tables of his friends, not for his pleasure sake, being of a spare diet, but both in courtesy to keep them company, and lest any should think that he was not defended against the pleasures of the table by his own moderation. So did he behave himself in those things that are followed by delights, that none of those who were commonly in his company, can remember any speech or action of his that showed desire of them." Although his presence might tend to prevent improper excesses, we have no reason to suppose him averse to proper and christian cheerfulness. Many passages in his writings show that he was naturally of a cheerful turn of mind, and pleased with lively sayings, although far from unchristian levity. He desired by experience in christian warfare to increase his own strength, and to give to others an example of fortitude.

The correspondence of Fox in the latter part of his life, shows that his circumstances remained very limited. In a letter written to his son Samuel, he says that the letters which his son had addressed to a bishop, had been sent, but without effect, adding, "The twenty shillings you received by Gellebrand were from your mother, not from the bishop. This she is willing that you should know, lest you should rely upon human help, which is of small avail. It is best to seek for aid from Him who feedeth the young sparrows, and imparts food unto all flesh. Call upon him in truth, and fix all your hopes upon him."

The occasion of this letter seems to have been as follows. His son, Samuel, who was fellow of Magdalen college, had travelled beyond seas without permission from his father or the college. On his return, he was charged with an inclination to popery, which, though without foundation, induced the members of his college, then inclining to strict discipline, to expel him.

Fox addressed a bishop in behalf of his son, whom he did not defend as faultless, but urged that he was dismissed without previous admonition, or any cause being assigned, and the harshness of this proceeding, rather arose from internal dissensions in the college, and opposition to their president, than to freedom from faults greater than those they censured in his son. The letter is penned in a very able manner; he speaks in moving terms of his own age and poverty. We find that Samuel Fox was afterwards restored to his office by the queen's mandate.*

We may here again notice, that Fox always from his deep poverty was abundant in liberality to the poor. His son says, "So far was he from thirsting after honour, riches, applause, or any outward good; that he would at no time suffer the care of

* It is related of Samuel Fox, that on his return from the continent, he presented himself to his father in a foreign and somewhat fantastical garb. "Who are you?" said Fox. "Sir, I am your son Samuel." The reply was, "O my son, what enemy of thine hath taught thee so much vanity!"

his private estate to enter into his mind, much less that it should, by taking thought for his household affairs, be overcome or drawn aside.—Being often asked why he had no more regard to the straitness of his own estate, it being the first precept of charity to begin at home; his answer was, "That God, by his covenant had the charge of his affairs, who well knew both what was fit for him, and when to bestow it; and since God had never yet failed him, when could he begin to doubt of him, without manifest ingratitude?" His son testifies that he showed pity to all sorts of men in distress, though he does not confirm what was reported, that Fox often gave away his clothes and household stuff. He considered that it was not likely his father should proceed so far; as by the liberality of others, who made him their almoner, he wanted not means to relieve those in necessity. The sums thus entrusted to him appear to have been considerable, and were applied most faithfully to the purposes intended. It was well that he had this assistance, for his love to his Saviour was such, that he never could refuse giving to any who asked him for relief in the name of Jesus, or for Christ's sake.

One of the latest circumstances recorded of Fox is, that he declared his conviction, as being taught of God, that the Spanish Armada would be unsuccessful. The mind of the martyrologist must have been deeply anxious respecting the event of an expedition, which, if it had succeeded, would have renewed the scenes exhibited during the reign of queen Mary, in a more dreadful degree.

The particulars of his departure, which took place April 18th, 1587, are thus recorded by his son Samuel, "Ere he had quite passed through his seventieth year, he died, not through any known disease, but through much age. Yet did he foresee the time of his departure; nor would suffer his sons, notwithstanding he entirely loved them, to be present at his death, but forbade the one to be sent for, and despatched the other on a journey three days before he died. Only sending for them when he well knew that whatever haste they made, they would be too late. Perhaps he thought them unable to bear so heavy a spectacle, or would not have his own mind troubled at that time with any thing that might move him to desire life. Which to me and my brother was most grievous, that thereby we could neither come to close his eyes, nor to receive his last blessing and exhortations, nor to satisfy our minds with that last sight of him. We could with more patience have endured to see the approaches of his death drawing on, than have lost so good an example how to die.

"Upon the report of his death the whole city lamented, honouring the small funeral that was made for him, with the concourse of as great a multitude of people, and in the same fashion of mourning, as if each had buried his own father or brother."

His two sons above mentioned, Samuel and Simeon, lived to advanced age, were men of learning, and much esteemed in their day.

His son Samuel observes, "All his virtues were fenced about as with a bulwark, by a singular modesty and integrity of life,

which suffered not any thing to enter into his manners, or to break forth into his actions, without first diligently examining whether it might beseem him or not. Having this always before him, if at any time, by human frailty, aught within began to be shaken, he quickly forsook it, before the matter proceeded." He says, "I write of a life bearing continually true and solid fruits;—a life passed over without noise, of modesty at home and abroad, of continual charity, contempt of the world, and thirst after heavenly things; of unwearied labours, and all actions so performed as might be exemplary or beneficial to others."

The chief debt of gratitude to Fox, both from his contemporaries and from posterity, was for his writings—among these, "*The Acts and Monuments of the Church*" is the most important, both as to the extent of labour bestowed on the work, and the unspeakable usefulness which has resulted from it. This work, as already noticed, Fox commenced when at Basle; the first sketch was printed in octavo, in 1554. An enlarged compilation in Latin, in a folio volume, was printed also at Basle in 1559 and in 1563. This contained but a small part of his full design, which was to show the whole history of the church of Christ, especially the rise and progress of the English reformation, as well as to record therein the persecutions and sufferings of the English church in his own day. Many supplied him with materials, and on his return home he devoted himself principally to this great work, continuing to prepare it in English, by the advice of bishop Grindal, who took much interest in promoting it. The facts which Fox chiefly wished to note were recent, the examinations and letters of the martyrs were furnished to him from authentic sources; and the bishop's records, which contained many documents of the greatest importance, were open to him. All these he examined personally, transcribing them himself. In 1563, eleven years from the commencement of his labours, he had proceeded with his work sufficiently to publish it under the title of "*Acts and Monuments of these latter and perilous days, touching matters of the church, wherein are comprehended and described the great persecutions and horrible troubles that have been wrought and practised by the Romish prelates, especially in this realm of England and Scotland, from the year of our Lord one thousand unto the time now present. Gathered and collected according to the true copies and writings certificatory, as well of the parties themselves that suffered, as also out of the bishops' registers, which were the doers thereof.*" Strype, in simple yet strong terms, sets forth its value. He says, "Herein Fox hath done exquisite service to the protestant cause, in showing from abundance of ancient books, records, registers, and choice manuscripts, the encroachments of popes and papalins, and the stout oppositions made by learned and good men, in all ages, and in all countries, against them; and especially under king Henry and queen Mary, here in England; preserving to us the memories of those holy men and women,

those bishops and divines, together with their histories, acts, sufferings, and their constant deaths, willingly undergone for the sake of Christ and his gospel, and for refusing to comply with popish doctrines and superstitions." Strype bears testimony to the "infinite pains" Fox took in compiling this work, and in searching of registers, and in the enlargement of the several editions in his life-time. So full and perfect an exposure of the persecutions of popery never was made, as of those in the reign of queen Mary. The church of Rome has usually been able to conceal its deeds of darkness in some degree, or for some time. But in this instance, the broad light of day broke in at once upon the recesses of its dungeons, and the archives of its tribunals. Strype says, "Great was the expectation of the book in England before it came abroad. The papists then scurrilously styled it, 'Fox's Golden Legend.' When it first appeared, there was extraordinary fretting and fuming at it through all quarters of England, and even to Louvain. The papists charged it with lies, and said, there was much falsehood in it; but indeed they said this, because they were afraid it should betray their cruelty and their lies." This ever has been the practice of that corrupt church, and the unblushing effrontery with which its advocates impute the charge of falsehood, has too often been successful with those who are ignorant of the depths of iniquity it has manifested.

Parsons, a Romanist, who wrote shortly after, plainly charged Fox with spoiling the bishops' registers and ancient records, declaring that he would have undertaken to find abundant matter to confute Fox out of the records of the bishoprics, but which, he added, were now destroyed by him, "as we do presume." Here was a papist measuring others by the conduct usual in his own church, which ever has been remarkable for altering, forging, and destroying of documents!* But truth has not recourse to any such measures. Strype adds, "Fox was an indefatigable searcher into old registers, and left them as he found them, after he had made his collections and transcriptions out of them, many whereof I have seen and do possess. And it was his interest that they should remain to be seen by posterity, therefore we frequently find references to them in the margins of his book. Many have diligently compared his books with registers and council books, and have always found him faithful." "As he hath been found most diligent, so most strictly true and faithful in his transcriptions. And this I myself in part have found."

But a considerable portion of Fox's work necessarily rested upon the relation of living witnesses. These he has generally mentioned by name, and a great part are men whose character is so well established, as to place them above any imputations. Many of course were persons of inferior rank, but surely we

* It was justly alleged against Polydore Vergil, who compiled a Romish history of England in the reign of Henry VII. that he had destroyed many ancient records and documents, that he might conceal the interpolations and omissions which he had made.

are not to consider that as any ground for a charge of want of veracity. Some errors and mistakes there doubtless were, but far less than could be expected in a work of such magnitude. These Fox took every pains to correct, travelling to considerable distances to ascertain the real facts where doubts were alleged, and without hesitation inserting in his subsequent editions any corrections which appeared needful. As most of the persons alluded to were living when his work appeared, unusual advantages were afforded in this respect, and several letters still extant in the British Museum, prove his own anxiety, and that of his friends, to correct any errors.

To pursue this subject at length cannot be necessary. Strype has given particulars, which show how unfounded several of the charges of the papists were, and when the reader examines those upon which Romish writers as well ancient as modern, have laid the most stress, he will be surpris'd to find they are only matters of small importance, and still more at the unblushing effrontery with which oft refuted charges are still repeated.* We may here dismiss the subject with a quotation from Dr. Wordsworth, who himself examined many of the ancient records used by Fox. He says in the preface to his ecclesiastical biography, "These writings (of the papists) have not proved, and it never will be proved, that John Fox is not one of the most faithful and authentic of all historians. We know too much of the strength of Fox's book, and of the weakness of those of his adversaries, to be further moved by such censures than to charge them with falsehood. All the many researches and discoveries of later times, in regard to historical documents, have only contributed to place the general fidelity and truth of Fox's melancholy narrative, on a rock which cannot be shaken."

The testimony of Neal, from his *History of the Puritans*, may also be given. He says, "No book ever gave such a mortal wound to popery as this. It was dedicated to the queen, and was in such high reputation, that it was ordered to be set up in churches; where it raised in the people an invincible horror and detestation of that religion which had shed so much innocent blood." Brook observes in his *Lives of the Puritans*, that the weight of all the objections offered in contempt of the Foxian martyrs, is as nothing to overthrow so solid and immoveable a fabric. "The Acts and Monuments of the martyrs have long been, they still remain, and will always continue substantial pillars of the protestant church; of more force than many

* Two may be noticed, which are found in the writings of two of the most distinguished modern Romanists of England. One repeats the allegation, that the woman whose new born infant was burned at Guernsey was unmarried, although Fox in his later editions mentioned the name of the minister by whom she had been married, who was then living in St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, and refers the reader to him. The other, noticing the case of Hunne, who was strangled in prison by the officers of the popish prelate of London, calls it "the legend of Hunne," though Fox's narrative is from legal documents; proceedings in the courts of law, and parliamentary records.

volumes of bare arguments, to withstand the tide of popery, and like a Pharos, should be lighted up in every age, as a warning to all posterity." No history ever has been so strictly and severely tried as the Acts and Monuments of John Fox, and no work of human composition ever stood the test of severe scrutiny with equal credit and advantage. Every pains was taken to make it public, a copy was ordered to be set up in every parish church throughout England, with Jewell's Defence of the Apology, and the large English Bible, for the use of all people, excepting in times of divine service, till Laud ordered the writings of these reformers to be taken away, as they did not countenance some of his views! But even now the well worn remains of these volumes are sometimes to be found in a village church, an undeniable proof that the history of those times was subjected in the fullest manner, to the examination of the very people among whom the circumstances related had occurred only a few years before.*

This work was reprinted in 1570, with several corrections and numerous additions, also commencing from "the primitive time." Other additions and corrections were made in subsequent editions printed in 1576 and 1583, during the life-time of Fox, and subsequent to his decease in 1596, 1610, 1632, 1641, and 1684. No complete edition has been printed since that period, though often called for, but innumerable compilations from its pages have appeared.†

The other writings of Fox, not already mentioned, may be more briefly enumerated. The principal are those which relate to the controversies with Osorio, a Romish prelate of considerable ability, who wrote against the English Reformation, and in defence of the Romish doctrines of justification. A work written by him, soon after the accession of queen Elizabeth, had been ably answered by Dr. Haddon, master of requests to the queen, and at her desire. Osorio replied at great length, with many personal invectives upon the English protestants, urging the usual objections against the doctrines of the Reformation. Haddon commenced a further answer, but died before it was finished. As this controversy was considered a matter of importance to the state, Fox was selected to continue Haddon's work, which he did in a very satisfactory manner. Strype gives a very full account of this controversy; he characterises the work of Haddon and Fox, as "a very learned vindication of protestants, and a confutation of the doctrines and practices of the church of Rome."

* By the canons of the convocation held A. D. 1571, it was enjoined that every prelate should place the Bible, Fox's Acts and Monuments, and other religious works in their halls or principal eating rooms for the use of their guests and domestics. Deans were enjoined to see these books placed in the cathedrals in convenient situations, so that they might be heard and read, which implies that they were customarily read aloud. All dignitaries were to have a copy in their families; one was to be placed in every college and hall in the universities.

† The value of the early editions is increased by the circumstance that many of the wood engravings contained portraits of the principal characters of that day. Bonner saw and admitted his own likeness!

Fox also engaged in a still more important controversy with Osorio, who wrote a Latin treatise concerning justification ; to this Fox replied in a work printed in 1583, entitled "Concerning Free Justification through Christ." He wrote this and most of his other works in Latin, as that was a universal language among all persons of any pretensions to education. We accordingly find him apologizing to Dr. Humphrey, the president of Magdalen College, Oxford, when he sent him a copy of the first edition of his Acts and Monuments, that it " was not written in Latin, which, he said, grieved him, as the fruits of it then might spread further, and it might be more pleasant to read." An English translation of Fox on Justification was afterwards published, the greater part of which will be found in the present volume ; an abridgment appeared desirable both on account of the limits of this work, and as it was unnecessary to follow Fox through all the logical forms then used in such arguments, or to traverse the mazes of the controversy. The reader will find this one of the most important writings of the British reformers ; the great doctrine of justification by faith is treated without the introduction of those less important topics, by which Romanists usually endeavour to confuse and obscure their controversies with protestants. It was in truth a strenuous contest. Osorio put forth all the sophistries and perversions of his party. Fox grappled manfully with them and overcame. We may consider Fox as standing unrivalled among the British reformers on this subject, as well as in matters of history. This piece is the more important, as its arguments are particularly opposed to the doctrine of the jesuits, which then had been recently advanced, and were beginning to exercise a mischievous influence. It also deserves serious perusal at the present day, for it answers many of the erroneous opinions on that all important subject, which have been introduced into protestant churches during the two last centuries.

Another work of Fox included in the present volume, is a sermon preached by him on the occasion of the baptism of a Jew. The subject is, the gospel olive tree, spoken of by St. Paul, Rom. xi. It notices the principal prophecies relative to the Messiah, a statement of the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ, and strong arguments against Jewish errors. It is the only piece relative to the Jews among the British reformers.

Fox also wrote a work upon the Eucharist—Concerning the doctrine of election—An exhortation to be read in the time of pestilence—A new year's gift concerning the deliverance of certain Christians from the Turkish galleys—Concerning the receiving into the church those who have fallen, but have returned by repentance—and Meditations upon the Apocalypse.

He edited several works. Among them were the writings of Tindal, Frith, and Barnes. He translated some pieces of the German reformers, and set forth a collection of christian prayers from ancient writers. We also find many prefaces and epistles from his pen. Day, as we have seen, was rightly called the

printer of the Reformation, Fox was his editor, ready at all times to direct the talents, and apply the time he possessed, to such objects as seemed consonant to the work of his Lord and Master. Among other works he was employed by archbishop Parker to edit the Saxon gospels. His researches into Saxon antiquities enabled him to combat many of the Romish usurpations.

Strype obtained many of the papers of Fox, and has made considerable use of them in his *Memorials and Annals*.* A considerable quantity passed into the Harleian collection, and are now in the British Museum. An inspection will do much to satisfy of the industry and fidelity of the martyrologist. Amongst them is an interesting selection from the correspondence of Fox, apparently copied under his own direction from such letters as he thought most important to preserve. Strype has published several, some others are inserted in this biographical sketch, but the whole collection should be printed.†

To conclude—Fox was a most valuable artificer in the great work of the English Reformation. He may be considered as the last of the venerable body of British reformers, and also as connecting them with their immediate successors, the puritans and other valuable divines of the latter part of the sixteenth and the commencement of the seventeenth centuries. He was not only a principal stone in the edifice, but also the cement whereby the other stones have become firmly united together; it is impossible to have examined the various documents requisite for the present work, without being impressed with enlarged views of the excellences of his character, and deeply feeling

THE INESTIMABLE VALUE OF JOHN FOX.

* The writings of Strype have furnished so much assistance to the present edition of *THE BRITISH REFORMERS*, that a brief notice of this most valuable contributor to English ecclesiastical biography should be given. John Strype was born at Stepney, in 1643. He was educated at St. Paul's school, studied at Cambridge, and was minister of Low Leyton, in Essex, which living he held for sixty-six years. Having access to some valuable papers of lord Burleigh's he began his collections, and proceeded to a very considerable extent, being assisted by Wake, Burnet, and others of similar taste for antiquities, and of sufficient influence to render their aid valuable. His works relative to the Reformation have been lately reprinted at the Clarendon press; and extend to nearly thirty octavo volumes. His fidelity and industry are undoubted, and impart much value to his writings. Strype died in 1737, aged ninety-four. Part of the materials he used are now in the British Museum.

† The neglect of the writings of John Fox is as discreditable to the English nation, as the disregard shown to the writings of Wickliff. A complete collection of the works of each of these reformers should be set forth as a national undertaking; and it is painful to reflect, that the sums lavished upon only a few of the groups of heathen deities which deform rather than adorn, our national cemeteries, would have amply sufficed to defray the expense, while the cost would have been expended among our native artisans.

SOME ACCOUNT
OF
JOHN BALE,

Bishop of Ossory.

JOHN BALE was born in 1495, at Cove, a small village near Dunwich, in Suffolk. At twelve years of age he was entered in the monastery of Carmelites at Norwich, and from thence went to Jesus College, in Cambridge. While a papist he was very zealous for that way of religion. He says, "I wandered in utter ignorance of mind both at Norwich and Cambridge, having no tutor or patron, till the word of God showing forth, the churches began to return to the true fountain of true divinity. In which oright rising of the New Jerusalem, being not called by any monk or priest, but seriously stirred up by the illustrious the lord Wentworth, as by that centurion who declared Christ to be the Son of God, I presently saw and acknowledged my own deformity; and immediately, through the divine goodness, I was removed from a barren mountain, to the flowery and fertile valley of the gospel, where I found all things built, not on the sand, but on a solid rock."

Bale openly showed his renunciation of the errors of popery by marrying. He soon became an object of hatred to the Romish clergy, but was protected by lord Cromwell. The confession of William Broman, accused of heresy in 1536, states, that "one Bale, a white (or Carmelite) friar, sometime prior of Doncaster, taught him about three years ago, that Christ would dwell in no church that was made of lime and stones by men's hands, but only in heaven above, and in men's hearts in earth." Strype also relates that Bale was a zealous decrrier of the papal supremacy and worship between 1530 and 1540; adding, "Sometimes we find him in the north, where Lee, the archbishop, imprisoned him, and sometimes in the south, where Stokesly, bishop of London, met with him. At Cromwell's death he thought it not safe for him to abide any longer in England, especially as persecution grew so hot upon the six articles; so he, with his wife and family, went beyond sea, and tarried in Germany eight years."

During Bale's abode on the continent he wrote several of his works, particularly his elucidation of the martyrdom of Anne Askew. He says, "I have expelled myself for ever from mine own native country, kindred, friends, and acquaintance, which are the great delights of this life, and am well contented, for Jesus Christ's sake, and for the comfort of my brethren there, to suffer poverty, penury, abjection, reproof, and all that comes besides."

After Edward VI. had succeeded to the throne, Bale was recalled to England, and presented to the living of Bishop's Stoke, in Hampshire. In 1552 he was nominated to the bishopric of Ossory, in Ireland. The circumstances attending this appointment are related by himself as follows:

"Upon the 15th day of August, A. D. 1552, being the first day of my deliverance, as God would, from a dangerous ague, which had holden me long afore; in rejoicing that his majesty was come in progress to Southampton, which was five miles from my parsonage of Bishop's Stoke, within the same county, I took my horse about ten of the clock, for very weakness scarce able to sit on him, and so came thither. Betwixt two and three of the clock the same day, I drew towards the place where his majesty was, and stood in the open street right against the gallery. Anon my friend, John Philpot, a gentleman, and one of the king's privy-chamber, called unto him two more of his companions, who, in moving their heads towards me, showed me most friendly countenances. By one of these the king having information that I was there in the street, he marvelled thereof, for it had been told him a little afore that I was both dead and buried. With that his grace came to the window, and earnestly beheld me, a poor weak creature, as though he had had upon me, so simple a subject, an earnest regard, or rather a very fatherly care.

"In the very same instant, as I have been since that time credibly informed, his grace called unto him the lords of his most honourable council, so many as were then present, willing them to appoint me to the bishopric of Ossory, in Ireland. Whereunto they all agreeably consenting, commanded the letters of my first calling thereunto to be written and sent me. The next day, the 16th of August, they very favourably subscribed the same.

"Thus was I called, in a manner from death, to this office, without my expectation, or yet knowledge thereof. And thus have ye my vocation to the bishopric of Ossory, in Ireland. I pass over my earnest refusal thereof, a month after that, on the king's majesty's return to Winchester; where, as I alleged (as I then thought) my lawful impediments, of poverty, age, and sickness, within the bishop's house there; but they were not accepted. Then resorted I to the court at London, within six weeks after, according to the tenour of the aforesaid letter; and within six days had all things performed pertaining to my election and full confirmation, freely without any manner of charges or expenses, whereof I much marvelled.

"On the 19th day of December I took my journey from Bishop's Stoke with my books and stuff towards Bristol, where I tarried twenty-six days for passage, and divers times preached in that worshipful city, at the instant desire of the citizens. Upon the 21st day of January we entered into the ship; I, my wife, and one servant: and, being but two nights and two days upon the sea, so merciful was the Lord unto us, we arrived most prosperously at Waterford, in the coldest time of the year.

"In beholding the face and order of that city, I saw many abominable idolatries maintained by the priests for their worldly interests. The communion or supper of the Lord was there altogether used like a popish mass with the old apish toys of antichrist, in bowings and beckonings, kneelings and knockings, the Lord's death, after St. Paul's doctrine, neither preached nor yet spoken of. There wailed they over the dead with prodigious howlings and patterings, as though their souls had not been quieted in Christ and redeemed by his passion, but that they must come after and help at a pinch with *requiem eternam*, to deliver them out of hell by their sorrowful sorceries. When I had beholden these heathenish behaviours, I said to a senator of that city, that I well perceived that Christ had there no bishop, neither yet the king's majesty of England any faithful officer of the mayor, in suffering such horrible blasphemies. The next day after, I rode towards Dublin, and rested the night following in a town called Knocktover, in the house of master Adam Walshe, my general commissary for the whole diocese of Ossory.

"At supper the parish priest, called Sir Philip, was very serviceable, and, in familiar talk, described unto me the house of the white friars, which sometime was in that town; concluding in the end, that the last prior thereof, called William, was his natural father. I asked him, if that were in marriage? He made me answer, No. For that was, he said, against his profession. Then counselled I him, that he never should boast of it more. Why, saith he, it is an honour in this land to have a spiritual man, as a bishop, an abbot, a monk, a friar, or a priest, to father. With that I greatly marvelled, not so much of his unshamefaced talk, as I did that adultery, forbidden of God, and of all honest men detested, should there have both praise and preferment, thinking in process, for my part, to reform it. I came at the last to Dublin, where I found my companion Hugh Goodacre, archbishop of Armagh elect, and my old friend, David Cooper, parson of Calan. Much people greatly rejoiced at our coming thither, thinking, by our preachings, the pope's superstitions would diminish, and true christian religion increase."

Some difficulties were thrown in the way of the bishop's consecration, by the papists, who wished that it should have been according to the Romish ritual; but Bale firmly opposing this, the ceremonial as lately directed by king Edward, was used.

Bishop Bale endeavoured earnestly to fulfil the duties of his new charge, but met with much opposition from the papists. It is described by himself in his work entitled, "The Vocation of John Bale to the bishopric of Ossory, in Ireland; his persecutions in the same, and his final deliverance," which presents a painful delineation of the state of Ireland at that period.

Bale proceeds: "Within two days after my consecration was I sick again, so that no man thought I should live; which malady held me till after Easter. Yet, in the meantime, I found a way to be brought to Kilkenny, where I preached every Sunday and

holyday in Lent, till the Sunday after Easter was fully past, never feeling any manner of grief of my sickness for the time I was in the pulpit; whereat many men, and myself also, greatly marvelled. Neither had I, for all that time space, any mind to call for any temporal profits, which was afterwards to my no small hinderance. From that day of my consecration I traded with myself, by all possibility, to set forth that doctrine which God charged his church with ever since the beginning; and thought therewith in my mind also that I had rather that Etna should swallow me up, than to maintain those ways in religion which might corrupt the same. For my daily desire is, in that everlasting school to behold the eternal Son of God, both here and after this life; and not only to see the fathers, prophets, and apostles therein, but also, for love of that doctrine, to enjoy their blessed fellowship hereafter. And so much the rather I acted thus with myself, that I saw then the king's majesty, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the honourable lords of the council, so fervently bent that way, as to seek the people's health in the same. I thought it thereupon no less than my bound duty to show myself faithful, studious, and diligent in that so chargeful a function.

"My first proceedings in that doing were these: I earnestly exhorted the people to repentance for sin, and required them to give credit to the gospel of salvation. To acknowledge and believe that there is but one God; and him alone, without any other, sincerely to worship. To confess one Christ for an only Saviour and Redeemer, and to trust in none other men's prayers, merits, nor yet deservings, but in his alone, for salvation. I treated at large both of the heavenly and political state of the Christian church; and helpers I found none among my prebendaries and clergy, but adversaries a great number.

"I preached the gospel of the knowledge and right invocation of God; I maintained the political order by doctrine, and moved the commons always to obey their magistrates. But when I once sought to destroy the idolatries, and dissolve the hypocrites' yokes, then followed angers, slanders, conspiracies, and, in the end, the slaughter of men. Much ado I had with the priests; for that I had said among other, that the white gods of their making, such as they offered to the people to be worshiped,* were no gods, but idols; and that their prayers for the dead procured no redemption to the souls departed, redemption of souls being only in Christ, of Christ, and by Christ. I added, that their office, by Christ's strait commandment, was chiefly to preach and instruct the people in the doctrine and ways of God, and not to occupy so much of the time in chanting, piping, and singing. Much were the priests offended also for that I, in my preachings, willed them to have wives of their own, and to leave their unshamefaced doings. But hear what answer they made me always, yea, the most vicious men among them: 'What! should we marry,' said they, 'for half a year, and so lose our

* The consecrated wafers used in the communion.

livings ? Think ye not that these men were inspired ? either yet had knowledge of some secret mischief working in England ? I, for my part, have not a little since that time marvelled when it hath fallen to my remembrance. Well, the truth is, I could never yet, by any godly or honest persuasion, bring any of them to marriage, neither yet cause them which were known for unshamefaced life, to leave their abominable conduct, though I most earnestly laboured it.

“ The Lord, therefore, of his mercy, send discipline with doctrine into his church. For doctrine without discipline, and restraint of vices, maketh dissolute hearers. And, on the other side, discipline without doctrine maketh either hypocrites or else desperate doers, I have not written this in dispraise of all the priests of Kilkenny or thereabout ; for my hope is that some of them by this time are fallen to repentance, though not many.

“ In the week after Easter, when I had preached twelve sermons among them, and established the people, as I thought, in the doctrine of repentance and necessary belief of the gospel ; in the true worshipping of one God, our eternal Father, and no more ; and in that hope of one Redeemer, Jesus Christ, and no more ; I departed from Kilkenny to another place of mine, five miles off, called Holme’s Court, where I remained till the Ascension day. In the mean time came sorrowful news unto me that M. Hugh Goodacre, the archbishop of Armagh, that godly preacher and virtuous learned man, was poisoned at Dublin, by procurement of certain priests of his diocese, for preaching God’s verity, and rebuking their common vices. And letters by and by were directed unto me, by my special friends from thence, to be aware of the like in my diocese of Ossory ; which made me peradventure more circumspect than I should have been. Upon the Ascension day I preached again at Kilkenny, likewise on Trinity Sunday, and on St. Peter’s day at Midsummer.

“ On the 25th of July, the priests were as pleasantly disposed as might be, and went by heaps from tavern to tavern, to seek the best Rob Davie and Aqua Vitæ, which are their special drinks there. They caused all their cups to be filled in with *Gaudeamus in dolio*, the mystery thereof only known to them, and at that time to none other else.—Which was, that king Edward was dead, and that they were in hope to have up their masking masses again. As we have in St. John’s Revelation, That they which dwell on the earth (as do our earthly-minded massmongers) should rejoice and be glad when God’s true witnesses were once taken away, and should send gifts one to another for gladness, because they rebuked them of their wicked doings, Rev. xi. For ye must consider that the priests are commonly the first that receive such news. The next day following, a very wicked justice, called Thomas Hoth, with the lord Mountgarret, resorted to the cathedral church, requiring to have a communion in the honour of St. Anne. The priests made him answer, that I had forbidden that celebration, saving only upon the

Sundays ; as I had, indeed, for the abominable idolatries that I had seen therein. 'I discharge you,' said he, 'of obedience to your bishop in this point, and command you to do as ye have done heretofore ;'—which was, to make of Christ's holy communion an idolatrous mass, and to suffer it to serve for the dead, clean contrary to the Christian use of the same.

"Thus was the wicked justice not only a violater of Christ's institution, but also a contemner of his prince's earnest commandment, and a provoker of the people, by his ungracious example, to do the like. This could he do, with other mischiefs more, by his long being there by a whole month's space ; but by murders, thefts, idolatries, and abominable licentiousness, wherewithal that nation abounded, for that time he sought no redress, neither appointed any correction. The priests thus rejoicing that the king was dead, and that they had been that day confirmed in their superstitious obstinacy, resorted to the aforesaid false justice the same night at supper, to gratify him with Rob Davie and Aqua Vitæ, for that he had been so friendly unto them, and that he might still continue in the same. The next day after was the lady Jane Guildford proclaimed their queen, with solemnity of processions, bonfires, and banquets ; the said justice, as I was informed, sore blaming me for my absence that day ; for, indeed, I much doubted that matter.

"So soon as it was there rumoured abroad that the king was departed from this life, the ruffians of that wild nation not only rebelled against the English captains, as their custom in such changes hath been always, chiefly no English deputy being within the land, but also they conspired the very deaths of so many English men and women, as were left therein alive ; minding, as they then stoutly boasted it, to have set up a king of their own. And, to cause their wild people to bear the more hate to our nation, very subtly, but yet falsely, they caused it to be noised over all, that the young earl of Ormond, and Barnaby, the chief of Upper Ossory's son, were both slain in the court at London. Upon this wily practice of mischief, they raged without order in all places, and assaulted the English forts every where. And at one of them, by a subtle train, they got out nine of our men, and slew them.

"On the 13th of August a gentlewoman, the wife of Matthew King, having a castle not far off, her husband then being at London, fled with her family and goods in carts towards the foresaid Kilkenny ; and in the highway was spoiled of all, to her very petticoat, by the kerns and the gallowglasses of the forenamed chief of Upper Ossory, Michael Patrick, and of the lord Mountgarret, who ought rather to have defended her. In this outrage had she, after long conflict with those enemies, four of her company slain, besides other mischiefs more.

"On the 20th day of August was the lady Mary with us at Kilkenny proclaimed queen of England, France, and Ireland, with the greatest solemnity that there could be devised, of pro-

cessions, musters, and disguisings, all the noble captains and gentlemen thereabout being present. What ado I had that day with the prebendaries and priests about wearing the cope, crosier, and mitre in procession, it were too much to write!

"I told them earnestly, when they would have compelled me thereunto, that I was not Moses's minister, but Christ's; I desired them not to compel me to his denial, which is, St. Paul saith, in the repeating of Moses's sacraments and ceremonial shadows, Gal. v. With that I took Christ's testament in my hand, and went to the Market Cross, the people in great number following. There took I Roman xiii. declaring to them briefly what the authority was of the worldly powers and magistrates, what reverence and obedience were due to the same. In the mean time the prelates had got two disguised priests, one to bear the mitre afore me, and another the crosier, making three procession pageants of one. The young men, in the forenoon, played a tragedy of God's promises in the old law, at the Market Cross, with organ-playings, and songs very aptly. In the afternoon again they played a comedy of Saint John Baptist's preachings, of Christ's baptizing, and of his temptation in the wilderness, to the small contentation of the priests and other papists there.*

"On the Thursday next following, which was St. Bartholomew's day, I preached again among them, because the prebendaries and other priests there had made their boasts that I should be compelled to recant all that I had preached afore; and, as I was entered into the pulpit, I took this saying of St. Paul for my theme: 'I am not ashamed of the gospel.' And why? 'For it is the power of God unto salvation, to all them that believe it,' Rom. i. Then declared I unto them all that I had taught there since my first coming thither, the justice Hoth being present; as, That our God was but one God, and ought alone to be worshipped; and that our Christ was but one Christ, and ought alone to be trusted to for our redemption from sin. I earnestly charged the people to rest upon these two principles firmly, as they would answer it at the dreadful day, and not to suffer themselves to be led, by a contrarious doctrine of deceitful teachers, into any other belief from thenceforth. Also, concerning the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, wherein they had been most prodigiously abused, through the unsatiable covetousness of the priests, I required them very reverently to take it, as a sacrament only of Christ's death, whereby we are redeemed, and made innocent members of his mystical body, and not to worship it as their god, as they had done, to the utter derogation of his heavenly honour. And, as I came in the usual prayer to remembrance of the dead, I willed them to give hearty thanks to God for their redemption in Christ, largely declaring, that the souls

* These "mysteries," or scenic representations from scripture, were very frequent in the Romish church. Bale, and some others, composed sacred dramas more according to the doctrines of truth. Those here mentioned were written by Bale.

of the righteous were in the hand of his mercy, without cruel torment, and that the priests, with all their masses and funeral exequies, could add nothing to their redemption, if they had been otherwise bestowed.

"After the prayer, I took the gospel of the day, Blessed are the eyes that see what ye behold, Luke x. wherein I was occasioned to speak of certain degrees of men, as of kings, prophets, lawyers, justiciaries, and so forth: As, that the kings were desirous to see Christ, the prophets to embrace him, the swelling lawyers to rise up against him and to tempt him, and the ambitious justiciaries to toy with him and to mock him. The wounded man to have need of him, the priest to show no compassion, the Levite to minister no mercy, and, last of all, the contemned Samaritan to exercise all the offices of pity, love, benevolence, and liberal mercy, upon the same wounded creature; as, to resort to him, favourably to see him, with leisure to behold him, to have compassion on him, to bind up his wounds, to pour in oil and wine, to set him on his own beast, to bring him to a place of comfort; finally, to succour him, and to pay his whole charges.

"The same day, I dined with the mayor of the town, whom they name their sovereign, called Robert Shea, a man sober, wise, and godly, which is a rare thing in that land. In the end of our dinner certain priests resorted, and began very hotly to dispute with me concerning their purgatory and suffrages for the dead. And as I had alleged the scriptures proving Christ's sufficiency for the soul's discharge before God, without their dirty deservings, they brought forth, as seemed to them, contrary allegations, that there should appear no truth in those scriptures. As St. Paul prophesied of them, Rom. i. That such as they were, should seek to turn the verity of God into a lie. And when I had once apprehended them in that thievery, and agreed both our alleged scriptures, to the maintenance of my first principle, to their manifest reproach, I demanded of them, what a christian man's office was, when such a scripture was uttered as neither man nor angel was able to deny any truth thereof? But they made me no answer. Then said I unto them, 'Ye have set me forth a new lesson, and taught me this day to know a good man from a hypocrite, and to discern a true christian from a wicked papist. The good man,' said I, 'believeth a truth in the scriptures, the hypocrite denieth it, the christian embraceth it, the papist doubteth and disputeth against it; as the devil in the wilderness with Christ, when he sought by one scripture to confound another.'

"The next day I departed from thence, and went home with my company to Holme's Court again. Where as I had knowledge, the next day following, that the priests of my diocese, specially one sir Richard Routh, treasurer of the church of Kilkenney, and one sir James Joyce, a familiar chaplain of mine, by the help of one Barnaby Bolgar, my next neighbour and my tenant, at the said Holme's Court, had hired certain kerns of the lord Mountgarret, and of the baron of Upper Ossory, whom they

knew to be most desperate thieves and murderers, to slay me. And I am in full belief, that this was not without all their knowledge also; for so much as they were so desirous of my lands in diverse quarters, and could neither obtain them by their own importunate suits, nor yet by the friendship of others.

“On the Thursday after, which was the last day of August, I being absent, the clergy of Kilkenny, by procurement of justice Hoth, blasphemously resumed again the whole papism, or heap of superstitions of the bishop of Rome; to the utter contempt of Christ and his holy word, of the king and council of England, and of all ecclesiastical and politic order, without either statute or yet proclamation. They rung all the bells in that cathedral, minster, and parish churches; they flung up their caps to the battlement of the great temple, with smilings and laughings most dissolutely, the justice himself being therewith offended: they brought forth their copes, candlesticks, holy waterstock, cross, and censers: they mustered forth in general procession most gorgeously, all the town over, with *Sancta Maria, Ora pro nobis*, and the rest of the Latin Litany: they chattered it, they chanted it, with great noise and devotion: they banquetted all the day after, for that they were delivered from the grace of God into a warm sun.*

“For they may, now from thenceforth, again deceive the people, as they did aforetime, with their Latin mumblings, and make merchandise of them, 2 Pet. ii. They may make the witless sort believe, that they can make every day new gods of their little white cakes, and that they can fetch their friends' souls from flaming purgatory, if need be, with other great miracles else. They may now, without check, live in all evil life, as they have done always. I write not this without a cause; for why, there were some among them, which boasted both of this and much more too vain to be told. And, when they were demanded, How they would be discharged before God? They made answer, that ear confession was able to burnish them again, and to make them as white as snow, though they thus offended ever so oft. And one of them, for example, was the drunken bishop of Galway, who, besides these uncomely brags, furiously boasted in the house of one Martin, a faithful Italian and servant to the earl of Ormond, and in other houses more, that the bishop of Rome was the head supreme of the christian church in earth, and should so be proclaimed in Ireland, the said Martin, as God's true friend, rebuking him for it. The exercise of this bishop is none other, but to gad from town to town over the English part, confirming young children for two-pence apiece, without examination of their christian belief, contrary to the christian ordinances of England, and at night to drink Rob Davie and Aqua Vitæ.

“On the Friday next following, which was the 8th day of September, five of my household servants, Richard Foster, a deacon, Richard Headley, John Cage, an Irish horse-groom, and a young

* A proverbial expression.

maid of sixteen years of age, went out to make hay about half a mile off, betwixt eight and nine of the clock, after they had served God according to the day. And, as they were come to the entrance of that meadow, the cruel murderers, to the number of more than a score, leaped out of their lurking bushes, with swords and with darts, and cowardly slew them all unarmed and unweaponed, without mercy. This did they, in their wicked fury, as it was reported, for that they had watched so long before, yea, a whole month space they say, and sped not of their purpose concerning me. They feloniously also robbed me of all my horses, and of all master Cooper's horses, who that time sojourned with me for safeguard of his life, to the number of seven, driving them afore them. In the afternoon, about three of the clock, the good sovereign of Kilkenny, having knowledge thereof, resorted to me with a hundred horsemen, and three hundred footmen, and so with great strength brought me that night to the town, the young men singing psalms and other godly songs all the way, in rejoyce of my deliverance.

"As we were come to the town, the people, in great number, stood on both sides of the way, both within the gates and without, with candles lighted in their hands, shouting out praises to God for delivering me from the hands of these murderers. The priests the next day, to colour their mischief, caused it to be noised all the country over, that it was by the hand of God that my servants were slain, for that they had broken, they said, the great holy day of our lady's nativity.* But I would fain know what holy days those blood-thirsty hypocrites and malicious murderers kept, who had hired their cruel kerns to do that mischief? Oh! abominable traitors, both to God and to all godly order. Ye here commend murder under a colour of false religion, to hide your own mischiefs to the eyes of the people; but the eyes of God ye cannot deceive. Your horrible slaughter must now be God's doing, and yet was it the devil that set you to work! Ye prate here of the observance of the holy day, who never yet kept the holy day as it should be kept. For ye never yet preached the word of God truly, neither ministered the sacraments rightly, neither yet taught the people to honour God purely, and to keep his commandments inviolably, which are the only keepings of the holy days.

"On the day next following, which was Saturday, in the afternoon, the aforesaid treasurer, a man unlearned, and of vile life, resorted to me with a number of priests, to tempt me, like as Satan did Christ in the wilderness, saving that Satan to Christ offered stones, and that tempting treasurer both apples and wine. And, as they had then compassed me in round about, the said treasurer proponed unto me, that they were all fully minded to have solemn exequies for king Edward, lately departed, like as the queen's highness had had them in England. I asked them

*The church of Rome teaches that holy days and saints' days are to be observed as strictly, or even more so, than the sabbath.

how that was? They made me answer, with a requiem mass and dirge. Then asked I of them again, Who should sing the mass? And they answered me, that it was my bounden duty to do it, being their bishop. Then said I unto them, 'Massing is an office appointed of that antichrist, the bishop of Rome, to whom I owe no obedience, neither will I owe him any so long as I shall live. But if ye will have me there to do that office, which Christ, the Son of God, hath earnestly commanded, which is to preach his holy gospel, I will do it with all my heart.'

"'No,' said they, 'we will have a solemn mass, for so had the queen.' Said I, 'Then must ye go seek out some other chaplain; for, truly, of all generations, I am no mass-monger; for, of all occupations, methinks it is most foolish; for there standeth the priest disguised, like one that would show some conveyance or juggling play. He turneth his back to the people, and telleth a tale to the wall in a foreign language. If he turn his face to them, it is either to receive the offering, either to desire them to give him a good word, with *Orate pro me fratres*, (pray for me brethren,) for he is a poor brother of theirs; either to bid them God speed, with *Dominus vobiscum*, (the Lord be with you,) for they get no part of his banquet; either else to bless them with the bottom of the cup, with *Benedictio Dei*, (the blessing of God,) when all the breakfast is done.* And of these feats,' said I, 'can I now little skill.' With that the treasurer, being in his fumes, stoutly demanded a determinate answer, as though he came not thither without authority. Then suspected I somewhat the wickedness of justice Hoth, and such other; notwithstanding, I asked him once again, What profit he thought the king's soul to have of those funeral exequies? Then answered one of the priests, that God knew well enough what he had to do. 'Yet you must appoint him!' said I. 'If these poor suffrages be a way for him to heaven, and that he cannot go thither without them, ye are much to blame that ye have deferred them so long. Ye had a commandment, the last Saturday, of the justice Hoth, to have solemnized them that night, and the next day after. But the devil, which that day danced at Thomas Town, (for they had a procession with pageants,) and the Aqua Vitæ and Rob Davie withal, would not suffer you then to do them. I desire you, considering that the last Sunday ye deferred them to see the devil dance at Thomas Town, that ye will also this Sunday defer them, till such time as I send to the queen's commissioners at Dublin, to know how to be discharged of the oath which I made to the king and his council for abolishment of that popish mass; for I am loth to incur the danger of perjury.' With that, after a few words more, they seemed content, and so departed.

*The different postures and actions observed by the priest in celebrating mass, are very numerous, and are all especially directed. They are delineated in some of the Romish books of devotion to the number of thirty-five. See Daily Devotions, or the most profitable manner of hearing Mass. Dublin, 1824.

"The next day came thither a proclamation, that they which would hear masses, should be suffered so to do, and they that would not, should not thereunto be compelled. Thus was that building clearly overthrown, and that practice of blasphemy would not take at that time, as God would. And, as I had continued there certain days, I chanced to hear of many secret mutterings, that the priests would not so leave me, but were still conspiring my death. It was also noised abroad, by the bishop of Galway, and others, that the antichrist of Rome should be taken again for the supreme head of the church of Ireland. And, to declare a contemptuous change from religion to superstition again, the priests had suddenly set up all the altars and images in the cathedral church. Beholding therefore so many inconveniencies to ensue, and so many dangers toward, having also, which was worst of all, no English deputy or governor within the land to complain to for remedy, I shook the dust off my feet against those wicked priests, according to Christ's commandment, Matt. x. that it might stand against them as a witness at the day of judgment. The next day, early in the morning, by help of friends, I conveyed myself away to the castle of Lechline, and so to the city of Dublin, where I, for a certain time, among friends remained."

This account of the proceedings of the papists in Ireland, in opposition to the protestant reformation, is an important document in the history of that period.

Bale then relates his escape from Dublin in a small trading vessel, but before they had lost sight of land, he was taken by the pilot and commander of a Flemish vessel of war, who carried him on board their own ship, and robbed him of all his property. The Fleming was driven by adverse weather into St. Ives, in Cornwall, where an attempt was made to cause Bale to be suspected of treason. This failed, but after a further cruise of several days, the ship came to Dover, where he was again endangered by a false accusation. The captain was about to deliver him to the papists, but was prevailed upon, by Bale's offer of a sum of money, to proceed to Holland, where he obtained his liberty on payment of thirty pounds.

Bale then proceeded to Switzerland, and continued to reside at Basle during the reign of queen Mary. After her decease, he returned to England. In January, 1560, he was appointed to a prebend in Canterbury cathedral. He died in that city in November, 1563, aged sixty-eight.

Bale was well skilled in divinity as well as in general learning, and was an able preacher. Previously to his conversion from popery, which appears to have taken place in 1529, he for some time taught the civil law at Cambridge. He was a voluminous writer; some of his pieces were written before he left the Romish church, but the greater part subsequently. The latter were chiefly controversial and personal; they bore heavily upon

the papists, especially as he exposed the shameless lives of their ecclesiastics in the plainest terms. Their vices he attributes to the "idolatries" of their religion. With these he was well acquainted; speaking of the papists, he says, "Yea, I ask God mercy a thousand times, I have been one of them myself." One of the most severe of his publications, "The Acts and unchaste Examples of religious Votaries, gathered out of their own legends and chronicles," he did not complete; probably he was advised to suppress the abominable and shameful details.

Bale's principal work was his "Summary of the Illustrious Writers of Great Britain," in which, with most persevering industry, he collected from a variety of sources, a particular account of the most remarkable actions, sayings, and writings of each author, especially showing the errors and enormities of the church of Rome. Of course very opposite views of this work have been taken by different writers; it will, however, always be considered and referred to as the foundation of English biography. Strype admits that it is not free from errors, and justly asks, What historical work can be so? but he speaks of Bale as "an author of high esteem, and of commendable diligence and integrity, to whom posterity is much indebted for preserving from utter perishing much of the English ecclesiastical history."

Bale's controversial and other smaller pieces must have had very considerable influence at that day. Their coarseness, which now disgusts the reader, was then hardly considered an objection. He was, as Strype observes, sharp and foul enough sometimes, when he had foul subjects to deal with—and such were indeed abundant in that day. The near view he had of these practices appears to have been the principal occasion of exciting his disgust to popery. It has been fairly observed that "he wrote with all the warmth of one who had escaped the flames." It is not surprising that many among those who never have seen the fires should think such delineations too vivid.

Among the most finished of Bale's writings, is "The Image of both Churches," being a comment on the Apocalypse, printed in the reign of Edward VI. Some extracts from this work are given in the following pages, as it appeared desirable to include in the present collection specimens of an author who was so efficient among the British Reformers; that work also conveys to us the matured opinions of Bale, which he held in common with all the most eminent British Reformers, upon some subjects which have continually agitated the church of Christ. Bale must ever be respected for the bold and uncompromising manner in which he opposed the errors of the papacy, and the half measures of some among his associates; but the nature of his writings, though then very useful, gives him fewer claims upon our attention than most of the reformers at that period.

SOME ACCOUNT
OF
MILES COVERDALE,

Bishop of Exeter.

MILES COVERDALE was a native of Yorkshire, where he was born in 1487. In early life he was a zealous papist, and became an Augustine monk. He entered into orders in 1514, but continued in the monastery of the Augustines at Cambridge, of which Dr. Barnes, afterwards martyr, was prior. About 1526, the doctrines of the reformation began to influence many at Cambridge. Serious persons resorted together for conference sake, and attended the sermons of such preachers as were inclined to the protestant faith. Their meetings for edification were chiefly at a house called the White Horse, which was consequently nicknamed Germany by their enemies, in allusion to the German Reformation. This house was convenient for the private access of students from several of the colleges. Coverdale and his superior, Dr. Barnes, were amongst the earliest who threw off the errors of popery. From the recantation of Thomas Topley, a friar at Stoke Clare, in Suffolk, we find Coverdale at Bumstead in Essex in 1528, where he declared openly against the mass, the worship of images, and private confession. He maintained that contrition for sin, between God and a man's own conscience, was enough, without confession to a priest. This was in conversation. Topley also states, that by Coverdale's preaching, his mind was drawn from the Romish doctrine of the sacrament. He also had heard Coverdale preach against images. Fox, the curate of Bumstead, seems to have been intimate with Coverdale, and to have held similar views.

Coverdale appears very soon to have devoted himself to the important work of translating the scriptures into the English language. He was on the Continent in 1530, where he had gone to escape the persecution then commenced. While there, he assisted Tindal in his translation of the Pentateuch after the first copy had been lost. He continued to take part in the biblical labours of that reformer, and when Tindal had fallen a victim to the malice of his enemies, Coverdale pursued these studies, till 1535, when the first complete translation of the English bible appeared. It seems to have been printed at

Zurich. By residing on the Continent, he was enabled to carry it through the press without interruption. He also had the assistance of the Lutheran divines, many of whom were well skilled in Hebrew, as well as the German translation. These helps he acknowledges in his preface, which is given in the following pages. Coverdale's version was dedicated to Henry VIII. and allowed by royal authority; the interest Cranmer took in these labours has been noticed in his life.

Fulk relates from Coverdale's own statement, that Henry VIII. gave this translation to some of the bishops to peruse, who alleged there were faults therein, but admitted that no heresies were maintained thereby. "If there be no heresies," said the king, "let it go abroad among the people."

In 1538, Coverdale was employed in France in superintending another edition of the English scriptures, then printing at Paris, on account of the skill of the workmen, and the superiority of their materials. The attention of the papists, however, was attracted to the work, and the "lieutenant criminel" was ordered to seize the edition, consisting of 2500 copies. The greater part were burned, some copies, however, escaped which had been sold to a haberdasher. The types and workmen were then removed to London, and in 1539, Cranmer's, or "the great bible," appeared with the advantage of farther corrections from Coverdale, who was much assisted in these labours by the protection of Cromwell. The opposition of the prelates to the English translation of the bible has been noticed in the life of Cranmer, and elsewhere.

Coverdale maintained his ground during the chequered proceedings of the latter years of Henry VIII. and hesitated not to defend the memory of his former prior and friend, Dr. Barnes. He was almoner to queen Catharine Parr, and assisted in the translation of the paraphrase of Erasmus, carried forward under her influence. He wrote a preface to the epistle to the Romans. He preached at the funeral of this pious queen in 1548, when he warned the people that the offerings then made, were for the benefit of the poor and the honour of the clergyman, "not any thing to profit the dead." He was also chaplain to king Edward VI.

In August, 1551, Coverdale was nominated to the see of Exeter, in the place of Veysey, a decided Romanist; to this he was presented, on account of his knowledge of the scriptures, and his unblemished character. He had previously attended the king's commissioners, who were sent to quiet the disturbances in the west of England, and preached the public thanksgiving sermon on that occasion. He was then appointed coadjutor to the bishop, an office not uncommon in those days. At the intercession of Cranmer, the payment of first fruits was remitted on account of his poverty. Veysey also had much injured the revenues of the see.

Coverdale exerted himself to promote the reformed religion in

his diocese. His conduct was most exemplary. Like a true primitive bishop, he was a constant preacher, and much given to hospitality. He was sober and temperate in all things, holy and blameless, friendly to good men, liberal to the poor, courteous to all, void of pride, clothed with humility, abhorring covetousness and every vice. His house was like a little church, in which was exercised all virtue and godliness. He suffered no one to abide under his roof, who could not give some satisfactory account of his faith and hope, and whose life did not correspond with his profession. He preached constantly on Sundays, and lectured during the week in the churches of Exeter, but notwithstanding his charity, humility, and hospitality, the papists exerted themselves to oppose his labours.

Immediately after queen Mary came to the throne, Coverdale was deprived and imprisoned. He was confined with the other leading reformers, and signed with them the confession of faith. During his imprisonment, he wrote *An Exhortation to the Cross*, which is noticed by Strype. He therein says, "Pray for us, for, God willing, we will not leave you ; we will go before you. You shall see in us that we preached no lies, nor tales of tubs, but even the true word of God, for which we, by God's grace, and help of your prayers, will willingly and joyfully give our blood to be shed for confirmation of the same.

He exhorts the professors of the gospel to be steadfast in their course. "Like God's children let us go on forward apace ; the wind is on our back. Hoist up the sails, lift up your hearts and hands unto God in prayer ; and keep your anchor of faith to cast in time on the rock of God's word, and on his mercy in Christ, and I warrant you." He also wrote a confutation of a sermon preached at Paul's Cross by Dr. Weston, in which that bigoted Romanist had called the people to pray for souls departed, "who were neither in heaven nor hell, but in a place not yet sufficiently purged to come to heaven, in order that they might be relieved by the devout prayers of the congregation."

It was intended that he should suffer martyrdom, but he had become related by marriage to the chaplain of the king of Denmark, who interfered in his behalf. His release being procured with some difficulty, not till twelve months after the first application, and on condition of his leaving the kingdom,* Coverdale went to Denmark, where the king wished him to remain, but this he declined, being unable to preach in that language. He then proceeded to Geneva, where he occupied himself partly in preaching and partly as a teacher. But labours connected with the English scriptures again claimed his attention ; with the assistance of several fellow exiles he set forth the English Bible,

* Queen Mary endeavoured to evade compliance with this request of the king of Denmark, by alleging that Coverdale was in prison for a debt due to her by reason of his bishopric ! The king availed himself of this to urge his release as the more reasonable, inasmuch as he had cleared his accounts.

usually called the Geneva Bible, with brief explanatory notes. His coadjutors in this work are said to have been Gilby, Goodman, Wittingham, Cole, and Sampson, to whom some add Knox, Bodleigh, and Pullain. This version is in some respects superior to our present translation; it passed through above thirty editions during the reign of queen Elizabeth, mostly set forth by the royal printers. It was sanctioned by archbishop Parker and bishop Grindal. Some of the notes offended James I. who in the conference at Hampton Court, in the early part of his reign, said, that "he had never yet seen a bible well translated in English, though he thought the Geneva the worst, and therefore wished that some special pains should be taken for one uniform translation." He added, "that there should be no marginal notes, having found in those annexed to the Geneva translation, some very partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits." It is hardly necessary to say that such blame from such a character, may be considered as a testimony in favour of the version. This opinion of the Geneva Bible, made king James more zealous in promoting our present authorized translation. The Geneva Bible, however, continued to be very generally used in families during a great part of the seventeenth century. The first edition of the new testament printed in 1557, was the earliest English translation in which the verses were numbered.

The following extract from the address to the Christian reader, prefixed to this version, shows the spirit in which this important work was executed, and the attention bestowed upon it.

"Besides the manifold and continual benefits which almighty God bestoweth upon us, both corporeal and spiritual, we are especially bound, dear brethren, to give him thanks without ceasing, for his great grace and unspeakable mercies, in that it hath pleased him to call us into this marvellous light of his gospel, and mercifully to regard us after so horrible backsliding and falling away from Christ to Antichrist, from light to darkness, from the living God to dumb and dead idols, and that after so cruel murder of God's saints, as also hath been among us, we are not altogether cast off, as were the Israelites, and many others for the like, or not so manifest wickedness, but received again to grace, with most evident signs and tokens of God's especial love and favour. To the intent, therefore, that we may not be unmindful of these great mercies, but seek by all means, according to our duty, to be thankful for the same, it behoveth us so to walk in his fear and love, that all the days of this life we may procure the glory of his holy name.

"Now, forasmuch as this is chiefly to be attained by the knowledge and practising of the word of God, which is the light to our paths, the key of the kingdom of heaven, our comfort in affliction, our shield and sword against Satan, the school of all wisdom, the glass wherein we behold God's face, the testimony of his favour, and the only food and nourishment of our souls,

we thought that we could bestow our labour and study in nothing which could be more acceptable to God, and comfortable to his church, than in translating the holy scriptures into our native tongue. Which albeit divers heretofore have endeavoured to achieve, yet considering the infancy of those times, and imperfect knowledge of the tongues, in respect of this ripe age and clear light which God hath now revealed, the translations required greatly to be perused and reformed. Not that we vindicate anything to ourselves above the least of our brethren, for God knoweth with what fear and trembling we have been for the space of two years and more, day and night, occupied therein, but being earnestly desired, and by divers, whose learning and godliness we reverence, exhorted, and also encouraged by the ready wills of such, whose hearts God likewise touched, not to spare any charges for the furtherance of such a benefit and favour of God towards his church, though the time was then most dangerous, and the persecution sharp and furious, we submitted ourselves at length to their godly judgments. And seeing the great opportunity and occasions which God presented unto us in his church, by reason of so many godly and learned men, and such diversities of translations in divers tongues, we undertook this great and wonderful work, with all reverence, as in the presence of God, as entreating the word of God whereunto we think ourselves insufficient, which now, God, according to his divine providence and mercy, hath directed to a most prosperous end. And this we may with good conscience protest, that we have in every point and word, according to the measure of that knowledge which it pleased almighty God to give us, faithfully rendered the text, and in all hard places most sincerely expounded the same. For God is our witness, that we have by all means endeavoured to set forth the purity of the word, and right sense of the Holy Ghost, for the edifying of the brethren in faith and charity."

After particularly stating their anxiety to render this work as nearly as possible conformable to the originals, they proceed,

"Therefore, as brethren that are partakers of the same hope and salvation with us, we beseech you that this rich pearl and inestimable treasure may not be offered in vain, but as sent from God to the people of God, for the increase of his kingdom, the comfort of his church, and discharge of our consciences, whom it hath pleased him to raise up for this purpose, so you would willingly receive the word of God, earnestly study it, and in all your life practise it, that ye may now appear indeed to be the people of God, not walking any more according to this world, but in the fruits of the Spirit, that God in us may be fully glorified, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth for ever. Amen."

On the accession of queen Elizabeth, Coverdale returned from the continent. Experience had tended to make him anxious for a more thorough reformation from popery, than was agreeable

to many leading characters in church and state at that period. He, therefore, with Fox, Jewell, and others regretted much the futile efforts made to conciliate the papists, and was in consequence ranked among the moderate non-conformists; thus for some time, preferment was not offered to him. Coverdale's advanced age also unfitted him for resuming episcopal duties, but he preached repeatedly at Paul's Cross. Grindal, being much attached to him, was uneasy at this neglect of one, who as he expressed it, "was in Christ before them all," and now was left without support. The bishopric of Landaff appears to have been offered to Coverdale in consequence of this interference, but his age and infirmities, with the reasons above mentioned, decided him against accepting it. Grindal then presented him to the rectory of St. Magnus, London Bridge, this his poverty prevented him from entering upon till the first fruits were forgiven. He wrote to archbishop Parker in January, 1564, requesting him to favour his suit to the queen for this benefit, urging the destitute condition in which he had been, since his bishopric was violently taken from him. In affecting terms he notices that he was not likely, "long to enjoy this benefice, going upon my grave as they say, and not likely to live a year." Soon after, he wrote to Cecil for his interest, to the same effect, adding, that if now poor old Miles might thus be provided for, he should think "this enough," to be as good as a feast. The queen granted Coverdale's request. He lived till February 1568, having been "quiet," as he promised archbishop Parker, though he came not up to the uniformity required. A short time before his death, he resigned the living, probably on the above account, but was allowed to continue officiating, though he refused to wear the surplice. His last hours were happy, and he departed at the age of eighty-one. He was buried in the church of St. Bartholomew, by the Exchange, his remains being attended to the grave by a numerous and sorrowing concourse of citizens.

The writings of Coverdale are principally his versions of the scriptures, and translations of several tracts of Bullinger and other German Reformers, among these "A spiritual and precious Pearl," by Wormerius, is the most valuable. He also wrote a few English tracts, but the Preface to his translation of the bible, some extracts from his defence of Dr. Barnes, and his preface to the invaluable collection of the Letters of the Martyrs, published by him, exhibit him as a writer at different periods of his life, and appear most suitable for the present collection of the writings of the British Reformers, which would be very imperfect without some notice of one who had so materially benefited the church of Christ in England during four successive reigns.

ANNE ASKEW.

THE persecution urged forward by bishop Gardiner and his associates during the latter years of Henry VIII., was aimed at queen Catherine Parr, and several of her attendants, with others of rank at court. The narrow escape of the queen has been related; but one of her attendants, Mrs. Anne Askew, and a gentleman of the royal household, named Lascels, were burned.

ANNE ASKEW* was the second daughter of Sir William Askew, of Kelsey in Lincolnshire. A marriage was planned between the eldest sister and the heir of a neighbouring gentleman named Kyme, but she died before the union took place. Sir William, unwilling to lose an advantageous match, compelled his second daughter to marry Kyme. The marriage was against her will, but when it had taken place, she demeaned herself like a Christian wife, and became the mother of two children. After a time, by the study of the Scriptures, she was convinced of the errors of popery, and became a true follower of Christ. Her husband, being a bigoted papist, was much enraged at this change, and after a series of ill treatment, by the advice of his priests, violently drove her from his house. She came to London, where she attended upon the queen, and sought a divorce on the ground of her husband's conduct, considering that his cruel usage had released her obligations, according to the principle laid down by St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 15.

Anne Askew's beauty, learning, and piety, procured her much esteem from the queen's friends, while she was hated by Gardiner and his party. Her conduct was irreproachable. A strong testimony in her favour was borne by a papist, according to the following relation from Strype. "A great papist of Wickham college, called Wadloe, a cursitor of the chancery, hot in his religion, and thinking not well of her life, got himself lodged at the next house to her. For what purpose need not be opened. But the conclusion was, that instead of speaking evil of her, he gave her the praise to sir Leonil Throgmorton, for the devoutest and godliest woman that ever he knew. For, said he, at midnight she beginneth to pray, and ceaseth not for many hours after, when I, and others are at sleep or at work."

In 1546, she was accused of heresy, and made an undaunted profession of the truth, an account of which being penned by her own hand, was conveyed to Bale, and printed by him in Germany. Bale accompanied it with severe reflections upon the conduct of the Romanists towards her, which it does not appear necessary to reprint, as the affecting narrative is a sufficient comment upon the proceedings of her persecutors.

* Her name is also spelled Ascue and Ayscough.

A
BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF
PATRICK HAMILTON,

Abbot of Fearn, in Scotland, and Martyr, 1528

PATRICK HAMILTON, abbot of Fearn, was the first person burned in Scotland for the doctrines of the Reformation. He was of noble and royal descent, and not more than twenty-three years of age. He had travelled in Germany, and visited Luther, Melancthon, and other reformers, by whom he was instructed in the knowledge of the truth. And in the university of Marburg, he publicly advanced the conclusions respecting faith and works, which propositions are set forth in his treatise, called **PATRICK'S PLACES**.

Having thus received the truth, he became desirous to impart it to his countrymen, and returned home. On his arrival, wherever he came, he exposed the corruptions of the Church of Rome, and preached the gospel. Many listened to his discourses, and were inclined to adopt the doctrines of the Reformation. At this the popish clergy were alarmed; but as Hamilton had expressed his views with caution, so as not easily to afford them a pretext for proceeding against him, they enticed him to St. Andrews, to confer with archbishop Beaton, and appointed a Dominican friar, named Campbell, to converse with him, and draw forth the declaration of his opinions, under the pretence of desiring instruction. Having succeeded in this treacherous design, they caused Hamilton to be seized in his bed at midnight, and carried to the castle.

On the next day, February 28, 1528, he was brought before the bishops and clergy, accused of maintaining the doctrines of the Reformation, condemned to be burned, and almost immediately after led forth to the stake; his execution being hastened lest the king, who was then absent on a pilgrimage to Ross-shire, should interfere, and prevent the cruel designs of the popish ecclesiastics. Hamilton suffered with much constancy, desiring the people "to keep in mind the example of his death; for although bitter to the flesh, and fearful in the sight of men, yet it is the entrance to eternal life, which none can inherit who deny Christ!" The flame being kindled, he cried with a loud voice "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit! How long shall darkness overwhelm this realm, and how long wilt thou suffer the tyranny of men?" Friar Campbell exhorted him repeatedly to recant, and call upon the Virgin Mary; upon which Hamilton reminded him of what had passed in their private conferences, and summoned him to answer for his conduct at the judgment-seat of Christ by a certain time which he named. The conscience-stricken friar expired in a frenzy of despair before that period arrived.

HENRY BALKNAVES.

HENRY BALNAVES, of Halhill, was born of poor parents in the town of Kirkaldy, in Scotland. When yet a boy he traveled to the continent. Hearing of a free school at Cologne, he procured admission, and received a liberal education with instruction in the principles of the Reformation. Returning to his native country, he studied the law, and was for some time in the family of the earl of Arran, by whom he was employed in public affairs, but was dismissed in 1542, for having embraced the protestant faith. In 1546, he took refuge in the castle of St. Andrew's with those who had put cardinal Beaton to death. Though he was not concerned in that act, he was declared a traitor, and excommunicated. During the siege which ensued, he went to England, whence he returned with supplies of provisions and money. Upon the surrender of the castle to the French, he was conveyed to Rouen with Knox and others, where they were detained prisoners contrary to the terms of capitulation. While in prison, Balnaves composed a treatise on Justification, which being conveyed to Knox, then a prisoner on board the galleys, the latter was so much pleased with the work, as to divide it into chapters, adding marginal notes, and an epitome of the contents. He prefixed a recommendatory preface, in which he gives an account of the treatise and its origin. There is reason to think that the manuscript was conveyed to Scotland about this time, but was mislaid, and for many years supposed to be lost. After the death of Knox, it was discovered by Knox's Secretary, Bannantine, in the hands of a child, and was printed in 1584, under the title of *A Confession of Faith*.

Balnaves returned to Scotland in 1559, and was again employed in public affairs. In 1563, he was appointed one of the lords of session; he died at Edinburgh in 1579. Dr. McCrie says that he raised himself, by his talents and probity, from an obscure station to the first honours of the state, and was justly regarded as one of the principal supporters of the reformed cause in Scotland.

The treatise of Balnaves is now reprinted from the edition of 1584. Dr. McCrie, in his life of Knox, has given several passages from it, considering that he could not give a more correct view of the sentiments of the great Scottish Reformer on the fundamental article of faith—the doctrine of Justification—than by quoting from a book which was revised and approved by him.

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BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF

JOHN CARELESS.

JOHN CARELESS was a weaver of Coventry; a devoted follower of the truth. He was imprisoned for two years in Coventry gaol, and afterwards in the King's Bench, London, where he died in July 1556, and, his body being cast out into the fields, was buried in a dunghill. Fox has preserved a part of his examination before Dr. Martin, from whence he appears to have declared the reason of the hope that was in him without hesitation, and he would doubtless have been sent to the stake had not God been pleased to take him away from the cruel designs of the adversaries of the truth. Strype speaks of Careless as an "excellent, pious man, and confessor;" and describes him as "one of that sort of laymen, who in the private assemblies of the professors, in those hard times, performed the office of ministers among them. For when the learned preachers and ministers were most of them burnt or fled, as they were by the middle of the reign, and their flocks left destitute of their faithful pastors, some of the laity, trademen or others, endued with parts and some learning, used in that distress to read the Scriptures to the rest in their meetings, and the letters of the martyrs and prisoners, and other good books; also to pray with them, and exhort them to stand fast, and to comfort and establish them in the confession of Christ, to the death." The length of Careless's imprisonment, however, must have prevented him from taking much personal share in these labours, and his principal service to the persecuted flock of Christ was his letters, which are numerous and valuable. It is pleasing to observe the confidence and esteem with which this poor layman was treated by Philpot and others, eminent for their rank, learning, and ability; they were "all one in Christ."

The letters of Careless were printed by Coverdale in his collection, and some were added by Fox; but they are now given in a complete form, for the first time since the year 1564. They contain lively delineations of his Christian experience and faith in Jesus, set forth in the fullest manner, with a deep sense of his own unworthiness; and the reader will not turn aside from the letters of Careless because he may find in them expressions of a more homely cast than in the writings of those who enjoyed advantages superior to his, as to human learning. The dates of these letters were not preserved, and as the greater part of them do not refer to particular events of those days, they cannot be arranged in the order of time when written.

